THE

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

BY

JOHN FOXE.

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS

BOOK XI.

COMPRISING

The history of those who suffered martyrdom and persecutions under Queen Mary

The History and Martyrdom of John Rogers

On the 4th of February, the constant martyr of God, Master John Rogers, suffered death. Concerning his life, examinations, and sufferings, we give the following account:

John Rogers was brought up in the University of Cambridge, where he was profitably exercised in learning, and at length was chosen by the merchants adventurers, to be their chaplain at Antwerp, in Brabant. There he happened to fall into company with that worthy servant and martyr of God, William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, both of whom, for the hatred they bore to popish superstition and idolatry, and for their love of true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them on the Scriptures, Rogers came to a great knowledge in the gospel of God. So that, he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them in that painful and most profitable labor of translating the Bible into the English tongue. Knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honorable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so he went to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where with much soberness of living, he not only greatly increased in all good and godly learning, but also profited so much in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was committed to his care.

He diligently and faithfully served in this ministry for many years, until it pleased God, by the faithful labors of his chosen and dear servant, King Edward VI, to utterly banish all popery out of England, setting God's gospel at liberty. Having a conscience and a ready will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, Rogers then came to England to preach the gospel. After he had diligently and faithfully labored for a time, Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the dean and chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lesson there. He diligently exercised himself until such time as Queen Mary obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought back in the antichrist of Rome, with its idolatry and superstition.

The First Examination of John Rogers.

After the queen had come to the Tower of London, Rogers being called there, made a godly and vehement sermon at St. Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people to remain constant in it, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council then being overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon. He gave a stout, witty, and godly answer to them, and yet in such a sort as to demean himself; at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council, for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as a prisoner to keep to his own house. He did so, although by fleeing he might easily have escaped their cruel hands. He saw the recovery of religion in England. Desperate for the present, he knew he would not lack a living in Germany, and he could not

forget his wife and ten children. But all these things were set aside. After he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stood in defense of the same, and for that truth he was content to risk his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as a prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers. During that time, whatever communication he had with the adversaries of Christ is not known, nor any certainty of his examinations beyond what he himself left in writing.

The Examination and Answer of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Council on the 2nd of January A.D. 1555.

First, the Lord Chancellor Gardiner said to me: "Sir, you have heard the state of the realm, in which it stands now."

Rogers. — "No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and unless there has been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing upon which any special thing might be grounded."

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Then the lord chancellor said mockingly, "General things! general things! You have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament has received his blessing, not one resisting it, but one man who spoke against it. Such a unity and such a miracle has not been seen. And all those, of whom there are 160 in one house (said someone nearby, whose name I do not know), have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offenses, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be the head of the catholic church. What do you say? Are you content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will you do that?"

Rogers. — "I never did nor will dissent from the catholic church."

Ld. Chan. — "No, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that way in which we stand now in England, having received the pope as supreme head."

Rogers. — "I know no other head of his catholic church but Christ, nor will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop has, by the word of God and the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church, 400 years after Christ."

Ld. Chan. — "Why then did you acknowledge King Henry VIII to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ is the only head?"

Rogers. — "I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, such as the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Spirit, or having authority to be a judge above the word of God."

Ld. Chan. — "Indeed, if you had said so in the days of Tunstall, bishop of Durham" (and they nodded their heads at me with a laugh) "You would not have been alive now."

This I denied, and I would have told him how Christ was said and meant to be the supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business of it, that I was constrained to let it pass. There also lies no great weight upon it; for all the world knows what the meaning was. The lord chancellor also said to the lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience in having Christ as supreme head, and the bishop of Rome also. When I was ready to answer that there could not be two heads of one church, and to have

more plainly declared the vanity of his reason, the lord chancellor said, “What do you say?” Give us a direct answer whether you will be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?”

Rogers. — “My lord, I cannot believe that you yourselves think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, etc., seeing that you and all the bishops of the realm have now for twenty years preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary; and the parliament has so long ago condescended to it.” There he interrupted me thus:

Ld. Chan. — “Tush! Parliament was with great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome.”

Rogers. — “With cruelty? Why, then, I perceive that you take a wrong way when you try to persuade men’s consciences with cruelty. For it would appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used has not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?”

Ld. Chan. — “I talk to you of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament to let the act go forward; yes, and even driven to it with force, whereas in this parliament it was uniformly received.”

Here my lord Paget told me more plainly what my lord chancellor meant. I answered: “My lord, what then, will you conclude that the first parliament was of less authority, because only a few yielded to it? And this last parliament is of great authority, because more have yielded to it? It does not go, my lord, by the greater or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part.” I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me, desiring me once again to answer him. “For,” he said, “we have more to speak with than you, who must come in after you.” And so there were indeed ten persons more from Newgate, besides two who were not called. Of these ten, one was a citizen of London, who submitted to them, and nine refused. They all came back to prison, and refused the cardinal’s blessing, and the authority of his church, except that one of the nine was not asked the question, otherwise than, “Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him;” and answering, “Yes,” he was discharged. The chancellor bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm or not? I said, “No, I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, etc., and I will take it upon myself to plainly set out the matter, so that the contrary will be proved to be true; and then let any man who chooses, confer with me by writing.”

Ld. Chan. — “No that will not be permitted to you. You will never have so much offered you as you have now, if you refuse it and will not now yield and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things: mercy and justice. If you refuse the queen’s mercy now, then you will have justice administered to you.”

Rogers. — “I never offended, nor was disobedient to her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if it will be denied me to argue by writing, and to search out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. You yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome when I was a young man, twenty years past. And will you now, without confidence, have me say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded.”

Ld. Chan. — “If you will not receive the bishop of Rome as supreme head of the catholic church, then you shall never have her mercy, you may be sure of that. And as regards conference and examination, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conference and

examination with you. For St. Paul teaches me that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two admonitions, knowing that such a one is perverted and faulty, as he is condemned by his own judgment."

Rogers. — "My lord, I deny that I am a heretic; prove that first, and then allege the text."

Ld. Chan. — "If you will enter into one church with us, etc., tell us so, or else you will never have so much offered you again as you have now."

Rogers. — "I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried by that, before I receive him to be supreme head."

Worcester. — "Why, do you not know what is in your creed — 'I believe in the holy catholic church?' "

Rogers. — "I do not find the bishop of Rome there. For *catholic* does not signify the Romish church. it signifies the consent of all true teaching churches of all times and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, who teaches so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that does so? That is not possible."

Ld. Chan. — "Show me one, — let me hear one."

Rogers. — "Among so many I can easily show you one."

Ld. Chan. — "Let me hear that, let me hear that."

Rogers. — "The bishop of Rome and his church say to read and sing, and all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the fourteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians, which says, 'For he that speaks in an unknown tongue does not speak to men, but to God: for no man understands him,'" etc. 1Cor 14.2

Ld. Chan. — "I deny that, I deny that it is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that; how do you prove that?"

Rogers. — "To speak in a strange tongue, such as in Latin or Greek, etc., is not to speak to men but to God; and as you speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, you therefore speak not to men, but to God."

Ld. Chan. — "Well, then, it is in vain to men."

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Rogers. — "No, not in vain. For one man speaks in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all speak well."

Ld. Chan. — "No, I will prove, then, that he speaks neither to God nor to man, but to the wind."

I was willing to declare how these two texts I agreed (for they must agree, both being the sayings of the Holy Spirit), that is, to speak not to men but to God, and to speak to the wind. I would have gone forward with the proof of my matter, but noise and confusion arose.

Ld. Chan. — "To speak to God, and not to God, is impossible."

Rogers. — "I will prove them possible." "No," said my lord William Howard to my lord chancellor; "Now, I will bear witness that he is out of the way: for he granted first, that those who speak in a strange tongue speak to God; and now he says the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man."

Rogers. — “I have not granted nor said,” turning me I to my lord Howard, “as you report. I have alleged one text, and now I come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them agree. But as for you, you do not understand the matter.”

Ld. Howard. — “I understand thus much, that this is not possible.”

“This is a point of sophistry,” said Secretary Bourne. Then the lord chancellor told the lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, those at Halle, who before had prayed and done their service all in Dutch, began to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester. — “Yes, and at Wittenberg too.”

Rogers. — “Yes,” (but I could not be heard above the noise) “in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin.” I would have told the order, and gone forward, both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing I had taken in hand. But perceiving that their talk and noise were too great, I was glad to think this in my heart, allowing them in the meanwhile to talk, one of them one thing, and another something else. Alas! neither of these men will hear me if I speak, nor will they allow me to write. There is no remedy, except to let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said that I would make the texts agree, and prove my purpose well enough.

Ld. Chan. — “No, no, you can prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor.”

Rogers. — “No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.”

Worcester. — “All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them.”

Rogers. — “Yes, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by no other expositor.”

Worcester, — “But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that.”

Rogers. — “I believe that; and yet they were overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures.”

Here I would have declared how they should proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible; for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was glad to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor remanded me to prison again. “Away, away,” he said, “we have more persons to talk with: if you will not be reformed.” (so he termed it), “Away, away!” Then up I stood, for I had knelt all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me, “You will not burn in this cause when it comes to the purpose, I know that well.” To this I replied, “Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, that I shall.”

Then my lord of Ely told me much about the queen’s majesty’s pleasure, and set it out with fine words, saying that, “She took those who would not receive the bishop of Rome’s supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy,” etc.

I said I would not refuse her mercy, and that I had never offended her in all my life: and that I now besought her grace, and all their honors to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Diverse persons spoke at once. “No!” they cried; and especially Secretary Bourne; “A married priest, and yet he has not offended the law?”

I said I had not broken the queen’s law, nor the law of the realm: for I married when it was lawful.

Various ones at once cried, “Where was that?” thinking that it was unlawful in all places.

Rogers. — “In Holland: and if in England you had not made a public law that priests might have wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which you might be sure I would not have done if the laws of the realm had not permitted it.”

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I had come too soon. I would find a sad coming of it. Some said one thing, and some another. One said that there was never a catholic man or country that allowed a priest to have a wife.

I said, “The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man.” This I said as I was going out of the chamber, along with the sergeant who brought me there.

The bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that he did not know where that church was or is. I said, “Yes, I could tell where it was,” — but the sergeant took me out at the door.

This was the purport of all that was spoken to me, and all that I answered.

And here I would gladly give a more perfect answer to all the objections, and also a full proof of what I had taken in hand; but I was informed that I would come to further answer tomorrow. Therefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ’s true members, the true children of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation may now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield — and also of all my brethren who are in the same distress. So that I and all of them may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Savior, and the only true head of the church, who works all in us all, which is the very property of a head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do). And that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or run out of the plain field from him, in the jeopardy of the battle, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us), till we are most cruelly slain by his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray. And also if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children — whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation on the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, amen.

“The 27th of January at night.”

The Second Confession of John Rogers.

First, I was asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church along with the bishops and the whole realm, as it was now converted to the catholic church of Rome, and confirmed by parliament, and so receive the mercy proffered to me before, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with a recantation of my errors, etc.

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I answered that previously I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understand that it was the mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused, and that the rising which he spoke of was indeed a fall into error and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and do that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers, who lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered that this should not, might not — nor should it be granted to me; for I was but a private man, and should not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. "When a parliament," he said, "has concluded a thing, should any private person have authority to discuss whether they had done right or wrong? No, that cannot be."

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men could not rule the word of God, but that they all must be discussed and judged by it, and obey it; and that neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with those laws which disagree with that word. I was willing to have said much more, but the lord chancellor began a long speech to very little purpose concerning my answer — that there was nothing in me for which I should be heard, except arrogance, pride, and vainglory. I granted my ignorance was greater than I could express, or than he took it. But I declared that I did not fear to be able, by writing, to perform my word, by God's assistance and strength. Nor was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would have me; but all was of God, to whom thanks be rendered. I denied I was a proud man, or yet vainglorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogance, and vainglory was. It was a poor pride that was or is in us, God knows.

Then he said that at the first dash I condemned the queen and the whole realm as of the church of antichrist, and burdened me highly with this. I answered that the queen's majesty (God save her grace!) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said that I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Then Doctor Aldrife, the bishop of Carlisle, said that the bishops would bear him witness. "Yes," I said, "that I believe well," and the people laughed. For that day there were many there; but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let no one in but the bishops' adherents and servants. Then master comptroller and secretary Bourne would also have stood up to bear witness, and he did so.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers themselves. But I ceased to say any more in this, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they would be believed before me — yes, and before our Savior Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

Then after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament. He stood up and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of whom there were a great number, new men, of whom I knew few), and asked whether I believed that in the sacrament there was the very body and blood of our Savior Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the Cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore I was suspected by my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. "Notwithstanding, as most of your doctrine in other points is false, and its defense comes only by force and cruelty, so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand "*really* and *substantially*," to signify anything other than corporeally. But corporeally, Christ is only

in heaven, and so Christ cannot also be corporeally in your sacrament." And here I upbraided his lack of charity in this manner: "My lord," I said, "you have dealt with me most cruelly. For you have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knows, and spoke with no man. And now I have been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to support, and I never had a penny out of my livings — all of which was against the law."

He answered that Ridley, who had given them to me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

"Was the king then an usurper," I asked, "who gave Ridley the bishopric?"

"Yes," he replied; and he bcgan to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. "But yet, I misuse my terms," he said, "to call the king a usurper." But the word had proceeded from the abundance of the heart, before: and I think that he was not very sorry for it in his heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him why he put me in prison? He said it was because I preached against the queen. I answered, that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law — that no man would be able to disprove it, and I would set my life on it. I said, I preached a sermon at the cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but there was nothing said against the queen, I take all the audience to witness, which was not a few in number." I also alleged that, after examination, he had let me go at liberty after preaching that sermon.

"Yes, but you read your lectures after," he said, "against the commandment of the council."

"That I did not," I replied; "let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus you have now wronged me, against the law of God and man, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that you have a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my head, if I will not condescend to your mind. All the world understands this charity."

I would have added, if I had been allowed to speak, that it was time enough to take away men's livings, and to imprison them, after they had offended the laws; and that those were good citizens who do not break laws, and they are worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose was to keep men in prison until they made laws to catch them, and so to kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a craftily devised law, was cast into the lion's den. I would have declared that I had most humbly desired to be set at liberty, and had sent my wife to him with a supplication, when she was great with child, and with her, eight honest women (or thereabouts) to Richmond, at Christmas, while I was still in my own house.

1 wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife to him many times. And also Master Gosnold, that worthy man who has now departed in the Lord, labored for me, and so did other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he has and does seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th of January, in the afternoon, after Master Hooper had been the first, and Master Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we are struck down together, if the Lord's will so permits it. For not a hair of our

heads shall perish against His will, but only with His will. The Lord grant us to be obedient to the end, and in the end, Amen! Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, Son of David and of God. Let every true Christian say and pray, Amen! Amen!

It then being, I guessed, about four o'clock, the lord chancellor said that he and the church must yet use charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians well understand — to wit, the same that the fox has for the chickens, and the wolf for the lamb). He gave me respite till the next day, to see whether I would remember myself well, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calls his antichristian church), and repent, and they would then receive me to mercy.

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I said that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would I be; but by God's grace, I would never come into his church.

"Well," he said, "then our church is false and antichristian."

"Yes," replied I.

"And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?"

"False," I said, and cast my hands abroad.

Then someone said that I was a player (stage actor), to whom I did not answer.

"Come again tomorrow," said the lord chancellor, "between nine and ten."

"I am ready to come again, whenever you call," I replied.

And thus I was brought up by the sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, Master Hooper going before me, a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much difficulty to pass in the streets.

Thus much was done on the 28th day of January.

On the third day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and fetched by the sheriffs from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, where we were the day before. When Master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, they sent for me. Then my lord chancellor said to me:

"Rogers, here you were yesterday, and we gave you then a night to remember yourself, whether you would come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what you have determined, whether you will be repentant and sorry, and will return again and take mercy."

"My lord," I said, "I have considered right well, what you said to me yesterday, and I desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say about it; and that being done, I will answer to your demanded questions.

"When I desired yesterday that I might be allowed to defend my doctrine in writing, by the Scriptures and the authority of the first, best, and purest church" (meaning not only the primacy, but also all the doctrine that I had ever preached) "you answered me that it might not, nor should it be granted to me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons. And therefore the sentence might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet my lord," I continued, "I am able to show examples, that one man has come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some man coming in afterwards, has by the word of God declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article,

that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article determined before. And I am able to show two of these examples," I said. "I can also show the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet the heretic, lean to the determination of two former councils, of which the one supported him, and the other the heretic who disputed against him; but said that he would have the Scriptures be their judge, which was common and unbiased for them both, not favoring either of them.

"I could also show" I said, "the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitan, who says that to a simple layman who brings the word of God with him, more credit ought to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things I will prove that I should not be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ, even if every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favor agreed to it, which I doubt not a little — especially seeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yes, and that was in one of the greatest councils ever held, to which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the recent general councils of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For," I said, "if Henry VIII were alive, and were to call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing" (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by someone, whom God forgive) "then you will," (pointing to my lord chancellor), "and you, and you, and so you all" (pointing to the rest of the bishops) "say, Amen."

Here my lord chancellor would not allow me to speak more; but bade me sit down, mockingly saying, "that I was sent for, to be instructed by them, and I would take it upon myself to be *their* instructor."

"My lord," I cried, "I stand, and do not sit. Will I not be allowed to speak for my life?"

"Shall we allow you to tell a tale, and to prate?" he asked. [1] And with that he stood up, and began to face me, in his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived that I had in a way touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my argument; and so he did. For I could never be allowed to return to my vindication, not one word of it. But he had much similar communication with me as he had the day before, and as is his manner, with taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, this being God's cause, I told him that he should not make me afraid to speak.

Lord Chancellor. — "See what a spirit this fellow has," he said, "finding fault at my accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking."

Rogers. — "I have a true spirit," I replied, "agreeing with and obeying the word of God," and I would further have said that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in matters of my Master, Christ; but I could not be heard. At length he proceeded towards the excommunication and condemnation, after I told him that his church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, maintaining them by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, now in England, are the chief members.) "Of late, I mean, and not all men and women who are in the pope's church." Likewise, when I was said to have denied their sacrament (which he made his usual reverent

[1] *Prate*: To talk much and to little purpose.

mention of, more to maintain his kingdom than for true reverence of Christ's institution — more for his own and his popish generation's sake, than for religion or God's sake) I told him in what context I spoke of it (for the manner of his speaking did not apply to my words, which were recited before in the communication that we had on the 28th of January). He was not content with this, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did say, what he chose; for most of them were his own servants on that day, the 29th of January I mean. At last I said, "I will never deny what I said — that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you in what context I said it."

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning in it only two articles: first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church is the church of antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity. And so he gave me over into the sheriffs hands, which were much better than his.

The Sentence condemnatory against John Rogers.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favor by authority and virtue of our office, against you, John Rogers priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation, weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things observed,

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"which ought to be observed by us in behalf of the order of law, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ first being called upon, and having only God before our eyes, because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by your own confession judicially made before us, we find that you have taught, held, and affirmed, and obstinately defended diverse errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, such as namely these:

"That the catholic church of Rome is the church of antichrist; also, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ. These aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions being contrary to the law of God, and the determination of the universal and apostolical church, you have arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us in this judgment, as well as otherwise, and with the same obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, you have affirmed both wittingly and willingly, that you will believe, maintain, hold, affirm and declare the same. We therefore — Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid — by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren, the lord bishops here present and assistant, as well as by the counsel and judgment of diverse worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity with whom we have communicated in this behalf, declare and pronounce you, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through your demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and willfulness (which you have incurred through manifold ways, by your own wicked and stubborn obstinacy) to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offenses of heretical pravity, and execrable doctrine; and that you have before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still maintain, affirm, and believe the same, and that you have been and are lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf. We therefore, I say, though following the example of Christ, who does not desires the death of a sinner, but rather

that he should be converted and live; we have gone about oftentimes to correct you, and by all lawful means that we could, and by all wholesome admonitions that we knew, to reduce you again to the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church — notwithstanding, we have found you obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in your damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again to the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness, to have so hardened your heart, that you will not understand the voice of your shepherd, which with a fatherly affection seeks after you, nor will you be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions. We, therefore, Stephen, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that you who are wicked, should now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with your heresy, which we are greatly afraid of, with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart judge you and definitively condemn you, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, your demerits and faults being aggravated through your damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church, and that you have been and are by law excommunicated, and we pronounce and declare you to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare you, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left to the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so leave you as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be worthily degraded for your demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the compassion of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment to be done worthily upon you, may be so moderated, that the rigor of it is not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it be to the salvation of your soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith), by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against you, and with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid."

After this sentence had been read, he sent us (I mean Master Hooper and me) to the Clink (prison), there to remain till night. And when it was dark, they carried us, Master Hooper going before with one sheriff, and I following with the other, with bills and weapons. They led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's church-yard, into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate through the city. But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and that it was a dangerous matter to eat and drink with us who were accursed, or to give us anything; for all who did so, would be partakers of the same great curse.

"Well, my lord," I said, "here I stand before God and you, and all this honorable audience. I take Him to witness that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore I have a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a judge who is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you. And I do not doubt at all, that there I shall be found a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, you do not need to excommunicate me from it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked for that. But now that you have done what you can, my lord, I pray you grant me yet one thing."

"What is that?" he asked.

"That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she has ten children that are hers and mine, and I would somewhat counsel her, what would be best for her to do."

"No," he said, "she is not your wife."

"Yes, my lord," I rejoined, "and she has been these eighteen years."

"Should I grant her to be your wife?" he asked.

"Choose whether you will or not," I said, "she shall be so nevertheless."

"She shall not come to you," he said.

"Then I have tried out all your charity," I said, "You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open concubinage — as in Wales, where every priest has his concubine openly dwelling with him, even as your holy father allows all the priests in Holland and France to do the same." To this he did not answer, but looked asquint at it, as it were. And thus I departed, and saw him for the last time.

After John Rogers had been long imprisoned, lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by wicked Winchester, on the 4th of February 1555, being a Monday, in the morning, he was warned suddenly by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself for the fire. Being sound asleep, he could scarcely be awakened. At length being awake, and bid to make haste, he said, "then if it is so, I need not tie my points." And so he was taken first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved from Bonner one petition. And Bonner asking what that would be, he said, "Nothing that he might talk a few words with his wife before his burning." But that could not be obtained from him! Now when the time came, having been delivered to the sheriffs, he was brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution. Master Woodroofe, one of the sheriffs, calling Master Rogers to him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," said Master Woodroofe, "You are a heretic." "That shall be known," replied Rogers, "at the day of judgment." "Well," said Master Woodroofe, "I will never pray for you." "But I will pray for you," rejoined Rogers.

[719] A.D. 1555.

And so on Monday, the 4th of February, he was brought by the sheriffs, towards Smithfield, repeating the 51st psalm along the way,[2] all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for it. And there, in the presence of Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burned to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would recant; but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time at the fire. His wife and children, eleven in number, ten able to walk, and one sucking on her breast, met him along the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could not move him, but he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defense of Christ's gospel.

The History and Martyrdom of Lawrence Sanders.

The History and Martyrdom of Lawrence Sanders,
burned for the defense of the Gospel, at Coventry,
February 8, A.D. 1855

After Queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had prohibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, several godly ministers of the word, who had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, notwithstanding, and according to their bounden

[2] Psa 51.1, "Have mercy upon me, O God, According to Your lovingkindness; According to the multitude of Your tender mercies Blot out my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, And cleanse me from my sin…"

duty,[3] fed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward, but as the private pastors of particular flocks, among whom Lawrence Sanders was one, a man of honorable parentage. His bringing up was in the school of Eton; from where he was chosen to go to the King's College in Cambridge. There he continued scholar of the college three whole years. Shortly after, he forsook the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he intended to become a merchant — for his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brothers, she thought to set him up wealthily. And so, coming up to London, he was bound apprentice to a merchant, named Sir William Chester. But Almighty God, who has his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant. For the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that Lawrence could find no liking in that vocation.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing in Lawrence's private prayers, that he inwardly mourned his apprenticeship, called Lawrence to himself, to know what was the cause of his solitariness and lamentation. Perceiving his mind not to fancy that kind of life (for so Sanders declared to him), and that his whole purpose was bent toward the study of his book and spiritual contemplation, like a good man, Chester directed his letters to his friends, and set Lawrence free. And thus Lawrence Sanders, being delighted with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, shortly returned to Cambridge and to his study. Then he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures, to qualify himself for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when God's true religion had begun to be restored, Lawrence began to preach. He was so well liked by those who had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where he edified the godly, drew many to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and led an unblameable life before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield, where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that even the adversaries gave him a full report of his learning as well as much godliness. After a time, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Churchlangton, where he taught diligently. Then he was called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows, in Bread-street. Then he resolved to give up his cure in the country. And therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, to discharge himself from it. About that time the broil began about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown; and because of this, he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this disturbance, he preached at Northampton, not meddling with the state, but he boldly spoke his conscience against popish doctrine and antichrist's damnable errors, which were likely to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation bore toward the blessed word of God. The queen's men who were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon; and for that they kept him among them as a prisoner. But partly for the love his brethren and friends felt towards him, who were the chief doers for the queen among them, and partly because no law was broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. Seeing the dreadful days at hand, and inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, Sanders preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him, seeing that he could resign neither of them now, except into the hand of a papist.

[3] *Bounden*: morally obligatory.

Thus he passed to and fro preaching, until that proclamation was published, which was mentioned in the beginning. At this time he was at his benefice in the country, where (notwithstanding this proclamation) he taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people in it, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but he was also resisted with force, so that he could not proceed in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing that he was kept by violence from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock of which he had charge there.

On Saturday, the 14th of October, as he was coming to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a counsellor to Queen Mary, overtook him and asked him where he was going. "I have," said Sanders, "a cure in London, and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," said Master Mordant, "let them alone, and do not go to them." To this Sanders answered, "How then shall I be discharged before God, if any are sick and desire consolation, if any lack good counsel and need instruction, or if any were to slip into error and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," said Mordant, "preach on such a day (naming the day) in Bread-street in London?" "Yes, truly," said Sanders, "that same place is my cure." "I heard you myself," said Master Mordant. "And will you now preach there again?" "If it please you," said Sanders, "tomorrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatever I taught them before that time."

"I would counsel you," said Master Mordant, "not to preach." Sanders said, "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then I must obey." "No," replied Master Mordant, "I will not forbid you; but I do give you counsel." And thus they both entered the city, and departed from each other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to warn Bonner, bishop of London, that Sanders would preach in his cure the next day. Sanders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent on doing his duty. There, because he seemed somewhat troubled, one of those around him asked how he was doing. "Indeed," he said, "I am in prison, till I am in prison;" meaning that his mind was unquiet until he had preached, and that he desired to have quietness of mind, even if he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday, in the forenoon, he gave a sermon in his parish, treating that place which St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, 2Cor 11.2, "I have betrothed you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds might be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." He recited that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive from him free justification through faith in his blood.

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The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving; and lest they be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the popish serpent. He descended to a more particular declaration of it, as it were, to let them plainly see the difference between the order of the church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and the popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God (1Cor 14) and the order of the primitive church. The other he said was evil; and even though some good Latin words are intermingled in that evil, yet it was like a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink it all. This was the sum of his sermon.

In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and noncompliance, to immediately come to the bishop his master. Thus, just as the apostles were brought out of the temple where they were teaching, to the rulers of the priests, so Lawrence Sanders was brought before this bishop who had in his company the aforenamed Sir John Mordant and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no less to Lawrence Sanders's charge, than treason for breaking the queen's proclamation, and heresy and sedition for his sermon.

After much talk, the bishop desired him to write what he believed about transubstantiation. Lawrence Sanders did so, saying, "My lord, you seek my blood, and you shall have it: I pray God that you may be so baptized in it, that you may thereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a better man." The bishop kept this writing for his purpose, even to cut the writer's throat, as it will appear hereafter. The bishop sent Lawrence Sanders to the lord chancellor, just as Annas had sent Christ to Caiaphas; and Sanders found like favor, as Christ his Master had found before him. But the chancellor not being at home, Sanders was constrained to wait for him in the outer chamber for four hours. There he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with others of the same family or house, who were occupied there in the same exercise.

All this time Sanders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed. Sir John Mordant, his guide or leader, walked up and down by him; he was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court. As soon as he entered, he met and received a great many suitors; so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour had passed. At last he came into the chamber where Sanders was, and went through into another chamber where, as he passed by, Sanders' leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation against Sanders. When the bishop had perused it he asked, "Where is the man?" Then Sanders, being brought to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made curtesy before the table where the bishop sat. The bishop spoke to him in this manner:

"How does it happen that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have continued to preach?"

Sanders did not deny that he had preached, saying that because he saw the perilous times now at hand, he only exhorted his flock and parishioners (as he was admonished and warned by Ezekiel the prophet) to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned. He also said that he was moved and pricked forward to it by that place of the apostle, in which he was commanded to obey God rather than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him to this than his own conscience.

"A goodly conscience, surely!" said the bishop. "Your conscience would make our queen a bastard or misbegotten, would it not, I pray you?"

Then Sanders said, "We do not declare or say that the queen is base, or misbegotten, nor go about any such matter. But let those take care whose writings are still in the hands of men, witnessing to the same." He was taunting the bishop himself who, to get the favor of Henry VIII, had written a book on true obedience, in which he had openly declared Queen Mary to be illegitimate. Then Master Sanders going forwards in his purpose said, "We only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word which, although we are now forbidden to preach it with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt that our blood shall manifest it hereafter." The bishop being touched, said, "Carry away this frenzied fool to prison."

Sanders answered that he gave God thanks who had given him at last "a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion."

Sanders continued in prison a whole year and three months. During that time he sent letters to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; to his wife, and also to others, certifying to them both the public calamity of the times, and also of his private afflictions, and of his conflicts with his adversaries. In writing to his friends, he speaks of Weston conferring with him in prison. The chancellor sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea. We will now see what Sanders himself wrote about his cause and estate.

Part of a Letter of Lawrence Sanders, sent to the Bishop of Winchester.

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, because at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, the service as it was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable to my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did (he means the public teaching of God's word in his own parish, called Allhallows, in Bread-street, in the city of London) "was such that, being fairly weighed, sounded no breaking of the proclamation, or at the least no willful breaking of it, because I caused no bell to be rung, nor did I occupy any place in the pulpit according to the order of sermons or lectures. But if I did break the proclamation, surely this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

"Touching charging me with my religion, I say with St. Paul, Act 24.14-16, 'This I confess to you, that according to the way which they call heresy, so I worship the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets. And I have hope towards God ... And in this I study to always have a clear conscience towards God and men;" So that I call God to witness that I have a clear conscience; and my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible truth of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable to the same.

"It is an easy thing for those who take Christ for their true pastor, and are the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers. For as Christ says, 'My sheep hear my voice;' yes, and thereby they will have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him and avoid the contrary. As he also says, 'The sheep follow the Shepherd; for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him; for they do not know not the voice of a stranger.' Joh 10.4-5 The Holy Spirit puts such inward inspiration into the children of God, indeed being taught by God, who are otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. Although the wolf (as Christ says) comes in sheep's clothing, yet 'by their fruits you will know them.' Mat 7.15-16 For there are certain fruits by which the wolf is betrayed, notwithstanding that otherwise he seems ever so simple a sheep, in outward show, in various parts of devout holiness. It is apparent that the Romish religion is ravenish and wolfish, in three principal points:

"First, it robs God of his true and only honor.

"Secondly, it takes away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather in burying Christ and his office of salvation.

[721] A.D. 1555.

"Thirdly, it spoils God of his true worship and service in spirit and in truth, appointed in his written commandments, and it drives men to that inconvenience, against which Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, speaks sharply: 'This people honors me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.' Isa 29.13 'In vain they worship me, 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of

men.' Mat 15.8-9 And in another place, 'You reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition.' Mar 7.9

"Therefore, weighing the Romish religion in my conscience, and by impartially discussing it, finding its foundation unsteadfast and the building but in vain — and on the other side, having my conscience framed according to a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church, I neither may nor do intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from it — no, not even if an angel out of heaven were to preach another gospel than what I have received from the Lord." Gal 1.8

The above will enable us to understand how good was the cause and the state of mind of this blessed child of God, now suffering imprisonment for the cause of Christ, and for the defense of which he wholly resigned himself, so that he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery. And when other friends of his had almost obtained it by suit, he discouraged them, as it may appear by his letter set forth here:

A Letter of Lawrence Sanders to his Wife.

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord, entirely beloved wife, even as to my own soul and body, so I wish to you daily in my hearty prayer, for I daily remember you, twice at least, in this way. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we are written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly devote ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and may that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honor him either way as pleases him, Amen. I am happy, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Therefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our arms and weapons should be in this kind of fight, look into the 6th chapter to the Ephesians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any way. Thank, you know whom, for most sweetly and comfortably putting me in remembrance of my journey, to where I am passing. God send us all good speed, and joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all. Amen. A prisoner in the Lord," — L. SANDERS."

This constancy of his is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant confronting of two mighty enemies, antichrist and death. He gave way to neither of these, but by suffering their malice, he got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter in his own handwriting. It was with Doctor Weston., Sanders writes of this in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who had written to him to know what Doctor Weston did at the Marshalsea.

"Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he has concluded with him I do not know. I wish it may be to God's glory. Amen, Amen. Master Weston out of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly and wily way, etc. I did not have such good manners as to receive it at his hands; for I said that I was well enough, and ready to cheerfully abide the extremity, thereby to keep a good conscience.

"'You are asleep in sin,' he said. 'I would awake,' I replied, 'and not forget to watch and pray.' 'What church was there thirty years past?' 'What church,' I rejoined, 'was there in Helias' time?' He said, 'Joan of Kent was of your church.' 'No,' I said, 'we condemned her as a heretic.'

"'Who then was of your church,' he asked, 'thirty years past?' 'Those,' I replied, 'who the Romish antichrist and his rabble have reputed and condemned as heretics.' 'Wycliffe,' he said, 'Thorp, Oldcastle, etc.' 'Yes,' I said, 'with many more, as histories tell.'

"'The bishop of Rome,' he said, 'has for a long time played a part in your railing sermons: but now, you may be sure, he will play another part.' 'The more pity,' I replied, 'and yet it is some comfort to see how the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have up to now had him play a part likewise in your sermons and writings, though now, to please the world, you turn with the weather-cock.' 'Did you ever,' he asked, 'hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?' 'No,' I replied, 'for I never heard you preach. But I know you have been no wiser than others,' etc., with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it."

What a blessed taste this good man has of God's Holy Spirit may appear by his letters.

"To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, now imprisoned in Oxford.

"In my most humble way I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord. Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given to the Father of mercies, 'who has made us fit to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light; who has delivered us from the power of darkness, and has transferred us into the kingdom of his dear Son; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.' Col 1.12-14 O most happy estate, that in an unspeakable manner our life is hid with Christ in God. But whenever Christ, who is our life, shows himself, then we will also appear with him in glory. Col 3.4 In the mean season, as our sight is only as in a mirror, even in a dark saying, so we walk in faith, not in outward appearance. This faith, though reason reputes it as but vain, for lack of outward appearance, yet the chosen of God know its effect: to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of true felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yes even those 'which the eye has not seen, and the ear has not heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man,' etc. 1Cor 2.9 Then, if hereby we enjoy all good things, it follows that we must possess, have, and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who are no small part of the joy and good things given to us by God. We have up to now had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit, praise be to our most gracious God therefore. And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods, for in this so glorious way you become a town set on a hill, a candle on a lampstand, a spectacle to the world, both to the angels and to men. So that, as we feel to our great comfort, you also may assuredly say with St. Paul, that the things which happen to us, fall out to the furtherance of the gospel. So that our bonds in Christ are manifest not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all Europe; insofar that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly to speak the word without fear. And in this, just as with St. Paul you have greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed give thanks with you for this worthy excellent favor of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you. Yes, and hereafter it shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it is through life or death. We are truly assured of this in our prayers for you, and by the ministering of the Spirit. And though for our own parts, Christ is an advantage to you in life and death, and seeing that your desire is (as indeed it would be better for you) to be loosed, and to be with Christ, yet for the church of Christ it would be much more needful that you remain in the flesh. Phi 1.23-24

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"Yes, that merciful God, even for his Christ's sake, grant that you may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and the rejoicing of faith, so that rejoicing for this may be more abundant through Christ by your restoring. Amen, Amen.

"But if it seems otherwise better to the divine wisdom, that by speedy death he has appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done! Yes, even as we rejoice both on your behalf, and also on our own behalf, that God is magnified by life, and might be more abundantly glad for the continuance of it, so we will no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We will give thanks for this honor given to you, rejoicing that you are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that 'it is given to you by God, not only that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer for his sake.' Phi 1.29 And in this we will have to rejoice in behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be faster fixed upon God's truth, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

"And now most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth about us, and our estate, how we stand in the Lord. I assure your reverences, partly by what I perceive by those of your brethren who are here in bonds with me, partly by what I hear from those who are in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I most unworthily have from God's good comfort (of which I know there is more abundance in others), you may be assured (I say) by God's grace, that you will not he frustrated of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting truth. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, believing in this, we are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, (which spirit certifies our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father). Rom 8.16 So after such a portion as God measures to us, we with the whole church of Christ, and with you reverend fathers, receiving the same spirit of faith, as it is written, 'I believed, and therefore I have spoken,' we also believe, and therefore speak. For which we, in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, have even such a sight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no way afraid of our adversaries.

"And because we have such an office, even as God has had mercy on us, we do not go out of kind, but even with you, according to our little power, we labor to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly that though 'we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us;' yet we shall not be dashed in pieces. For the Lord will put his hand under us, as St. Paul says in his second epistle to the Corinthians. 'We are troubled on every side, yet not depressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.' (2Cor 4.7-10) But to commune with our sweet Savior Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed to us, that even with Him we shall also be glorified. For it is a true saying; 'If we died with him, we shall also live with him; If we suffer, we shall also reign with him: If we deny him, he will also deny us.' 2Tim 2.11-12 Therefore we are of good cheer, 'Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus also might be made manifest in our body:' 2Cor 4.10 'Knowing that He who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you... For this cause we do not faint; but even though our outward man perishes, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, while we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen — for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.' 2Cor 4.14-18

"We testify to you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Savior. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks to the Lord out of the wells of Israel. We trust to be happy together at that great supper of the Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and to sing there that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yes, come, Lord Jesus. Rev 22.20 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen."

Here we add another letter, written to his wife, in which it is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself for the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ's camp.

Lawrence Sanders to his Wife,

"Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults, Amen.

"Gladly would this flesh make strange, that which the spirit embraces. Oh! Lord, how loath is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God's path! Were it not for the force of faith which pulls it forward by the rein of God's most sweet promise, and of hope which pricks on behind, there would be a great chance of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours who in his Christ, our sufficient Savior, has granted to shine in our hearts, such that he gives us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. And 'having this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.' 'We are (according to his good will) 'troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.' Therefore by the grace of our Christ we shall not be wearied, nor be dismayed by this, our probation through the fire of affliction, 'as though some strange thing had happened to us.' But by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's passion, so that when he does appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that 'our light affliction, which is but for a moment, works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.' 'Those who sow in tears shall reap in joy. He who goes forth and weeps, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.' Then, then the Lord shall wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then shall be brought to pass that saying which is written; 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory?' 'But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"In the meantime it remains for us to follow St. Peter's bidding; 'Let those,' he says, 'who suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to Him in doing good, as to a faithful Creator.' He is our Maker; we are his handy-work and creatures, whom now when He has made us, He does not leave and forsake, as the shipwright does the ship, leaving it at all risks to be tossed in the tempest. But he comforts us his creatures, and in Him we live, move, and have our being. Yes, and not only that, but now in Christ he has repaid us, being utterly decayed before. He has redeemed us, purging us for himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son. He has put on a most tender good will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us. By such promises to us, He has plighted such faith that even if it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet it may not be that His faithful believers should be forgotten by Him. He bids us to cast our cares on him, and he says that assuredly he cares for us. And what if for a season He allows us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and it seems like in much anger he has given us over, and forgotten us?

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"Let us not for all that, abandon putting our trust in Him. But let us with godly Job conclude in ourselves and say, 'Even though He slay me, yet I will put my trust in Him.' Let us with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto our loving Lord, who though for our probation he allows us to be afflicted, yet 'He will not always chide; nor will he keep his anger forever. For he knows our frame: he remembers that we are dust.' Therefore, 'As the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward those who fear him. As far as

the east is from the west, so far has he removed our transgressions from us. Like a father pities his children, so the Lord pities those who fear him.' Oh! what great cause for rejoicing we have in our most gracious God! We cannot help but burst forth in praising such a bountiful benefactor, and say with the same Psalmist; 'Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.'

"Dear wife, I have no riches to leave behind me, with which to endow you in the worldly manner. But that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is to hungry consciences (of which I thank my Christ, I feel in part, and would feel more), that I bequeath to you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain these always in sense of heart. Pray, pray. I am happy, and I trust I shall be, in spite of the teeth of all the powers of hell. I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself to my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he sees needful. Pray, pray, pray!

"LAWRENCE SANDERS."

And now, to come to the examination of this good man, after the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, to be examined openly. The effect and purport of this examination was as follows:

The Examination of Lawrence Sanders
(as he recorded it).

Praised be our gracious God, who preserves His from evil, and gives them grace to avoid all such offenses as might hinder his honor, or hurt his church, Amen.

Being brought before the queen's most honorable council, and sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak as follows:

Lord Chancellor. — "It is not unknown that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as has been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be shown to those who seek it. Therefore, if you will now show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we all have fallen, but now have risen again, and returned to the Catholic church. You must rise with us, and come home to it. Give us immediately a direct answer."

Sanders. — "My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honors to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

Ld. Chan. — "Leave your painting and pride of speech; for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yes, or no."

Sanders. — "My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me, my learning I confess to be but small. And as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, I am ready to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils are likely to fall upon me: the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of my body and life. And I tell you in truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

Ld. Chan. — "Conscience! You have none at all, but pride and arrogance."

Sanders. — "The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And where your lordship lays to my charge this dividing of myself from the church, I assure you, that I live in the faith in which I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old; being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped. Yes, this I have received even at your hands who are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

Ld. Chan. — "Yes, but I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Sanders. — "My lord, it is a lesser offense to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live even if he lacks an arm, hand, or joint; but he cannot without his head. But you, the whole sort of you, had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you would have to be the head of the church again."

Bp. of Lond. — "I have his hand-writing against the blessed sacrament. What do you say to that?"

Sanders. — "What I have written, that I have written; and further, I will not accuse myself. You have nothing to burden me with, for breaking your laws since they were in force."

Ld. Chan. — "Well, you *are* obstinate, and you refuse liberty."

Sanders. — "My lord, I cannot buy liberty at such a price. But I beseech your honors to be a means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we will live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise I must say for myself, that by God's grace, I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience."

Ld. Chan. — "Ah sir, you will live as you wish. The Donatists desired to live in singularity; but they were not fit to live on earth: No more are you, and you shall understand that within these seven days; and therefore away with him!"

Sanders. — "I welcome it, whatever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry out. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honors. Amen."

This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, etc.

This examination having ended, the officers led him out of the place, until the rest of his fellows were likewise disposed of, so that they might convey all of them together to prison. Sanders standing among the officers, and seeing a great multitude of people there, opened his mouth and spoke freely, warning them all of that which they deserved by their falling from Christ to antichrist, and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil. So they would retain the Lord's favor and blessing.

After he was excommunicated and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to prison.

On the 4th of February, the bishop of London came to the prison where he was, to degrade him. When he had done this, Sanders said to him, "I thank God I am not of your church."

On the following morning, the sheriff of London, delivered him to the queen's guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry to be burned.

After they had come to Coventry, a poor shoemaker came to him and said; "O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you." "Good shoemaker," cried Master Sanders, "pray for me; for I am the unfittest man for this high office, who was ever appointed to it. But my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common jail among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer and instructing others.

On the next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park outside the city. He went in an old gown and shirt, and barefoot; he often fell flat on the ground and prayed.

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When he had come near to the place, the officer who was appointed to see the execution done, said that he was one of those who marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "Therefore you have deserved death," he said; "Yet, if you will revoke your heresies, the queen has pardoned you; if not, yonder fire is prepared for you." Sanders answered him, "It is not I, nor my fellow preachers of God's truth, who have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and those like you, who have always resisted God's holy word. It is you who have and still mar the queen's realm. I hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ. What I hold, that I believe, that I have taught, and that I will never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him!" And away from him went Master Sanders, with courage toward the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed. And when he rose up again, he took the stake to which he was to be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life." And being fastened to the stake, and the fire put to him, he sweetly slept in the Lord.

And thus have you the full history of Lawrence Sanders, whom I may well compare to any of the old martyrs of Christ's church. This is both for his fervent zeal for the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, and also for the cruel torments that he sustained in the flame of fire. For his cruel enemies so treated him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering rather than burning fuel. This put him to much more pain. But that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsakes his servants, gave patience above all that his torments could work.

This blessed man of God, when in prison, did not pass his time in unfruitful idleness, but from time to time edified his friends, and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. We insert three of these here.

Two letters from Lawrence Sanders to his Wife after his condemnation, written on the last day of January, A.D. 1555, out of the Compter in Bread-street.

"The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Spirit, to the keeping of the faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you forever as a vessel to God's glory, Amen.

"Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his immeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I, a most unworthy wretch, cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious and good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all — just as for my other many sins, so especially for that sin of my unthankfulness — crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

"To number these mercies in particular, would be to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, or the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and you, the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say rejoice with thanksgiving for my present probation, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life and my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips bearing witness to His truth, but also to seal the same by my blood, to the glory of my God, and the confirming of his true church. And yet I testify to you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ drives from my mind the fear of death. But if my dear husband Christ, for my trial, leaves me a little to myself alone, alas, I know in what case I will then be. But if for my proof, he does so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stands behind the wall and hides himself (as Solomon says in his mystical song), yet he will peep in by a crevice to see how I am doing. Sol 2.9 He is a very tender-hearted Joseph; though he speaks roughly to his brothers, and handles them harshly — yes, even threatening grievous bondage to his best beloved brother Benjamin — yet he cannot contain himself from weeping with us and upon us,

with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ to all. Therefore hasten to go to him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yes, this is what our Joseph has obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall afford chariots to us, in which we may be carried at ease to come to him — experiencing how our very adversaries help us to our everlasting bliss by their speedy dispatch — yes, and how all things have been helping toward this; blessed be our God! Do not be afraid of terrors which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire; fear the serpent which has that deadly sting of which those who are not grafted in Christ, shall be brought to taste by bodily death, lacking faith and good conscience, and who are not acquainted with Christ, the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, whom God has delivered from the power of darkness, and has transferred us into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ — His wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption — I say, we have to triumph against the terribly spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ our bronze serpent has pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, boldly triumph. And with our Christ, and all his elect, we say, 'O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory? But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Therefore be happy, my dear wife; and all my dear fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope; be patient in tribulation; continue in prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be a fit offering and an acceptable sacrifice to our heavenly Father. I can hardly write to you. Therefore, let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you and all those who love us in the faith; and namely, to my flock, among whom I am resident by God's providence, as but a prisoner.

"And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet God now preaches to them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity, which now I suffer among them for the sake of Christ's gospel, bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom, requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor — who, though he is unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high pastor is to be regarded, whose truth has been taught to them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high pastor. Do not be full of care, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me to him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; even at the stake, I will offer myself to God. Fare all of you well in Christ, in the hope of being joined with you in joy everlasting. This hope is put up in my bosom, Amen, Amen, Amen! Pray, pray."

Another Letter to his Wife,

"Grace and comfort, etc. Wife, you would do best not to come often to the grate where the porter may see you. Do not put yourself in danger where it is not needed. You will, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which (dear wife) I trust you do not hesitate to reckon and count upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer. For these two things are the very means to be made members of our Christ, fit to inherit his kingdom.

"Do this, dear wife, in earnest, not abandoning this; and so we two, with our Christ and all his chosen children, shall enjoy the blessed world in that everlasting immortality — whereas here nothing else will be found but extreme misery, even by those who most greedily seek this world's wealth.

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"And so, if we continue as God's children grafted in our Christ, the same blessing of God which we receive will also settle upon our Samuel. Though we shortly depart from here and leave (it seems) the poor infant at all risks, yet he will have our gracious God to be his God; for so He has said, and He cannot lie: 'I will be your God,' he says, 'and the God of your seed.' Gen 17.7 Yes, if you leave him in the wilderness destitute of all help, being called by God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience — that God who heard the cry of the poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah's hand-maiden, and succored it, will do the same for your child, or any others who fear Him, and who put their trust in Him.

"And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it and also of any other good grace which is needful for us. And be joyful in God, in whom I am also very joyful. O Lord, what great cause for rejoicing we have, to think upon that kingdom which he granted for Jesus Christ's sake to freely give us, forsaking ourselves and following him! Dear wife, this is truly to follow him: even to take up our cross and follow him. And then, as we suffer with him, so shall we shortly reign with him everlastingly. Amen."

Letter to Messrs. Robert and John Glover,
written the same morning that he was burnt.

"Grace and consolation in our sweet Savior Christ. Oh my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved by you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, who am now ready to go up to my inheritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy of. But my dear Christ is worthy, who has purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come to me, that we may be merry with that joy which no man shall take from us. O wretched sinner that I am, not thankful to this my Father, who has granted me worthy to be a vessel to his honor. But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a heart not circumcised enough. Salute my good sisters your wives; and good sisters, fear the Lord. Salute all others who love us in the truth. God's blessing be with you always. Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice, O my Christ, help, or else I perish.

"LAWRENCE SANDERS."

The History and Martyrdom of John Hooper

The Life and Martyrdom of John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester,
burnt for the defense of the gospel, at Gloucester, Feb. 9, 1555.

John Hooper, a student and graduate in the University of Oxford, through God's secret calling, was stirred with a fervent desire, to the love and knowledge the Scriptures. In reading and searching them, just as diligence joined with earnest prayer was not lacking in him, so neither did the grace of the Holy Ghost fail to satisfy his desire, and to open to him the light of true divinity.

Thus Master Hooper grew more and more, by God's grace, in the ripeness of spiritual understanding. He showed some signs of his fervent spirit, about the time of the beginning of the Six Articles, in the reign of King Henry VIII. He soon fell under the displeasure and hatred of certain scholars in Oxford, who began to stir up strife against him. By this, and especially by the procurement of Doctor Smith,[4] he was compelled to leave the university. And so removing from there, he was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there he was his steward till Sir Thomas, receiving intelligence of Hooper's opinions (which he did not favor) sent a private message about him to the bishop of Winchester.

[4] Doctor Smith was then reader of the divinity lecture, a senior academic (see pp. 596, 691).

Winchester, after long conference with Master Hooper, over four or five days, when he perceived that he could not do what he thought to him, sent Hooper home, commending his learning and knowledge, yet bearing in his breast a bad feeling against Master Hooper. It followed not long after this, as malice always works mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger was working against him. Upon which, Hooper left Arundel's house. Borrowing a horse from a friend (whose life he had saved from the gallows a little before) took his journey to the sea-coast to go to France. He sent back the horse by someone who did not deliver it to the owner. Hooper being at Paris, did not tarry there long, but in a short time returned to England, and was retained by Master Sentlow, till he was again molested. He was compelled (under the pretense of being captain of a ship going to Ireland) to take to sea; and so he escaped through France to the higher parts of Germany. When there, he made acquaintance with learned men. He was friendly and lovingly entertained by them, both at Basel, and especially at Zurich, by his particular friend, Master Bullinger. There also he married his wife, and applied himself very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the Six Articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest for the gospel. Hooper, along with many other English exiles, prepared to return homeward, so that they might help forward the Lord's work to the uttermost of their ability. And so coming to Master Bullinger, and others of his acquaintance in Zurich, he thanked them for their kindness and humanity toward him, and took his leave of them.

When Master Hooper had taken his farewell from Master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he repaired to England. Coming to London, he continually preached at least once every day, and generally twice.

In his sermons, according to his manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people and companies came daily in great flocks to hear his voice; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides his other gifts and qualities, this is to be marvelled in him, that even as he began, so he continued to his life's end. For his labor and pains-taking could not break him, nor promotion change him, nor dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander could fasten any fault upon him (although various men went about to reprove his conduct). He was of a strong body, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatever sinister fortune and adversity could do to him. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In house-keeping he was very liberal, and sometimes freer than his living would extend to. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required in a good bishop by St. Paul, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one that was lacking in this good bishop. He always bore in his countenance and talk, a certain severe and grave grace, which might perhaps be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular in him; but he knew best what he had to do himself.

After he had thus practiced himself in this popular and common kind of preaching, at length, and not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty. Soon after he was made bishop of Gloucester by the king's command. He continued in that office two years, and behaved himself so well, that even his enemies could find no

fault with him (unless it was for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin). Afterwards he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with other such trifles, began to disturb the good beginning of the godly bishop.

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For notwithstanding the godly reformation of religion that began in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops usually did: first a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, because he could never abide them, so in no way could he be persuaded to wear them. For this reason he petitioned the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders. The king granted his petition immediately, permitting him to dispense with such ceremony.

But notwithstanding this grant of the king, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defense of these ceremonies, saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves. They added, moreover, that Hooper should not be so stubborn in so slight a matter, and that his willfulness was not to be endured.

To be short, while both parties thus contended about this matter more than they should, occasion was given to true Christians to lament, and to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was glad to agree to this condition, that sometimes he would during his sermon, show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Therefore, being appointed to preach before the king, he came apparelled as desired.

Hooper, after all these vexations about his vestures, at length entered into his diocese. There he employed his time under King Edward's reign, with such diligence as may be an example to all bishops who will ever after succeed him, not only in that place, but in every diocese throughout the realm of England. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation. Other men commonly aspire to bishoprics for lucre or promotion's sake. Some hunt for them, and some purchase or buy them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them, they are loath to leave them.

Hooper was very different from this sort of men. He abhorred nothing more than gain, laboring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. Being bishop of two dioceses, he so ruled and guided each of them, and both together, as though he had in his charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied than he was in his diocese among his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people.

Everywhere he kept one religion and one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner of it there was some savor of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could be heard there.

As for the revenues of his bishoprics, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. I was twice in his house in Worcester, as I remember, where in his common hall I saw a table spread with good store of food, and beset full of beggars and poor folk. Asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the city in turns, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome foods. And when they were served (being previously examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and the ten commandments) he then sat down to dinner himself, and not before.

In this manner Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, for the space of two years and more, so long as religion safely flourished in King Edward's time. And I would to God that all other bishops would use the same diligence, care, and observance in their function. After this, King Edward being dead and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first who was sent for to come to London. On the 19th of March 1554, he was called before the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Landaff, Chichester, and others of the queen's commissioners. Not being permitted to plead his cause, he was then deprived of his bishoprics. In what order this was done may be seen by the report of someone, who being present, committed it to writing.

"At Master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married?

"Hooper. — 'Yes, my lord, and I will not be unmarried, till death unmarries me.'

"Durham. — 'That is cause enough to deprive you.'

"Hooper. — 'That it is not, my lord, unless you act against the law.'

"The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for some time; but the commissioners, and some who stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gestures as were unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, called Hooper a 'hypocrite,' with vehement words and scornful countenance. Tunstall called him a 'beast,' so did Smith, one of the clerics of the council, and others who stood by. At length, the bishop of Winchester said that all men might live chaste who would, and brought in the text, Mat 19.12. 'For there are some eunuchs, who were born so from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs, who were made eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.'

"Hooper said that text did not prove that all men could live chaste, but such those to whom it was given; and he read the preceding verse. But there was a clamor and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him a 'beast,' so that the text could not be examined. Then Hooper said that it appeared by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden to priests, and he named the decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But bishop Hooper said that this book was not the one he named. "Then the bishop of Winchester said, *You shall not have any other, until you are first judged by this.' And then there began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together, that nothing was done, nor spoken in an orderly, or charitable way. Afterwards judge Morgan began to rail at Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words. After that, Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, said that the Council of Ancyra, which was held before the Council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

"Then my lord chancellor, and many with him, cried out that Hooper had never read the councils.

"'Yes, my lord,' said Hooper, 'and my lord of Chichester, Doctor Day, knows that the great Council of Nice, by means of Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife.' But such clamors and cries were used, that the Council of Nice was not considered.

"After this, Tunstall, bishop of Durham, asked Hooper whether he believed in the corporeal presence in the sacrament. And Master Hooper said plainly that there was no such thing, nor did he believe any such thing.

"Then the bishop of Durham would have read out of a book (what book it was, I cannot tell) but there was such noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then Winchester asked Hooper what authority induced him not to believe in the corporeal presence? He said, the authority of God's word, and he alleged this text: "Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things." Act 3.21

"Then the bishop of Winchester said Christ might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

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"Hooper would have said more to open the text, but those who stood about the bishop so disturbed him with clamors and cries, that he was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Upon which they bade the notaries write that he was married, and said that he would not separate from his wife, and that he did not believe in the corporeal presence in the sacrament; therefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

"This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them."

The true Report of Hooper's treatment in the Fleet, written with his own hand, the 7th of January 1551.

"On the first of September 1553, I was committed to the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison. Within six days, I had paid five pounds sterling for my liberty to the warden of fees. Immediately upon the payment, he complained to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then by means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, though I was not allowed to speak with any of my friends; as soon as dinner and supper were done, I repaired to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, while I thus came down to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly about me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

"After one quarter of a year, and somewhat more, Babington the warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked mass. Thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained leave to put me into the wards. There I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers in it, the chamber being vile and stinking. By God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. On one side of this prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side is the town ditch, so that the stench of the house has infected me with sundry diseases.

"During all the time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains all being closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden — when he has known me many times to be ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me — he has commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come to me, saying, 'Let him alone, it would be a good riddance of him.' Among many other times, he did thus on the 18th of October 1553, as many can witness.

"I always paid like a baron to the said warden, in fees as well as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my

bishopric. Since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman does in his house; yet he has used me worse, and more vilely than the lowest slave who ever came to the hall commons.

"The said warden has also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him of his clothes to search for letters. He could find none except a little remembrance of good people's names, who gave me their alms to relieve me in prison. And to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill to the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, with my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owes me by just account eighty pounds or more. She has put me in prison, and gives nothing to support me. Nor is anyone allowed to come to me by which I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help), but to be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

Thus much he wrote himself.

Another Examination of Bishop Hooper.

On the 22nd of January 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners at Winchester's house, at St. Mary's Overbury (St. Savior's), where in effect the following was done.

The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Hooper to earnestly forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward VI, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament. He promised that because he himself, with others his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy, even so mercy was ready to be shown to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

Hooper answered that because the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head of it. Therefore he would in no way condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, nor did he esteem the church of which they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ. For the church alone hears the voice of her spouse Christ, and flees strangers. "However," he says, "if in any point unknown to me, I have offended the queen's majesty, I will most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

The answer was made that the queen would show no mercy to the pope's enemies, whereupon Babington was commanded to take Hooper back to the Fleet.

On the 28th of January, Winchester and others of the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary's Overbury, where Hooper again appeared before them in the afternoon. And there, after much reasoning and disputation, he was commanded to step aside till Rogers had been likewise examined. The examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Hooper went beforehand with one of the sheriffs, and Rogers came after with the other. Being out of the church-door, Hooper looked back and stayed a little till Rogers drew near. He said to him, "Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter in hand first, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yes, sir," said Master Rogers,

"by God's grace." "Do not doubt," said Hooper, "that God will give strength." So going forward, there was a great press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy.

The next day, the 29th of January, they were again brought by the sheriffs before the bishop and commissioners. After long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Hooper would by no means yield to them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read to him his condemnation. That done, Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner. And so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to prison.

When it was dark, Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London bridge, through the city to Newgate. Some of the sergeants were ordered to go before them, and remove the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets. They either feared that the people would make some attempt to take him away from them by force if they saw him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness was more fitting for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people had some foreknowledge of his coming. Many of them came out at their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end.

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Hooper passed by, and requested the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so he went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as a close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate. There he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him except his keepers, and those appointed to that duty.

During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, such as Feckenham, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, etc., resorted to him to try if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. When they perceived that they could not reclaim him with such offers as they used for his conversion, they went about by false rumors of recantation to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. The report being spread abroad, and believed by some of the weaker sort, it at last came to Hooper's ears. He was not a little grieved that the people would give credit to such rumors, as appears by a letter he wrote on that occasion.

A Letter of Hooper for stopping certain false rumors spread abroad of his Recantation.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all those who unfeignedly look for the coming of our Savior Christ. Amen.

"Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I much rejoice and give thanks to God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, to whom I wish continuance to the end. And as I rejoice in the faith and constancy in affliction, of those who are in prison, even so I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren who have not yet felt such dangers for God's truth as we have, and feel and are likely to suffer more daily, yes, the very extreme and vile death of the fire — yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, now after the sentence of death (being a prisoner in Newgate, and looking daily for execution) recanted and abjured that which I have preached up to now. And this talk arises from the fact that the bishop of

London and his chaplains resort to me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them to be, they would think that in case I refused to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say I was unlearned, and dared not speak with learned men, or else I was proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and I do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I do not fear their arguments, nor is death terrible to me, praying you to make a true report of the same, as occasion serves; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached up to now, by their coming.

"Therefore, you who may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they do not trouble me with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have up to now felt all the things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man can be. It would be better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumors that are untrue. We have enemies enough of those who do not know God truly. Yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also request your continual prayers, that He who has begun in us, may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen up to now, and hereafter I shall confirm it by God's grace with my blood. Newgate, 2nd of Feb. A.D. 1554. Your brother in Christ,

"John Hooper."

On Monday morning (February 4th) the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there he degraded Hooper. He was ordered to be taken to Gloucester, to be burned there. Accordingly, he was removed to that place under a guard.

Many persons came there to speak with him. Among others was Sir Anthony Kingston, knight. Having formerly been his friend, he was on this occasion appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see him executed. Kingston being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers. As soon as he saw Hooper, he burst out in tears. Hooper at first blush did not know him. Then Kingston said, "Why, my lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

"Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and I praise God for the same."

"But I am sorry," said Kingston, "to see you in this case. For as I understand it, you have come here to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing that life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good."

"Indeed," said the bishop, "it is true. Master Kingston, I have come here to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not deny the truth that I have up to now taught among you in this diocese, and elsewhere. And I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it is not so friendly as I could have wished. It is true, Master Kingston, that death is bitter and life is sweet. But, alas! consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is sweeter. Therefore for the desire and love I have for the one, and the terror and fear I have of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, to patiently pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth of His word, desiring you and others, in the meantime, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers."

"Well, my lord," said Kingston, "I perceive there is no remedy; and therefore I will take my leave of you. I thank God that I have known you; for God appointed you to call me, being a lost child. And by your good instructions, where previously I was both an evil liver and an immoral man, God has brought me to forsake and detest my sins."

"If you have had the grace to do so," said Hooper, "I highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God you may have it, and that you may continually live in His fear." After these and many other words they took leave of each other; Kingston with bitter tears, Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At his departure Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

On the same day, in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained leave to be brought to Hooper's presence. The same boy not long before had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing the truth. Hooper, after he had examined him concerning his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly and (the water appearing in his eyes) said to him, "Ah, poor boy! God has taken from you your outward sight, for what reason He best knows. But he has given you another sight much more precious, for he has endued your soul with the eyes of knowledge and faith. God give you grace to pray to him continually, that you lose not that sight, for then you would be blind both in body and soul."

On the same night he was committed to the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, and of the other Bond. They, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Hooper's lodging, greeted him, and took him by the hand. Hooper spoke in this manner:

"Master Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have granted to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand. By this, to my rejoicing, it is apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I also trust that all those things are not utterly forgotten which I taught you in times past, as your bishop and pastor, appointed by the late godly king.

[729] A.D. 1555.

"For this most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent here by the queen's commandment to die; and I have come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Master sheriffs, my request to you shall be only that there may be a quick fire; and in the meantime I will be as obedient to you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do anything amiss, hold up your finger, and I will be done with it. For I have not come here as one enforced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain. But I come as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates of England, to God's high displeasure and dishonor. And I trust by God's grace tomorrow, to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These and such words Master Hooper said to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, at which many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs were determined to lodge him in the common jail, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him. He declared how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself on the way; adding that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined that he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the sergeants and other appointed officers, watched with them that night themselves. Hooper's desire was that he might go to bed early that night, saying that he had many things to remember; and so he did at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly. He bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be allowed to come into the chamber, so that he might be solitary till the hour of execution. At nine o'clock, Hooper was

to prepare himself, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from the chamber by the sheriffs. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spoke to the sheriffs to this effect: "Master Sheriffs," he said, "I am no traitor; nor did you need to make such preparation to bring me to the place where I must suffer. For if you had desired me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." Afterwards looking upon the multitude that were assembled, numbering seven thousand, he spoke to those who were about him, saying;

> "Alas! why have these people assembled and come together? Perhaps they think to hear something from me now, as they have in times past. But alas! speech is prohibited to me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known to them. When I was here appointed to be their pastor, I preached true and sincere doctrine to them, from the word of God. Because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were, a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to support himself with. For the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him to halt somewhat. All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon those he knew. And he was never known, during the time of his being among them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did then. When he came to the place appointed, where he was to die, he smiled beholding the stake and the preparation made for him, which was near the great elm tree, over against the college of priests, where he usually preached. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the trees were filled with people; and in the chamber over the college gate stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down to prayer (as he was not allowed to speak to the people), and beckoned six or seven times to someone he knew well, to hear the prayer, so as to make a report of it in time to come, the tears falling upon his shoulders and on his bosom. This prayer he made upon the whole creed, and he continued in it for half an hour. After he was some time in prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon from the queen (or at least it was said to be his pardon), if he would recant. He cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! If you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly." Hooper said, "Good, my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then the lord Chandos said to Sir Edmund Bridges' son, who was listening to Hooper's prayer at his request: "Edmund, take heed that he does nothing else but pray. If he does, tell me, and I will quickly dispatch him." While this was going on, one or two stepped forward uncalled, who heard him speak these words:

> "Lord, I am hell, but you are heaven; I am a sink of sin, but you are a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, a most miserable and wretched offender, after your great mercy, and according to your inestimable goodness. You have ascended into heaven; receive me, a hell as I am, to be partaker of your joys, where you sit in eternal glory with your Father. For well you know, Lord, why I have come here to suffer, and why the wicked persecute this your poor servant — not for my sins and transgressions committed against you, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contamination of your blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of your truth, with which it pleased you by your Holy Spirit to instruct me; and which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, I have set forth to your glory. And well you see, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for your creature — such, Lord, that without your strength, none is able to bear

or to patiently pass. But all things, that are impossible with man, are possible with you. Therefore strengthen me out of your goodness, that in the fire I do not break the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as seems most to your glory."

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who were listening to the prayer, they were commanded away, and were not allowed to hear any more. Prayer being done, Master Hooper prepared himself for the stake. He put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored to the owner; then he put off the rest of his gear, down to his doublet and hose, in which he wished to be burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat, were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered to him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him, who performed it with tears during the time of his pains, he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons were brought to bind him to the stake: one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But refusing them, he said, "You have no need to thus trouble yourselves. For I do not doubt that God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands. Notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content that you do as you think good."

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought. Being made somewhat too short, he shrank himself and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to bind his neck and legs with the other hoops of iron, he refused them, and would have none, saying, "I am well assured, I shall not trouble you."

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Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, by whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall, and also stood on a high stool, and beheld all round about him. In every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, the one who was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and asked him forgiveness. He asked the man why he should forgive him, saying, that he did not know of any offense that he had committed against him. "O sir," said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." Hooper said, "You do not offend me; God forgive you your sins, and do your office, I pray you."

Then commandment was given that the fire should be kindled. But no more green faggots were brought than two horses could carry upon their backs; so it was a good while before it burned. At length it burned about him, but the wind blew the flame from him, so that he was only touched by the fire.

A few dry faggots were then brought, and a new fire kindled, and that burned at the lower parts, but had little power above, because of the wind, except that it burned his hair, and scorched his skin a little. While he was thus suffering, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, "O Jesus, you Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul." He wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, said with a loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire," and all this while his lower parts burned: for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

A third fire was shortly after kindled, which was more extreme than the others: and then the bladders of gunpowder broke, but this did him little good, because they were misplaced, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus have mercy

upon me! Lord Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But even when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, so that he could not speak, his lips yet moved till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off. Then he still knocked with the other, when the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers' ends. He did so, until by renewing the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand clung fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

He was three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, he patiently bore the extremity of it, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any side: but having his lower parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed. He now reigns as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundation of the world — for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

The History and Martyrdom of Rowland Taylor.

The History of Doctor Rowland Taylor, who suffered
for the truth of God's Word, under the Tyranny
of the Roman Bishop Gardiner,
on the 9th of February 1555.

The town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, by the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney. By his industry, the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root, that a great number in that parish became well-learned in the holy Scriptures, women as well as men, so that among them there were many who had often read the whole Bible through, and who could have recited a great part of St. Paul's epistles by heart, and very well and readily given a godly judgment in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed a university of the learned, rather than a town of clothmaking or laboring people. And what is more to be commended, they were for the most part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

Doctor Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon law, and a right perfect divine, was parson of this town of Hadleigh. At his first entering into his benefice, he did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, in order to gather up the profits, and put in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure — so that they have the fleece, caring little or nothing for the flock. Rather, he made his abode and dwelling in Hadleigh among the people committed to his charge. There, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavoring to fulfill that charge which the Lord gave to Peter saying, 'Peter, do you love me? Feed my sheep.' This love of Christ so worked in him, that no Sunday or holiday passed, nor any other time when he could get the people together, without him preaching to them the word of God, and teaching them the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his preaching a blessing to them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride; humble and meek as any child. So that none were so poor that they might not boldly resort to him, as to their father. And none was so rich that he would not tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was very mild, void of all rancor, grudge, or ill-will. He was ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never seeking to do evil to any.

To the poor who were blind, lame, sick, or had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron and diligent provider; so that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them. And he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave a portion yearly to the common alms-box.

Thus dwelt this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward VI. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery to his most blessed rest, the papists who ever dissembled, both with King Henry VIII and King Edward, now seeing the time was convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy. They openly refused all reformation made by these two kings, violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those who would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and to allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries that were disproved and justly condemned by God's word, as if now they were good doctrine and true religion.

In the beginning of this reign of antichrist, a certain gentleman, a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts (a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor), with one John Clerk, conspired to bring the pope and his mummery (meaningless ceremonies) back into Hadleigh church. Doctor Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and he most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore, Foster and Clerk hired John Averth, a veritable mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an openly immoral man, to come to Hadleigh, and there to begin again the popish mass.

For this purpose, about Palm Monday, they built the altar with all possible haste. But their device had no effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down. So they built it up a second time, and laid diligent watch, lest anyone should again break it down.

On the following day Foster and John Clerk came, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant. They and their men guarded him with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Doctor Taylor, who (according to his custom) sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went to the church, supposing that there was something to be done in his pastoral office.

[731] A.D. 1555.

Coming to the church, he found the church doors fast barred, except for the chancel door, which was only latched. On entering, he saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad, new-shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man approach to disturb him.

Then Doctor Taylor said, "You devil! Who made you so bold as to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that, up started Foster, and with an angry and furious countenance said to Doctor Taylor, "You traitor! What do you do here, to disturb the queen's proceedings?" Doctor Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ has appointed to feed this His flock. Therefore I

have good authority to be here; and I command you, you popish wolf, in the name of God, to go from here, and not to presume to poison Christ's flock here with such popish idolatry."

Then Foster said, "Will you, heretic, traitorously make a commotion, and violently resist the queen's proceedings?"

Doctor Taylor answered, "I make no commotion, but it is you papists who make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honor, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, you act against the law, which commands that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his mass, but then up started John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, do not be afraid. You have a super-altar; go on with your business." Then Foster, with his armed men, took Taylor and led him by force out of the church; then the popish priest proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury that this popish idolater does to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have torn their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw great stones through the windows.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny. This is the practice that the papists have ever used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none.

Within a day or two after, Foster and Clerk made a complaint against Taylor, by a letter written to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter to Taylor, commanding him to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer the complaints which were made against him.

When Doctor Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceedingly sorry. And foreseeing to what end the matter would come, and seeing also that all truth and justice were trodden underfoot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set up, his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to flee. They declared that he would neither be heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor could he look for justice or favor at the chancellor's hands, who was most fierce and cruel. He must expect only imprisonment and a cruel death at his hands.

Then Taylor said to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you for your tender care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be expected at my adversary's hands, but rather imprisonment and a cruel death. yet I know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that by God's grace, I will go and appear before them. Then his friends said, 'Doctor, we think, it not best to do so. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldham, with others who came here to bring in the popish mass. And as our Savior Christ bids us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should flee into another, we think in fleeing at this time, you would do best, keeping yourself against another time when the church will have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors."

"Oh," said Taylor, "what will you have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and most wicked days. You flee, and do as your conscience leads you. I am fully determined (with God's grace) to go to the bishop, and to tell him to his beard (face) that he acts wickedly. God will hereafter raise up teachers for his people, who will teach them with much more diligence than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he tries and corrects us.

"As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good a service, as I may do now. What Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies.

"Therefore, I beseech you, and all my other friends, to pray for me. And I do not doubt not that God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, so that all my adversaries will have shame from their doings."

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, with weeping eyes they commended him unto God. And within a day or two he prepared himself for his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest named Richard Yeoman, who for God's truth, was afterwards burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadleigh one Alcocke, a very godly man, well-learned in the holy Scriptures. After Richard Yeoman was driven away, he used to read a chapter daily, and to say the English litany in Hadleigh church. But they took him up to London, and cast him into prison in Newgate, where he died after a year's imprisonment.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor again. Being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, he took his journey towards London. Along the way, this John Hull labored to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to flee, and not come to the bishop. He offered himself to go with him to serve him, and to risk his life for him and with him in all perils.

But in no way would Doctor Taylor consent, but said, "Oh John, will I give way to your counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good shepherd, Christ, who not only fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him I must follow, and with God's grace I will."

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England. Now when Gardiner saw Taylor, according to his common custom, he reviled him, calling him "knave, traitor, heretic," with many other villainous reproaches, all of which Taylor heard patiently. At last he said to the bishop, "My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man, and I have come according to your command, to know what is the reason that your lordship has sent for me."

Then said the bishop, "Have you come, you villain? How dare you look me in the face for shame? Do you not know who I am?"

"Yes," said Taylor, "I know who you are. You are Doctor Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why do you not fear God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing that you have forsaken the truth, denied our Savior Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing?

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"With what countenance will you appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first to that blessed King Henry VIII, of famous memory, and afterwards to blessed King Edward VI?"

The bishop answered, "Tush! tush! That was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken. I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I have come home again to our mother the catholic church of Rome, and I wish you should do so also."

Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions and idolatries that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously approve? No, God forbid. Let the pope and his followers return to our Savior Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintains, and then Christian men will turn to him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him."

"I tell you," cried the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore it ought to be broken, and not kept; and our holy father the pope has discharged me of it."

Then Taylor said, "But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can absolve you, neither the pope nor any of his."

"I see," said the bishop, "You are an arrogant knave and a real fool."

"My Lord," replied Taylor, "leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not fitting for someone in authority, as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know that 'Whoever says to his brother, Raca, is in danger of the council, and whoever says, you fool, is in danger of hell fire.'"

The bishop answered, "You are false, and liars all of you." "Nay," said Taylor, "We are true men, and know that it is written, 'The mouth that lies, slays the soul.' And again, 'Lord God, you shall destroy all who speak lies.' And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which you all, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"You are married," cried the bishop. "Yes," replied Taylor, "that I am, thank God, and I have had nine children, all in lawful matrimony. And blessed be God who ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man, who does not have the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in sin."

Then the bishop said, "You have resisted the queen's proceedings, and would not permit the parson of Aldham, a very virtuous and devout priest, to say mass in Hadleigh." Taylor answered, "My lord, I am parson of Hadleigh, and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come to my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed to me, with the venom of the popish idolatrous mass."

With that, the bishop grew very angry and said, "You are a blasphemous heretic indeed, who blasphemes the blessed sacrament, and" (putting off his cap) "speak against the holy mass, which is a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Taylor answered, "No, I do not blaspheme the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do. And I confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep it according to his ordinance, (through faith) we eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption. This is our

sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness shown to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto death for us."

"You say well," rejoined the bishop. "It is all as you have said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then Taylor answered, "Christ gave himself for our redemption upon the cross, whose body offered there was the propitiatory sacrifice —full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation for all those who believe in him. And our Savior Christ offered this sacrifice in his own person once for all; nor can any priest offer him any more, nor do we need any more propitiatory sacrifice. And therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, our sacrifice is only commemorative in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Therefore the fathers called it the *eucharist*.[5] And the church of God has no other sacrifice."

"It is true," said the bishop, "the sacrament is called the eucharist, a thanksgiving, because there we give thanks for our redemption. And it is also a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, which you will confess before you and I are done." Then the bishop called his men and said, "Take this fellow from here, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper that he is to be strictly kept."

Then Taylor kneeled down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank you; and good Lord, deliver us from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations,. And God be praised for good King Edward." So they carried him to prison, where he lay a prisoner for almost two years.

While in prison, Doctor Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and those who resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

A few days later, many other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England were committed to prison for religion's sake, so that almost all the prisons in England had become schools and churches. There was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

At this time, blind and ignorant mass mongers were placed in churches, with their Latin babblings and foolish ceremonies. Like cruel wolves, they did not spare to put to death all those who even once whispered against popery. As for the godly preachers who were in King Edward's time, they had either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in King Ahab's days, they were secretly concealed. As many as the papists could lay hold on, were sent to prison, and there remained as lambs waiting for the butchers to call them to the slaughter.

When Doctor Taylor had come into the prison, he found Master Bradford there, the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word. This man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout preaching, was worthily accounted a miracle of our time, as even his adversaries must confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to remain constant to the end. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable fellow prisoner. And so together they lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another, insomuch that Taylor told his friends who came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, sending him to that prison where he found such an angel of God to comfort him.

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[5] From the Latin *eucharistia*, from Ancient Greek εὐχαριστία (eukharistía), "gratitude, giving of thanks."

After Doctor Taylor had lain in prison a while, he was cited to appear in the arches at Bow church, to answer to such matters as might be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led there. When he came, he stoutly defended his marriage, affirming by the Scripture of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both civil and canon laws, that it is lawful for priests to marry. He so plainly proved this, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but sentenced him to be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

"You do me wrong, then," said Doctor Taylor. He alleged many laws and constitutions for himself, but all did not prevail. For he was again carried to prison, and had his livings taken away and given to others. As for Hadleigh benefice, it was given or sold to one Master Newall, whose qualifications were altogether unlike Doctor Taylor's, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners have full well found.

After a year and three quarters, the papists had gotten certain old tyrannical laws, which were repealed by King Henry VIII and King Edward, to be revived again by parliament. So that now they might, *ex officio*, cite whomever they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with whatever articles they chose, and burn them.

[733] A.D. 1555.

Once these laws were re-established, they sent for Taylor, with other prisoners, who were again brought before the chancellor and other commissioners about the 22nd of January. The purport and effect of what took place is sufficiently described in his own letter.

A Letter of Doctor Taylor reporting the words which passed between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, on the 22d of January.

"As you would have me write the conversation between the king and the queen's most honorable council and me, on Tuesday, the 22d of January, so far as I remember: first, my lord chancellor said, 'You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king and queen's majesties favor and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm, from which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive the mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I answered, 'To so rise, would be the greatest fall that I could ever receive; for I would then fall from my dear Savior Christ to antichrist. For I believe that the religion set forth in King Edward's days, was according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, which contains fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from which I do not intend to depart so long as I live, by God's grace.'

"Then Master Secretary Bourne asked, 'Which of the religions do you mean? For you know there were diverse books of religion set forth in King Edward's days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?'

"I answered, 'My lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English; This book was not of his own making, yet he set it forth in his own name; and truly, that book did much good for the time. But after that there was set forth by the most innocent King Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm. This book was reformed only once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected in every behalf, according to the rules of our Christian religion, that no Christian conscience could be offended with anything contained in it; I mean of that reformed book.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Did you never read the book that I set forth on the sacrament?"

"I answered, that I had read it.

"Then he said, 'How did you like that book?' — With that, one of the council (whose name I do not know) said, 'My lord, that is a good question; for I am sure that book stops all their mouths.' Then I said, 'My lord, I think many things are wide from the truth of God's word in that book.'

"Then my lord said, 'You are a true varlet.' [6] To that I answered, 'That is as bad as *Raca*.' Then my lord said, 'You are an ignorant beetle-brow.' [7] "To that I answered, 'I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through with St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, and other books. Therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil law, as your lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also.'

"Then my lord said, 'You read all things with a corrupt judgment. Touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written several books.' Then I said, 'My lord, you wrote one book on true obedience. I wish you had been constant in that, for you never showed a good conscience that I heard of, except in that one book.'

"Then my lord said, 'Tut, tut, tut! I wrote against Bucer on priests' marriages. But such books do not please such wretches as you are, who have been married many years.'

"To that I answered, 'I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God. And this I am sure of, that your proceedings now against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's law.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'You say that priests may be married by God's law. How do you prove that?'

"I answered, 'By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom writing upon the epistle to Timothy, says 'It is a heresy to say a bishop may not be married.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'You lie about Chrysostom. But you do as all your companions do, belie without shame both the Scriptures and the doctors. Did you not also say that by the canon law priests may be married? This is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.'

"I answered, 'We read in the decrees, that the four general councils — Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesian, and Chalcedon — have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees (which is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the Council of Nice, by means of one Paphnutius, allowed priests' and bishops' marriages: Therefore, by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'You falsify the general council. For there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives.'

"Then I said, 'If those words are there, as you say, then I am content to lose this head of mine; let the book be fetched.'

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[6] *Varlet*: A deceitful and unreliable scoundrel.

[7] *Beatle-brow*: refers to someone with a sullen, grim, or scowling appearance (a sourpuss).

"Then my lord of Durham spoke. 'Though they are not there, yet they may be in the ecclesiastical history, which Eusebius wrote, out of which book the decree was taken.'

"To that I said, 'It is not likely that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.'

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Gratian was but a patcher, and you are glad to snatch up such a patch as makes for your purpose.'

"I said, 'By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church.' Then I requested that I might have some of my friends come to me in prison. My lord chancellor said, 'You will have judgment within this week.' And so I was delivered again to my keeper. My lord of Durham wished that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged from St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before that of all men."

Besides this letter Dr. Taylor directed another writing to another friend of his concerning the reasons why he was condemned.

Another Letter relating to his Assertions concerning the Marriage of Priests, and other causes for which he was condemned.

"It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the holy Scriptures. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops consenting to his sentence against me, are heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul writes plainly to Timothy and Titus that bishops, priests, and deacons may be married — knowing also that by St. Paul's doctrine, it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul desires every faithful minister to teach the people so. (1Tim 4.1-6)

"These bishops are not ignorant that it is not only St. Paul's advice, but also God's commandment to marry, for those who otherwise cannot live chastely.

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"They know that those who marry do not sin.

"They know that God, before sin entered the world, ordained matrimony in paradise, between man and woman.

"They know what spirit they have who say it is evil to marry (seeing that God said it is not good for man to be alone without a wife), having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance in the book of Genesis, to increase and multiply.

"They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife, the virtuous Sarah with him, leaving father, and mother, and country, at God's commandment. For though father, and mother, and other friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joined together as min and wife in matrimony. This must be holy, for it is a figure and similitude of Christ and his church.

"They know that St. Paul greatly praises matrimony, calling it honorable, and that was not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whoever needs God's remedy for man's or woman's infirmity.

"They know that having a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Jacob, David, etc., to talk with God, nor to the Levites', bishops', and priests' offices in the time of the old testament or the new.

"They know that Christ was not conceived, or born of his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, until she was espoused in marriage, according to his own ordinance.

"They know that Christ with his blessed mother and the apostles were at a marriage, and beautified and honored it with his presence, and first miracle. To be short, they know that all that I have written here regarding the marriage of priests is true. And they know that the papists themselves do not observe their own laws and canons as to that matter, and yet they continue seared in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it is his good will. Amen.

"My second reason why I was condemned as a heretic, is that I denied transubstantiation and concomitance, two juggling words of the papists, by which they believe and compel all others to believe that 'Christ's natural body is made out of bread, and that the godhead is joined to it. So that immediately after the words (called the words of consecration) bread and wine are no longer in the sacrament, but only the substance of the body and blood of Christ, together with his godhead. So that it now being Christ, both God and man, it ought to be worshipped with godly honor, and offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a propitiatory and satisfactory sacrifice for the same!' This matter was not long debated. But because I denied the papistical doctrine (which, indeed, is rather plain and most wicked idolatry, blasphemy and heresy) I was judged a heretic.

"I also affirmed the pope to be antichrist, and popery to be antichristianity.

"And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all matters of Christian religion, and of salvation.

"I also alleged that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's pre-eminence. For Chrysostom says that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm were ever, and ought to be ever, in subjection to the kingly authority, who has the sword in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to antichrist, from light to darkness, and from truth to vanity.

"Thus you know the sum of my last examination and condemnation.. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

"God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than judge Hales had. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am immovably settled upon the Rock, not at all doubting that God will perform and finish the work he has begun in me and others. To him be all honor both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Savior. Amen."

And thus much wrote Taylor, concerning this matter to his friend.

About the end of January 1555, Taylor, Bradford, and Sanders, were again called before the Bishops of Winchester, of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Durham, and there they charged with heresy and schism. Therefore a determinate answer was required, whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors, or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

When Taylor, Bradford, and Sanders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, nor would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist. But they thanked God for such great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and immovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard it, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said to the bishops, "We do not doubt that God the righteous

judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent of this receiving again of antichrist, and the tyranny that you now show against the flock of Christ."

When the keeper brought Taylor towards the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him. He said to them, "God be praised, good people, I have come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood."

When Taylor had lain for some days a prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, on the 4th of February 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as pertain to their mass-mummery. He called for Taylor to be brought to him. At his coming, the bishop said, "Master Doctor, I would have you remember yourself, and turn to your holy mother church; thus you may do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Taylor answered, "I would have you and your fellows turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." "Well," said the bishop, "I have come to degrade you. Therefore put on these vestures." "No," replied Taylor, "I will not." "Will you not?" said the bishop; "I shall make you, before I go." To which Taylor retorted, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then the bishop charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him. So the bishop desired them to be forced upon Taylor; and then he degraded him in the usual way.

The night after he was degraded, his wife and his son came to him, and by the gentleness of the keepers they were permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons — that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical like their masters; but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favor as they possibly could. At their coming to sup with him, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word. Turning to his son Thomas he said, "My dear son. Almighty God bless you, and give you his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and to constantly stand by his truth all your life long. And my son, see that you fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living. Be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to your book. In any way, see that you are obedient to your mother; love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in your youth, and follow her good counsel in all things.

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"Beware of vicious company, of young men who do not fear God, but follow their lusts and vain appetites. Flee from immorality, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I, your father, died in the defense of holy marriage. When God blesses you, love and cherish the poor people, and count that your chief riches are to be rich in alms. And when your mother has grown old, do not forsake her, but provide for her up to your power; and see that she lacks nothing. For so God will bless you, and give you long life upon earth and prosperity — which I pray God to grant you."

Then turning to his wife, he said, "My dear wife continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been a faithful yoke-fellow to you, and so you have been to me, for which I pray God to reward you; and do not doubt, dear wife, that God will reward it. Now the time has come that I will be taken from you, and you will be discharged of the wedlock-bond towards me. Therefore I will give you my counsel, of what I think is most expedient for you. You are still a childbearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For

doubtless you will never have a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor be out of trouble till you are married. Therefore as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest, faithful man who fears God. Do not doubt, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful father to you and to my children, whom I pray you to bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry."

When he had said this, they prayed together with weeping tears, and kissed each other. And he gave to his wife a book of the church service, set out by King Edward, which he daily used in the time of his imprisonment. And to his son Thomas he gave a Latin book containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs; and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last farewell, as follows:

The last Will and Testament of Doctor Rowland Taylor,
Parson of Hadleigh.

"I say to my wife, and to my children; the Lord gave you to me, and the Lord has taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe they are blessed who die in the Lord. God cares for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favorable than any father or husband. Therefore trust in him by the means of our dear Savior Christ's merits. Believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray to him, for he has promised to help. Do not count me dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

"I say to my dear friends of Hadleigh, and to all others who have heard me preach, that I depart from here with a quiet conscience as regards my doctrine, for which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, with my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an angel from heaven should preach to you any other gospel than what you have received, God's great curse be upon that preacher.

"Beware, for God's sake, that you do not deny God, nor decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so you everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery; for though it appears to have unity in it, yet it is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and truth.

"Beware of the sin against the Holy Spirit, now after such a light has opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly and generally to all England.

"The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, despising the wicked world, and a hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray!

"Rowland Taylor, departing from here in sure hope, without any doubt of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Savior, Amen. The 5th of February A.D. 1555.

"The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? Psalm 27.1.
"It is God who justifies: who is he that condemns? Romans 8.33.
"In you, O Lord, I put my trust; let me never be ashamed. Psalm 31.1."

On the morrow, the sheriff of London with his officers came at two o'clock in the morning, and brought out Taylor, whose wife, suspecting that her husband would be carried away that night, watched all night in St. Botolph's church porch. She had two children with her, the one named Elizabeth, thirteen years of age (who being left without father or mother, Taylor

had brought up through charity from three years old), the other named Mary, his own daughter.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came to St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried out, saying, "O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then his wife cried, "Rowland, Rowland, where are you?" for it was a very dark morning, so that the one could not see the other. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here," and he stopped. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife," and so they stayed.

Then she came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms. He, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down, and said the Lord's prayer. At this sight, the sheriff wept apace, and so did others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell my dear wife. Be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God will stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said "God bless you, and make you his servant." And kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless you. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast to Christ and his word, and beware of idolatry." Then his wife said, "God be with you, dear Rowland, I will, with God's grace, meet you at Hadleigh."

And so he was led forth to the inn, called the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came there, he was put into a chamber, where he was kept with four yeomen of the guard and the sheriff's men. As soon as he came into the chamber, he fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Taylor's wife there, would not let her speak anymore with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house and take it as her own. He promised her the her husband would lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her there. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mother's, where the officers led her, and they charged her mother to keep her there till they came back.

Thus Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock. At that time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him. And so they set him on horseback inside the inn, the gates being shut.

On coming out of the gates, John Hull, spoken of before, stood at the rails with Thomas, Taylor's son. 'When Taylor saw them, he called to them, saying, "Come here, my son Thomas." John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people who stood there looking at him, "Good people this is my own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony."

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Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his son, laid his hand upon the child's head and blessed him. And so he delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, 'Farewell, John Hull, the most faithful servant that man ever had." And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they had come almost to Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadleigh, met them, and supposing Taylor to have been at liberty, he said, "Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again." He came to him and took him by the hand. "Soft sir," the sheriff said, "he is a prisoner; what have you to do with him?" "I cry mercy," said Arthur, "I did not know so much, and I thought it was no offense to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry at

this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison. Notwithstanding, he bade him get away quickly, and so they rode forth to Brentwood. There they had a close hood made for Taylor, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. They did this so that no man would know him, nor he speak to any man. They used this practice with others also. Their own consciences told them that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Therefore they feared that if the people heard these men speak, or saw them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's word, and to flee the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way, Taylor was joyful and happy, like someone who accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet, or bridal. He spoke many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard who conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. He also caused them to often wonder and rejoice to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, to carry him into Suffolk. At supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly labored to have him return to the Popish religion. He said, "Good master doctor, we are right sorry for you. God has given you great learning and wisdom. Therefore you have been in great favor and reputation in times past with the council and his highness of this realm. Besides this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature likely to live many years. And without doubt, you should in times to come be in as good a reputation as you ever were, or even better. For you are well beloved by all men, for your virtues as well as for your learning: and it would be a great pity if you willingly cast yourself away, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Do not doubt that you will find favor at the queen's hands, I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon.

Taylor paused awhile, as if thinking what to answer. At last he said, "Master Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am likely to deceive a great many of Hadleigh of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yes, good master doctor," cried the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart! It is the most comfortable word that we have heard you speak yet. What! Should you cast yourself away in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, you will find favor." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word.

At last the sheriff asked, "Good doctor, what did you mean by this, that you think you have been deceived yourself, and think you will deceive many in Hadleigh." "Would you know my meaning plainly?" Taylor asked. "Yes." replied the sheriff. "Good doctor, tell it to us plainly."

Then Taylor said, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and how I think I will deceive a great many. I am, as you can see, a man who has a very great carcass, which I thought would have been buried in Hadleigh church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I hoped I might have done. But I see I was deceived in this; and there are a great number of worms in Hadleigh church-yard, which would have had a jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they looked for many a day. But now I know we are deceived, both I and they, for this carcass must be burnt to ashes. And so they will lose their bait and feeding that they expected to have of it."

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed and looked at one another, marvelling at the man's constancy of mind, that thus without fear, he made but a jest at the cruel torment and death which was now at hand and prepared for him. Thus was their expectation disappointed. In this it appears what his meditation was in his greatest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he would shortly die, and feed worms in his grave. If all our bishops and spiritual men had used this meditation, they would not have forsaken the word of God and truth for a little worldly glory, which they had preached and set forth in King Edward's days, nor yet would they have committed so many to the fire as they did to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority.

Taylor was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and conducted by him to Hadleigh, where he suffered. When they had come to Lavenham, the sheriff stayed there two days. A great number of gentlemen and justices on horses came to him, appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen labored to reduce Taylor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon "which," they said, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, indeed, a bishopric if he would take it. But all their labor and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon Christ, the sure and immoveable rock.

When they reached Hadleigh, and came riding over the bridge, at the foot of the bridge waited a poor man with five small children. When he saw Doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down on their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd. Doctor Taylor, God help and succor you, as you have many a time succored me and my poor children!" Such a witness did the servant of God have of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his life-time. For God would now have the poor testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and to the confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others who led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this. And the sheriff rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadleigh were beset on both sides of the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see Taylor. When they beheld him led to death, they cried with weeping eyes and lamentable voices, saying to one another, "Ah, good Lord! there goes our good shepherd from us, who has so faithfully taught us, so fatherly cared for us, and so godly governed us. O merciful God! what will we poor scattered lambs do? What will come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him!" with other such lamentable and piteous exclamations. Therefore the people were sorely rebuked by the sheriff and his men who led him. And Taylor evermore said to the people, I have preached to you God's word and truth, and have come this day to seal it with my blood."

Coming opposite the almshouses, he cast to the poor people the money which remained of what good people had given him during his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him upon his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people who visited him.

Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the purpose, and gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. Coming to the last of the almshouses, he did not see the poor who dwelt there, ready at their doors as the others were. He asked "Are the blind man and blind woman who dwelt here, alive?" It was answered, "Yes, they are there within." Then he threw the glove and all in at the window, and so he rode onward.

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At last, coming to Aldham common, the place where he was to suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered there, he asked, “What place is this, and what does it mean that so many people are gathered here?” It was answered, “It is Aldham Common, the place where you must suffer: and the people have come to look upon you.” Then Taylor said, “Thanked be God, I am even at home.” And so he alighted from his horse, and with both his hands he rent the hood from his head.

When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out weeping, and cried, saying, “God save you, good Doctor Taylor, Jesus Christ strengthen you, and help you! The Holy Spirit comfort you!” with other such godly wishes. He would have spoken to the people then, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no way permit him to speak.

Then he desired license from the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

“Well,” said Doctor Taylor, “a promise must be kept.” What this promise was, is unknown: but the common rumor was that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them that they would cut their tongues out of their heads, unless they would promise that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Therefore, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, they promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this change of religion — from truth to lies, from Christ’s ordinances to the popish traditions — might not have been so quietly received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers. But measuring others’ minds by their own, they feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings; or else, what they most feared, the people might have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, who gave faith and patience to his witnesses, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments. Nor was there so much as one man who showed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defense of the truth, so leaving an example to all men of true and perfect obedience — which is to obey God more than men, and if need requires it, to shed their own blood rather than depart from God’s truth.

Doctor Taylor perceiving that he would not be allowed to speak, sat down. Seeing someone named Soyce, he called him, and said, “Soyce, I pray you come and pull off my boots, and take them for your labor. You have long looked for them; now take them.” Then he rose up and put off his clothes down to his shirt, and gave them away. This done, he said with a loud voice, “Good people, I have taught you nothing but God’s holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God’s blessed book, the Holy Bible. I have come here this day to seal it with my blood.” With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who had used Doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a club, and said, “Is that keeping your promise, you heretic?” Then, seeing they would not permit him to speak, he kneeled down and prayed. A poor woman who was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him. But they pushed her away, and threatened to tread her down with horses: notwithstanding, she would not leave, but remained and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had prepared for him to stand in. And so he stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven; so he continually prayed. The faggots were brought, and the fire kindled. One man cruelly threw a faggot at him, which

lighted upon his head, and broke his face, so that the blood ran down his visage. Then Taylor said, “O friend, I have harm enough, what need was there of that?”

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Doctor Taylor was speaking and saying the fifty-first psalm, “Have mercy upon us,” struck him on the lips; “You knave,” he said, “speak in Latin, or I will make you.” Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, “Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Savior’s sake, receive my soul into your hands.” So he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce struck him in the head with a halberd, spilling the brains; the dead corpse fell into the fire.

Thus the man of God rendered his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and his most dear and certain Savior Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

Many Others Condemned by Gardiner.

After Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had gotten the law and the secular arm on his side, with full power and authority, he had these godly bishops and reverend preachers brought under foot; namely, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, Latimer, Hooper bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor, and Bradford, all of whom he had condemned, and some of them he had burned. He now supposed that all had been made sure, and that Christ had been conquered forever, so that the people, being terrified by the example of these learned men, never would, nor dared again to stir against their violent religion. This was not unlike the manner of the Turks, who when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and the truth of God’s word, think to force whomever they can to their belief, by the violence of the sword. And that being done, they afterwards make laws that no man, under pain of heresy, may dispute, or once call into question any of their proceedings. Even so, Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by the trial of God’s word, and by discourse of learning, nor disposed to seek truth where it is to be found, take exception to God’s word. They claim it is intricate, obscure, and insufficient, and therefore it must by necessity be judged by the pope’s church. And so, having kings and queens on their side, they do not seek to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity. Instead of the law of God, they use death, fire, and sword, as the Turks do, to make men believe what indeed they will not believe. Thus they condemned these godly and learned preachers and bishops, supposing that all the rest would soon be overawed by their example. But they were deceived. For within eight or nine days after Gardiner had sentenced Hooper, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor, and Bradford, being the 8th of February, six other good men were likewise brought before the bishops for the same cause of religion. Their names were William Pygot, Stephen Knight, Thomas Tomkins, Thomas Hawkes, John Lawrence, a priest, and William Hunter.

Gardiner thus seeing his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve his expectation, he gave up the matter, utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such condemnations. He referred the whole to Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand on the 8th of February, called those six persons before him in his consistory at St. Paul’s, with the lord mayor, and certain aldermen. The next day, he read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as it appears in Bonner’s own registers. Such quick speed these men made in dispatching their business at once.

Notwithstanding, the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow immediately. I cannot say precisely what the reason was that their execution was deferred, unless perhaps the sermon of Alphonsus, the Spanish friar and the king’s confessor, did some good.

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For I find that though these six persons were sentenced on Saturday the 9th of February, on Sunday the 10th, the said Alphonsus, a Grey friar, preached before the king. In this sermon he earnestly inveighed against the bishops for burning men, saying plainly that they did not learn it in Scripture, to burn anyone for conscience' sake; but on the contrary, they should live and be converted, with many other things more to the same purport. But regarding the deferral of these men's deaths, because I cannot certainly affirm it, so I let it pass.

On the 14th of February, Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent to St. David's, to be condemned and executed there. Regarding his martyrdom, as it did not happen before the month of March, we will defer the history of it till we come to the time of his suffering.

On this 14th of February, the lord chancellor, and his fellow bishops, had the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with miter and crosier. However, within two days after its erection, his two blessing fingers were broken off, and on the next day (the 17th of February) his head was also struck off. Upon this, great trouble arose, and many were suspected. Among them was one Master John Barnes, a mercer, dwelling opposite the chapel. He was charged with it, as he was a professor of the truth. Therefore he and three of his servants were committed to prison. At his delivery (even though it could not be proved against him) he was bound to a great sum of money to rebuild it as often as it might be broken down, and also to watch and keep the same. Therefore, at his charge, the image was again set up on the 2nd of March. But on the 14th of that month, in the night, the head was broken off for the second time. This was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15th, there was a proclamation made in London, that whoever would tell who struck off his head, would have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was never known who did it.

On the 18th of February, Queen Mary, after a long delay, answered the King of Denmark's letters, who had before written two letters to the queen, in behalf of Master Coverdale, for his deliverance. He was in great danger, if he had not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the King of Denmark.

On the 19th of February, a certain intimation was set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, which contained a general monition and strict charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves for Lent, which was then approaching, in order to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from Pope Julius III by Pole, his cardinal and *legate de latere*. And so they would also receive the joyful benefit of absolution. It would first be sent from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every one of his archdeacons, to be administered to every private person within his diocese, if they would come at the holy time of Lent, to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive from him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution.

Therefore, all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, Bonner commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation and absolution, against the first Sunday ensuing after Easter, and not to fail. For this purpose he had especially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth.

The Form of Absolution to be kept by the pastors and curates in private confessions, concerning this reconciliation.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority granted and committed to me, I absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains into which you have fallen because of heresy, or schism, or any other ways. And I restore you to the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity; and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen."

The History and Martyrdom of Six Prisoners

Mention was made earlier of six prisoners, brought and examined before bishop Bonner on the 8th of February. Their names were Tomkins, Hunter, Pygot, Knight, Lawrence, and Hawkes. It now remains to severally treat the martyrdom of these six persons.[8]

The first was **Thomas Tomkins**, burned in Smithfield, the 16th of March A.D. 1555.

The History of Thomas Tomkins, burned by Bishop Bonner, for the constant testimony of Christ's true profession.

Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by occupation, dwelled in Shoreditch. He was of such a godly conversation and disposition, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as they sometimes did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer. Or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any went to him to borrow money, he would show him whatever money he had in his purse, and bid him to take it. And when they came to pay it back, he was so far off from seeking any usury at their hand, or from exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, until they were better able to pay it back.

Bonner had kept Tomkins in prison about half a year, during which time the bishop was so rigorous with him, that he beat him bitterly about the face. He was a prisoner with him at Fulham in the month of July, and set him to make hay with his other workmen. Seeing him to labor so well, the bishop sat down, said, "Well, I like you well, for you labor well. I trust you will be a good catholic." "My lord," Tomkins said, "St. Paul says that whoever does not labor, is not worthy to eat." Bonner said, "Ah, St. Paul is a great man with you." After other talk, the bishop wished his beard shaved off, saying that he would then look like a catholic. "My lord," Tomkins said, "before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian; and so I trust to be one with my beard on." But Bonner sent for the barber, and had his beard shaved off. The real reason was that Bonner had plucked out a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this bishop was great against him, but the constancy of the man was much greater, with patience to bear it. Although he did not have the learning others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that he could by no means be moved from the confession of truth. Upon this, Bonner being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that he could not prevail with him by persuasion, he devised another practice to try his constancy. Seeing that he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of Scripture, he thought to overthrow him by some terror of death. So having with him Harpsfield, Pembleton, Chedsey, Willerton, and others, he called for Thomas Tomkins. Coming before the bishop, and standing as usual in defense of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning. Having a taper of wax candle of three or four wicks sitting on the table, this popish bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and

[8] Foxe will not get to the martyrdom of Thomas Hawkes (p. 762) until he first catalogs a dozen other martyrs.

held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that, being terrified by the smart and pain of the fire, he would abandon the defense of his doctrine.

Tomkins thinking that he was about to die, began to commend himself to the Lord, saying, "O Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit," etc. During the time that his hand was burning, he never moved till the veins burst and the sinews shrunk, and the water spurted in Master Harpsfield's face. Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stop, saying that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

[739] A. D. 1555.

But before we come to his final suffering, we will give some part of his examination, with his answers, as recorded in the register.

Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained half a year in prison, was brought with others before Bonner about the 8th of February, to be examined.

The bishop wished to persuade him to relinquish his opinions, and to return to the unity of the catholic church. promising if he would so do, he would remit all that was past. But he constantly refused so to do. When the bishop saw he could not convince him, he read to him certain articles and interrogatories, to which he would answer the next day:

Articles objected against Thomas Tomkins, which he subscribed with his own hand.

"You believe that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Savior Jesus Christ, regarding the substance of it, which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world."

"I do so believe."

"You believe that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there remains the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before."

"I do so believe."

"You believe that it is an untrue doctrine and false belief, to think or say that in the sacrament of the altar, there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word "

"I do so believe."

"You believe that your parents, kinfolk, friends, and acquaintances, and also your godfathers, and godmother, and all people erred and were deceived if they believed that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine."

"I do so believe."
"THOMAS TOMKINS."

The next day, the 9th of February, Tomkins was again brought before the bishop and his assistants, where these articles were proposed to him, and he subscribed his name to them. The bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own

hand, had it openly read, and commanded him to revoke his opinions, which he refused to do. And therefore he was ordered to appear before the bishop again, in the afternoon.

This second confession was as follows:

> "I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed before and declared openly to Edmund, bishop of London, my ordinary, that my belief has been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Savior Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and ;it is so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar:
>
> "And moreover, having likewise openly confessed and declared to my said ordinary, many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, has allowed, and does allow the mass and sacrifice made and done in this way, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing, yet my belief has been for many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul, and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present time.
>
> "Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies as are customarily used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed:
>
> "Finally, being many times and often called openly before my ordinary, and talked with regarding all my confessions and declarations, both by my ordinary and other learned men, as well as his chaplains, and others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant my error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error, I testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises and every part of them, and in no way recant or go from any part of the same. In witness of this, I have subscribed and passed this writing, the 26th of September, the year aforesaid.
>
> "THOMAS TOMKINS."

The same day and place, in the afternoon, he was brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others. There he was earnestly exhorted by the bishop of Bath, to revoke his opinions. He answered, "My Lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now, in recent years. Now I know the truth, and I will continue in it unto death."

Then Bonner had all his articles and confession openly read again, and tried to persuade him to recant. Tomkins finally answered, "My lord, I cannot but see that you would have me forsake the truth, and fall into error and heresy." The bishop seeing he would not recant, gave the sentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him to Newgate. There he remained until the 16th of March. On that day, he was conveyed by the sheriff to Smithfield, and there sealed his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and the confirmation of the weak.

The History of William Hunter.

On the 26th of March 1555, came the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, nineteen years of age, and born of godly parents. He was not only instructed in true religion and godliness by them, but in a rare and strange example, he was also confirmed by them unto death, worthy to be held in admiration by all parents. In this, a singular spectacle may appear, not only of a marvellous fortitude in one so young, but also in his parents, to

behold their nature striving with religion, and being overcome by it. By this, Christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time requires, or godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man against natural affection. This account was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother, who was present with his brother William till his death, and who sent the account to us, as we have recorded it here.

William Hunter, an apprentice in London in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at Easter to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman-street. Because he refused to do so, he was threatened that he would be brought before the bishop of London. William Hunter's master, Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver, required William Hunter to depart from him, lest he come into danger on account of him if he continued in his house. So William took leave of his master, and came to Brentwood, where his father dwelt, with whom he remained a few weeks.

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It happened within five or six weeks, that going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a bible lying on a desk, he read it. In the meantime one father Atwell, who hearing William read in the Bible, came in and said to him, "What, do you meddle with the Bible? Do you know what you read, and can you expound the Scriptures?"

William answered, "I do not take it upon myself to expound the Scriptures; but finding the Bible here when I came, I read in it to my comfort." Father Atwell said, "It has not been a merry world since the Bible came abroad in English."

William answered, "Say it is not so, for God's sake. For it is God's book, out of which every one who has grace may learn to know both what pleases God, and also what displeases him." Then father Atwell said, "Could we not tell before this time, as well as now, how God was served?" William answered, "No, not so well as we can now, if we still have His blessed word among us as we had it."

William Hunter added, "I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible among us continually." Father Atwell said, "I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of those who dislike the queen's laws, and therefore you came from London. You learned these ways at London. But you must turn over another leaf, or else you and a great number more heretics will broil for this."

William said, "God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatever comes."

"Confess his name," said old Atwell. "No, no, you will go to the devil, all of you, and confess his name."

With these words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, "I am not able to reason with you: but I will fetch one who shall talk with you, I warrant you, you heretic." And, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, he brought the vicar of Southwell. Finding him reading in the Bible, the vicar took the matter very heinously, saying, "Sirrah,[9] who gave you leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?"

[9] *Sirrah*: Formerly a contemptuous term of address to an inferior man or boy; often used in anger.

Hunter answered, “I do not expound the scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort.” “Why do you meddle with them at all,” asked the vicar? “It does not become such as you to meddle with the Scriptures.”

Hunter answered, “I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought not, Master Vicar, lo discourage any man in that manner, but rather exhort men to diligently read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own.”

The vicar answered, “It becomes you well to tell me what I have to do! I see you are a heretic by your words.” William said, “I am no heretic for speaking the truth.” But the vicar said, “It is a queer world when such as you will teach us what is the truth. You are meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the sixth of John, in which you may perceive how Christ says, ‘Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you.’ “

Then father Atwell said, “When you read it, I said that you might understand there, how Christ’s very natural body and blood is in the sacrament of the altar.”

“Ah,” said the vicar, “what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe in it, and that the bread and wine is substantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?” William answered, “I learn no such thing in the sixth of John.” And added “You understand Christ’s words much like the carnal Capernaites, who thought that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon. This opinion our Savior Christ corrected when he said, ‘The words that I speak to you, they are *spirit*, and they are *life*.’ “

“Now,” said the vicar, “I have found you out. Now I see that you are a heretic indeed, and that you do not believe in the sacrament of the altar.”

Hunter answered, “I wish that you and I were now tied fast to a stake, to prove whether I or you would stand strongest to our faith.” But the vicar answered, “It shall not be so tried.” “No,” replied Hunter, “for I think I know who would recant the soonest. For I dared set my foot against yours, even to the death.” “That we shall see,” said the vicar, and so they departed, the vicar threatening Hunter that he would complain of him.

Immediately after, the vicar told Master Brown (the local justice) of the communication which Hunter and he had together. Brown immediately sent for Hunter’s father, and the constable. For immediately after Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, William took his leave of his father and fled, because the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and Hunter’s father had come before Master Brown, he asked where his son was. His father answered, “If it please you, sir, I do not know.” Master Brown said, “I will make you tell where he is, and fetch him here also, before I am done with you.”

Justice Brown then threatened to send the old man to prison unless he promised to seek his son and bring him there. After the old man had ridden two or three days’ journey to satisfy Brown’s expectation, it happened that William met his father, and told him he thought that he was seeking him. And then his father, confessing it, wept sorely and said that Master Brown charged him to seek him, and to bring him to him. But, he said, “I will return home again, and say I cannot find you.” But William said, “Father, I will go home with you, and keep you harmless, whatever comes of it.”

And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he had come home, was taken by the constable, and laid in the stocks, and afterwards brought to Brown.

When Hunter had come, Brown commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then he began to reason with Hunter, saying, “I hear say you are a Scripture-man, and can reason on the sixth of John, and expound it as it pleases you.” He turned to the sixth of

John, and then laid to his charge the exposition that he made when the vicar and he had talked together. Hunter said, “He urged me to say so much as I did.”

“Well,” (said Master Brown) “as you can expound so well; what do you say to the 22nd of St. Luke? Look here, for Christ says, That the bread is his body.”

Hunter answered, “The text says, that Christ took bread, but not that he changed it into another substance. Rather, he gave what he took, and broke what he gave, which was bread, as is evident by the text. For otherwise, he would have had two bodies, which I see no reason to affirm.”

At this answer Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again, in a fury.

Then Brown said, “You naughty boy. Will you not take things as they are, but expound them as you will? Does not Christ plainly call the bread his body, and you will not believe that the bread is his body after the consecration? You set about to make Christ a liar.”

But Hunter answered, “I do not mean so, sir; but I mean rather more earnestly to search what is the mind of Christ in that holy institution in which he commends to us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again, saying, ‘Do this in remembrance of me.’ And also, though Christ calls the bread his body, he also says that he is a vine, a door, etc. yet his body is not turned into bread, any more than he is turned into a door or a vine. Therefore Christ called the bread his *body* by a figure.”

Then Brown said, “You are a villain, indeed! Will you make Christ a liar still?” He was in such a fury with Hunter, and so enraged, that Hunter could not speak a word without being crossed and scoffed by him at every word. Therefore, seeing him in such fury, Hunter desired that he would either hear him quietly, and allow him to answer for himself, or else send him away. Brown answered, “Indeed I will send you, tomorrow, to my lord of London, and he shall have you under examination.’’ He wrote a letter immediately, and sent Hunter with the constable to Bonner.

[741] A.D. 1555.

The bishop began to reason with him in this manner:

“I understand, William Hunter, that you have had certain communication with the vicar, about the blessed sacrament of the altar, and that you could not agree; upon which Master Brown sent for you to bring you to the catholic faith. If you will be ruled by me, you shall have no harm for anything that you have said or done in this matter.”

Hunter answered, “I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ (I am sure) but I believe it, and confess it with all my heart.”

“Why,” said the bishop, “what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Will you not recant your saying, how Christ’s body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?”

Hunter answered, “My lord, I understand that Master Brown has notified you of the talk which he and I had together, and you know what I said to him, which by God’s help, I will not recant.” Then the bishop said, “I think you are ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly. But if you will recant, I will promise you that you will not be put to open shame. But speak the word here, now, between me and you, and I will promise you it shall go no further, and you shall go home again without any hurt.”

Hunter answered, “My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and so, if nobody will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself.”

Then the bishop said, “I am content, if you will go to the church, and receive and be shriven (confessed), and so continue a good catholic Christian.” “No,” replied William, “I will not do so for all the world.”

“Then,” rejoined the bishop, “if you *will* not do so, I will *make* you, sure enough, I warrant you.” “Well,” said Hunter, “you can do no more than God will permit you.”

Then the bishop commanded his men to put Hunter in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, with only a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

At the end of two days, the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him lying upon the stocks, he said to his men, “Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you.” Then they let him out of the stocks, but they would not allow him to eat with them, but called him a heretic.

After breakfast, the bishop demanded whether he would recant. But Hunter answered that he would never recant what he had confessed before men, concerning his faith in Christ.

The bishop said that he was no Christian, but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. Hunter answered, “I was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace.”

The bishop then sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him, as many as he could bear. He asked him how old he was; and Hunter said that he was nineteen years old.

“Well,” said the bishop, “you will be burned before you are twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet.” Hunter answered, “God strengthen me in his truth.”

He continued in prison three quarters of a year, and was before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned, which was on the 9th of February, when his brother Robert Hunter was then present.

The bishop, sending for William, asked him if he would recant. And then, remarking how William confessed that he believed that he received Christ’s body *spiritually* when he received the communion, he asked, “Do you mean that the bread is Christ’s body spiritually?”

William answered, “I do not mean so; rather, when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I feed upon Christ spiritually through faith in my soul, and I am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ has brought to all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection.”

Then the bishop said, “Do you not think that, for example, here you may see the squareness and color of my cap, and yet that is not the substance, which you judge by the accidents.”‘

William answered, “If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe it.” Then the bishop said, “Will you not believe that God can do anything above man’s capacity? “Yes,” said William, “I must believe that; for daily experience plainly teaches that thing to all men. But our question is not what God can do, but what He would have us learn in his holy supper.”

Then the bishop said, “I have always found you sticking at this point, and I see no hope to reclaim you to the catholic faith, but you will continue corrupt.” Then he pronounced sentence upon William, that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and from there to Brentwood, “where,” he said, “You shall be burned.”

Then the bishop called for another prisoner. And so, when he had condemned them all, five in number, he called for William Hunter, and argued with him, saying, “If you will yet recant, I will make you a free man in the city, and give you forty pounds in good money to set up your trade with. Or I will make you steward of my house, and set you in office, for I like you well. You have wit enough, and I will prefer you if you recant.”

But William answered, “I thank you for your great offers. Notwithstanding, my lord, if you cannot persuade my conscience by Scripture, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all worldly things but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ.”

Then said the bishop, “If you die in this mind you are condemned forever.” William answered, “God judges righteously, and justifies those whom man condemns unjustly.”

Thus Hunter and the bishop parted. Hunter and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month. Afterwards they were sent down: Hunter to Brentwood, and the others into other places of the country. Now, when Hunter had come down to Brentwood, the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (25th of March), he remained till the day after. They would not put him to death then, because of the holiness of the day.

In the meantime, Hunter’s father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun. His mother said to him that she was glad to bear such a child who could find it in his heart to lose his life for Christ’s name’s sake.

Then William said to his mother, “For my little pain which I will suffer, which is but short, Christ has promised me, mothcr, a crown of joy. May you not be glad of that, mother?” With that his mother kneeled down, saying, “I pray God strengthen you, my son, to the end. Yes, I think you as well bestowed as any child that ever I bore.”

At these words, Mr. Higbed took her in his arms saying, “I rejoice to see you in this mind, and you also have good cause to rejoice.” And so said the others. His father and mother both said that they were never of any other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he might so continue to the end. William’s father said, “I was afraid of nothing but that my son might have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold, the bishop was so hard to him.”

Now when it was day, the sheriff set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then the sheriff’s son came to him, and took him by his right hand, saying, “William, do not be afraid of these men who are present here with bows, bills, and weapons, prepared to bring you to the place where you will be burned.” William answered, “I thank God I am not afraid; for I have already laid to my account what it will cost me.” At this, the sheriff’s son could speak no more to him for weeping.

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Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff’s servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by the other. While on his way he met his father, who spoke to his son, weeping and saying, “God be with you, son William;” and William said, “God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall

meet again, when we shall be happy." His father said, "I hope so, William." So William went to the place where the stake stood, but the things were not ready. Then William took a wet broom faggot, and kneeled down, and read the 51st Psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, you will not despise."

Then Master Tyrill said, "You lie; you read falsely; for the words are a humble spirit." But William said, "The translation says, a contrite heart." Master Tyrill replied, "The translation is false. You translate books as you like yourselves, like heretics." "Well," said William, "there is no great difference in these words." Then the sheriff said, "Here is a letter from the queen. If you will recant, you shall live; if not, you shall be burnt." "No," answered William, "I will not recant, God willing." Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then one Richard Ponde came, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about him.

Master Brown said, "There is not enough wood to burn a leg of him." Then William said, "Good people pray for me; and make speed and dispatch me quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people, and I will pray for you likewise."

"Now," said Master Brown, "pray for you? I will pray no more for you than I would pray for a dog." William answered, "Now you have that which you sought, and I pray God it is not laid to your charge in the last day. I forgive you." Then Master Brown said, "I ask no forgiveness of you." "Well," said William, "If God forgives you, I will not require my blood at your hands."

Then William seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have shown him the book, said, "Away, you false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest you be partakers of their plagues." Then the priest said, "As you burn here, so you shall burn in hell." William answered, "You lie, you false prophet; away, you false prophet, away!"

Then a gentleman who was present said, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, "Amen, amen." Immediately a fire was made.

Then William flung his psalter into his brother's hand, who said, "William, think on the holy passion of Christ, and do not be afraid of death." William answered, "I am not afraid." Then he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" and casting his head down again into the smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

An Account of Thomas Higbed and Thomas Causton.

This Master Higbed and Master Causton, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one residing at Horndon on the Hill, the other in the parish of Thundersley, being zealous and religious in the true service of God. Just as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in this time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hidden and obscure among such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world. But at length they were perceived and detected to Bonner, bishop of London.

Bonner, perceiving these two gentlemen were of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should arise, came there himself, accompanied with Mr. Fecknam and others, thinking to reclaim them. They used great labor and diligence, both by terrors, and threatenings, and flattering promises, and all other means to reduce them again to the unity, as they termed it, of the mother church.

In brief, when nothing could prevail to make these godly men assent to their dogmas, they came to this point, that they required time to consult with themselves what was best to be done. This time of deliberation having expired, and these men remaining constant and immovable — and moreover, having given out their confession in writing — the bishop saw no good to be done in tarrying there any longer. He departed, and carried them both with him to London, and with them other prisoners also, who were apprehended in those quarters (areas) about the same time.

They were brought out to open examination in St. Paul's on the 17th of February A.D. 1555. It was demanded whether they would recant their errors, and come into the unity of the popish church. When they refused to do this, the bishop assigned them the day to appear again.

On that day he read to them certain articles, and gave them respite till the next day to answer to them; and so he committed them to prison. Having then answered the articles, they were again remanded to prison.

On the 8th of March, Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, and there had read to him the articles with his answers. After certain exhortations to recant, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised to receive him back into their communion. He answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure you measure us, you will be measured with the same again at God's hands." The bishop still persuaded him to recant, but he answered, "No, I will not abjure. You said that the bishops who were recently burnt were heretics: but I pray God may make me such a heretic as they were."

The bishop then leaving Causton, called for Thomas Higbed, and tried with him the same persuasions. But he answered, "I will not abjure. For I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now these sixteen years. Do what you can, you can do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

They were then removed. On the following day they were both again brought before Bonner. The bishop had Thomas Causton's articles and answers be read openly. He tried to persuade him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now at last to their mother the catholic church, and save himself. But Causton answered, "No, I will not abjure; for I did not come here for that purpose." Then he exhibited to the bishop in writing, in his own name as well as in Thomas Higbed's name, a confession of their faith, to which they would stand. He requested leave to read it. This being granted, he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as follows:

"The Confession and Faith of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed.

"1. We believe and profess in baptism to forsake the devil and all his works, and the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

"2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.

"3. We believe that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

"4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and not to either saint or angel.

"5. We believe that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, 'Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone.' For which church 'Christ gave himself, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.'—Eph 2.20, and 25-27.

[743] A.D. 1555.

"6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must say, Father forgive us our sins: but through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven. 'For he gave himself for it,' says St. Paul, 'that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it a glorious church.' 'Besides whom there is no Savior,' says the prophet; 'Nor is there salvation,' says St. Peter, 'in any other name.'

"7. We believe, as he is our only Savior, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul says, 'There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Jesus Christ.' Therefore, seeing that no one has this name *God and Man*, but Jesus Christ, there is no mediator but Jesus Christ.

"8. We believe that this church of Christ is and has been persecuted, according to the words of Christ, 'As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you:' 'For the disciple is not above his master.' 'For it is not only given to you to believe in Christ,' says St. Paul, 'but also to suffer for his sake.' All who will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.

"9. We believe that the church of Christ teaches the word of God truly and sincerely, adding nothing to, nor taking anything from it; and it also administers the sacraments according to the primitive church.

"10. We believe that this church of Christ allows all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, 'Search the Scriptures; for it is they which testify of me.' We read also in the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience searched the Scriptures daily, whether he preached truly or not. Also the prophet David teaches all men to pray with understanding: 'For how will the unlearned,' says St. Paul, 'say Amen, at the giving of thanks,' when they do not understand what is said? And what is more allowed than true faith, which St. Paul says, 'comes by hearing of the word of God?'

"11. We believe, that the church of Christ teaches that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not according to the doctrine of men. 'For in vain,' says Christ, 'you worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'

"Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, 'Do not walk in the traditions and precepts of your elders; but walk in my precepts; do what I command you; add nothing to it, neither take anything from it.' Likewise says Christ, 'You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me.' By this we learn that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

"12. We believe that the supper of the Lord should not be altered and changed, because Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, instituted it. For it is written, 'Cursed is he that changes my ordinances, and departs from my commandments, or takes anything from them.'

"Now we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is much abused.

"First, In that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both (bread and wine).

"Secondly, In that it is made a private mass, where Christ made it a communion. For he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church.

"Thirdly, In that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead, whereas Christ ordained it as a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered on the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle says, 'For by one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified.' 'Now where there is remission of sins, there is no more offering for sin.' Heb 10.14,18

"Fourthly, In that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, 'You shall not worship anything that is made with hands.'

"Fifthly, In that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use of it, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we are set at peace with God, and received to his favor and mercy by his promise, of which this sacrament is a sure seal and witness.

"Besides this, it is hung up, and shut in a box, yes, many times for so long that worms breed in it, and so it putrefies. By this, the common people have occasion to speak irreverently of it, who otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore, those who thus abuse it, cause the slander, and not we, who pray daily to God to restore it to right use, according to Christ's institution.

"Now, concerning Christ's words, 'This is my body,' we do not deny them; but we say that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other Scriptures, by which we may come to the spiritual understanding of them which will be most to the glory of God. For as the apostle says, 'No Scripture is of any private interpretation.' 2Pet 1.20 Besides this, the Scriptures are full of like figurative speeches. For example, Christ says, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood.' 'The Rock is Christ,' says St. Paul. 'Whoever receives a child in my name,' says our Savior Jesus Christ, 'receives me.' These sentences must not be understood according to the letter, lest we err, as the Jews did, who thought that Christ's body would be eaten with their teeth, when he spoke of eating it. Christ taught them that such a fleshly eating of his body profited nothing, saying, 'It is the spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing: the words that I speak to you are spirit, and they are life." Joh 6.63

"Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore whoever comes to the supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but 'believe,' says St. Augustine, 'and you have eaten it.' So that, we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and as the apostle says, 'Let a man examine himself,' whether our conscience testifies to us, that we truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures. If we are truly certified of being born again from our old conduct in heart, mind, will, and deed, then we may boldly come to the feast with this marriage-garment of our faith.

"In confirmation of which we have numerous Scriptures, such as from Christ himself, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And St. Paul, 'As often,' he says, 'as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he comes.' There is no change here, but it is still bread. And St Luke affirms the same. Also Christ has made a promise, saying, 'Yet a little while I am with you, and then I go to Him who sent me.' Joh 7.33 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you. But if I depart, I will send him to you.' Joh 16.7 So according to his promise he is ascended, as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter says, 'Whom the heaven must receive until the time of restitution of all things.' Act 3.21

"Now as regards his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is everywhere; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place, with which the Scriptures agree. For his body was not in all places at once when he was here. For it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as the angel says; nor was it at Bethany when Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, 'I am glad I was not there.' And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper

sacramentally and spiritually in all those who worthily receive it, and corporeally in heaven, both God and man.

"And further, we make here our protestation before God, whom we call to record in this matter, that what we have said, is neither from stubbornness, nor from a willful mind, as some judge of us, but even of our very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we sought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And as he has thus shown his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, to whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

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When Causton had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop asked them whether they would stand to their confession and other answers? Causton said, "Yes, we will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief contained in it." After this answer the bishop proceeded to pronounce sentence against him.

Then Causton said that it was rashness, and without love and mercy to give judgment without answering their confession by the truth of God's word.

Smith said that he would answer their confession. But the bishop would not allow him, and desired Harpsfield to speak on account of the people; but he neither touched nor answered one sentence of it.

This done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against Thomas Causton. And then calling Thomas Higbed, he likewise had his articles and answers read. In their reading, Higbed said, "You speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and you go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other of my kinsfolk believed as you say, yet they were *deceived* in so believing. And where you say that my Lord, named Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and others specified in the articles, are heretics, I wish that I were such a heretic as they were." Then the bishop asked him again, whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? He said, "No; I would that *you* should recant; for I am in the truth, and you are in error."

"Well," said the bishop, "if you will return, I will gladly receive you."

"No," replied Higbed, "I will not return as you wish, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God."

Upon this the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him. When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and sent to Newgate, where they remained fourteen days, not so much in afflictions as in consolations, praised be God! They earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray for the increase of this: that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy which he had already begun in them, so that they might persevere to the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days being expired, on the 23d of March they were brought from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex. There being fast bound in a cart, they were shortly after brought to the appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Rapley, both in the county of Essex, where on the 26th of the month, they most constantly sealed their faith with their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and the great rejoicing of the godly.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence.

In the history of Thomas Tomkins and his companions, mention was made of six who were examined and condemned together by bishop Bonner, on the 9th of February. Of these six condemned persons, two were executed, namely Tomkins and William Hunter; one was pardoned;[10] two, William Pygot and Stephen Knight, suffered on the 28th; and the other, John Lawrence, suffered on the 29th of March.

Regarding these three martyrs, we have something to say now about their examinations. It was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. They severally answered and subscribed that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven and nowhere else. The bishop had certain articles read to them, tending to the same effect as the articles against Tomkins and Causton; and they were answered in the same constant way.

The next day, the 10th of February, before their public appearance, the bishop had William Pygot and Stephen Knight brought into his great chamber in his palace, where he tried to persuade them to recant, and deny their former profession. They answered that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions. Shortly after this, all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter) were brought openly into the consistory. There they had the same articles propounded to them which were propounded before to Thomas Tomkins.

The bishop also talked to John Lawrence alone. He said that he was a priest who was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past, that he was at some time a professed black friar, and he was also betrothed to one whom he intended to have married. His opinion being demanded respecting the sacrament, he said that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. After other fair words and threatenings, all of them were commanded to appear again in the afternoon.

At that hour they came back, and were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine. But they again constantly answered that they would not, but would stick to that faith which they had declared and subscribed, for they believed it was truth, and that the contrary was heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor his cruel threatenings would prevail, he gave judgment. Then they were committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them to Newgate, where they remained until they were carried down into Essex. There, on the 28th of March, William Pygot was burned at Braintree. Stephen Knight was burned at Maldon. At the stake, kneeling upon the ground, he made the following prayer:

> "O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I willingly leave this life and desire the bitter death of your cross, with the loss of all earthly things, rather than to abide the blasphemy of your most Holy Name, or to obey men in breaking your holy commandment. You see, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honor your enemy, I rather choose the torment of the body, and the loss of this life, and I have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win you. Such death is dearer to us than thousands of gold and silver. Such

[10] The one pardoned was *not* Hawkes, for he was martyred with them on the 9th of February (p. 762).

love, O Lord, you have laid up in my breast, so that I hunger for you as the deer that is wounded desires the ground. Send your holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. You remember, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, just as you have bidden me to this banquet out of your accustomed goodness and love, and accounted me worthy to drink of your own cup among your elect, even so give me strength, O Lord, against this your element. Just as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at your commandment (as an obedient servant) be sweet and pleasant, that through the strength of your Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into your bosom, according to your promise — and for this mortal body receive an immortal, and for this corruptible body put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for your dear Son's sake, my Savior, for whose testimony I offer this free-will-offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O, Heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O, sweet Son of God, my Savior, spread your wings over me. O, blessed and Holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration I have come here, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit. Amen."

The Death and Martyrdom of John Lawrence, Priest.

The next day, John Lawrence was brought to Colchester. Not being able to walk (for his legs we sorely worn with heavy irons in prison, and his body weakened with wants) he was brought to the fire in a chair; and so sitting, he was in constant faith consumed.

[745] A.D. 1555.

At the burning of this Lawrence, as he was sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried out, as well as young children could speak, saying, "Lord, strengthen your servant, and keep your promise; Lord, strengthen your servant, and keep your promise." This thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones. Nor yet is it a little commendation to their parents who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

The History of Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's.

The day after, which was the 30th of March, followed the martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called Robert Farrar. He was the next bishop in this catalogue of Christian martyrs, who suffered after Hooper. This Farrar, by the favor and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. I may well call him twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Queen Mary, to the shedding of his blood, but also for other injuries and troubles in King Edward's time, which he no less firmly than undeservedly sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerset (see p. 518).

Through the contrivance of his adversaries, one Hugh Rawlins, priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to George Constantine, exhibited to the king's most honorable council certain articles and information to blemish the bishop's credit, in order to pull him down from his bishopric, and bring him under a *praemunire*. Because of this, upon the unfortunate fall of the duke of Somerset, by whom Ferrar had been promoted and maintained before, he was detained in prison till the death of King Edward. At the coming in of Queen Mary and the popish religion, by which new troubles rose upon him, he was now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine.

The bishop of St. David's had long been detained in custody in the reign of King Edward — not for any just cause deserved on his part, but because he had been promoted by the duke

of Somerset. And now, after his fall, he found fewer friends to support him against those who hunted after his bishopric. By the coming in of Queen Mary, the state of religion began to be changed and altered. He was now accused and examined, not for any matter of *praemunire*, but for his faith and doctrine. He was called before the bishop of Winchester, with Hooper, Rogers, Bradford, Sanders, and others, on the 4th of Feb. On that day, he would have been condemned with them. But because leisure did not serve the bishop so well then, his condemnation was deferred. He was sent back to prison, where he continued till the 14th of February. His examinations and answers before the bishop of Winchester (as much as remained and came into our hands), I have annexed here.

At his first coming and kneeling before the lord chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table — and Rochester, Southwell, Bourne, and others standing at the table's end — the lord chancellor spoke to him.

Winchester. — "Now, sir, have you heard how the world goes here?"

Farrar. — "If it please your honor, I do not know."

Winchester. — "What do you say? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding that you are a prisoner?"

Farrar. — " No, my lord, I do not know."

Winchester. — "Look! what a froward fellow this is! "

Farrar. — "If it please your lordship, how might I know anything abroad, being a prisoner?"

Winchester. — "Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

Farrar. — "I do not know my lord cardinal; I heard that a cardinal had come in, but I did not believe it, and I do not believe it still."

Worcester. — "I pray your lordship tell him yourself, so that he may know what is done."

Winchester. — "The queen's majesty and the parliament have restored religion to the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of our King Henry VIII. You are in the queen's debt, and her majesty will be good to you, if you will return to the catholic church."

Farrar. — "In what state I am, concerning my debts to the queen's majesty in the court of Exchequer, my lord treasurer knows. And the last time that I was before your honor, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent to or agree that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm. And further, I need not repeat this to your lordship; you know it well enough."

Bourne. — "You once abjured for heresy in Oxford."

Farrar. — "I did not."

Bourne. — "You did."

Farrar. — "Never! it is not true."

Bourne. — "You went from St. David's to Scotland."

Farrar. — "I did not."

Bourne. — "You did."

Farrar. — "I never did, but I went from York into Scotland."

Bourne. — "Ah, so I said; you went with Barlow."

Farrar. — "That is true, but never from St. David's."

Bourne. — "You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York."

Farrar. — “I did not.”

Bourne. — “You did.”

Farrar. — “I did not, but I carried old books from Oswald’s to the bishop of York.”

Bourne. — “You supplanted your master.”

Farrar. — “I never did that in my life.”

Bourne. — “By my faith you did.”

Farrar. — “I did not, never in my life. But I did shield and save my master from danger, and I obtained it from King Henry VIII for my true service; I thank God for it.”

Bourne. — “My lord, he has as bad a name in Wales as ever any man had.”

Farrar. — “That is not so. Whoever says so will never be able to prove it.”

Bourne. — “He has defrauded the queen in several sums of money.”

Farrar. — “That is utterly untrue, I never defrauded king nor queen of one penny in my life, and you shall never be able to prove what you say.”

Winchester. — “You are a false knave.”

Then Farrar stood up (for previously he had kneeled) and said, “No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under King Henry VII, I served King Henry VIII and King Edward VI truly, and I have served the queen’s majesty, truly with my poor heart and word. More I could not do, and I was never false, nor shall I be, by the grace of God.”

Winchester. — “What do you say, will you be reformable?”

Farrar. — “My lord, if it please your honor, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry VIII, and also to King Edward, and to the queen’s majesty, which I can never break while I live, even if I were to die for it.”

Durham. — “You have made another oath before.”

Farrar. — “No, my lord, I never made another oath before.”

Durham. — “You made a vow.”

Farrar. — “I did not.”

Winchester. — “You made a profession to live without a wife.”

Farrar. — “No, my lord, if it please your honor, I never did; I made a profession to live chaste, but not without a wife.”

Worcester. — “You were sworn to him that was head of your house.”

Farrar. — “I never was.”

Winchester. — “Well, you are a froward knave. We will have no more to do with you; we will be short with you, and you shall know that within this week.”

Farrar. — “I am as it pleases your honor to call me; but I cannot break my oath, which your lordship yourself made before me, and gave an example, which confirmed my conscience. I can never break that oath while I live.”

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Durham. — “Well, he stands upon his oath: call another.”

My lord chancellor then rang a little bell, and Farrar said, “I pray God save the king and queen’s majesties long to continue in honor to God’s glory and their comfort, and to the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your honors;” and so he departed.

After these examinations. Bishop Farrar remained in prison uncondemned till the 14th of February; then he was sent into Wales. There it was proposed to him, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he would be received and pardoned. When Farrar would give no answer, the bishop ministered to him these articles:

“1. Whether he believed the marriage of priests to be lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or not?

“2. Whether he believed that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration are duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?”

The bishop required Farrar to answer these articles upon his allegiance.

He said he would answer them when he saw a lawful commission, and would make no further answer at that time. The bishop then committed him to the keeper, to be kept in prison.

On the 28th of February, Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David’s sitting as judge, ministered to bishop Farrar certain articles and interrogatories in writing, which he refused to answer till he might see a lawful commission and authority. Then the pretended bishop of St. David’s pronounced him insubordinate, and accounted him as one confessed, and so he pronounced him in writing. This done, he committed him to custody until the 4th of March.

On the day appointed, bishop Farrar appeared again before the pretended bishop Morgan, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer the articles. He gently requested the copy of the articles, and a competent term to answer for himself. This being granted, and the Thursday next being assigned to him to answer, he was committed again to custody.

On Thursday, as it was appointed, he again appeared. He exhibited in writing, his answer. Then the pretended bishop of St. David’s again offered him the articles. The tenor of them was to this effect:

“1st. That he required him, being a priest, to renounce matrimony.

“2nd. To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

“3rd. That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

“4th. That the general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can they err.

“5th. That men are not justified before God by faith alone, but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

“6th. That the catholic church, which alone has authority to expound the Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things pertaining to public discipline, is visible, and is like a city set on a mountain, for all men to understand.”

Ferrar refused to subscribe to these articles, affirming that they were invented by man, and did not pertain to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop delivered to him the copy of the

articles, assigning him until the following Monday to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

On that Monday, the 11th of March, appearing again before the bishop, he exhibited in a written paper his answer to the articles. The bishop assigned the next Wednesday, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

On that day this good bishop and true servant of God, was demanded by Henry Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, as he called them, and subscribe to the catholic articles.

After this, the godly bishop, Farrar, exhibited a schedule written in English, appealing by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole.

Notwithstanding this, Bishop Morgan, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him. By this sentence he pronounced him an excommunicated heretic, to be given up immediately to the secular power, namely, to the sheriff of the town of Carmarthen.

Being condemned and then degraded, Ferrar was committed to the secular power. Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution in the town of Carmarthen where, in the marketplace at the south side of the market cross, the 30th of March, being the Saturday before passion Sunday, he most constantly sustained the torments of the fire.

To show the constancy of this blessed martyr, this may be added, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer. The bishop answered, saying that if he saw him once stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. Accordingly, he stood so patiently, that he never moved, but continued still, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

The History and Martyrdom of Rawlins White.

Because we have given the history of Farrar, burned at the town of Carmarthen in Wales, I also adjoin the history of Rawlins White, who in the same cause, and in the same country of Wales, and about the same month of March, gave his life like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff.

This Rawlins was a fisherman for twenty years at least, in the town of Cardiff, being a man of a very good name, and well accounted among his neighbors. As to his religion, he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry of the times, I mean in the reign of King Henry VIII. But after God, of his mercy, had raised up the light of his gospel through the blessed government of King Edward VI. Rawlins began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and very simple, he knew no ready way by which he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came into his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity. He had a little boy, his own son, whom he sent to school to learn to read English. After the little boy could read well, his father would have the boy read to him every night after supper, summer and winter, a piece of the holy Scripture, and now and then some other good book. In this virtuous exercise, the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that he practiced himself in the study of the Scriptures, rather than in the trade which he had followed. So that within a few years, through the help of his little son, a special minister appointed by God for that purpose, and through much conference besides,

Rawlins so profited, that he was able not only to resolve himself, regarding his own former blindness and ignorance, but he was also able to admonish and instruct others. And therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another visiting others. By this, he became both a notable and open professor of the truth in that country. At all times and in all such places, he was not without the company of his little boy, whom he used as an assistant to this good purpose. To his great industry in the holy Scriptures, God also added a singular gift of memory.

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So that in declaring and reciting the text, he could do that which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could not easily accomplish. Upon alleging from Scripture, he very often would cite the book, the leaf, yes and the very sentence; such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

When he had thus continued in his profession for five years. King Edward died. Upon his decease, Queen Mary succeeded; and with her, all kinds of superstition and papistry returned. Once this was perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as he did before. And therefore, oftentimes in some private place, he would call his trusty friends together, and pass away the time with earnest prayer and great lamentation. So that, by his virtuous instructions, he converted a great number — this number, no doubt, would have greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution come on.

The force of this at last so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he expected every hour to go to prison. Many of those who had received comfort by his instructions, resorted to him, and by all means possible, began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose of his goods to the use of his wife and children, and by that means escape the danger.

But Rawlins, not abashed through the iniquity of the time, and not at all moved by their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly that he had learned one good lesson as to the confession and denial of Christ. He told them that if he, by their persuasions, should deny his master Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and utterly condemn him. And therefore, he would by grace confess and bear witness of him before men, that he might find in Him everlasting life.

At last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy. Upon which he was brought before the bishop of Llandaff, by whom after many conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. At last he was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued one whole year. During that time, although he was thus troubled to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children, his heart was so set on the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never quiet except when he was persuading or exhorting those of his familiar friends who commonly came to him. So that on Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing.

When he had continued in Cardiff Castle one year, the time of his trial was at hand. The bishop of Llandaff had him brought from the castle to his own house, near Chepstow; the bishop tried various ways to reduce him to conformity. But when threatening words, and flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop advised him to recant his opinions, and gave him a day for determination. That day having come, the bishop with his chaplains went

into his chapel, with a great number of others. When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought)before them. The bishop long talked to him, declaring the cause of his sending for him, which was that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error.

When the bishop had made an end, Rawlins spoke boldly to him, and said, “My lord, I thank God I am a Christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God. And if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be.” After much contention of a like nature, when Rawlins would in no way recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

“Proceed in your law, in God’s name,” said Rawlins. “But you shall never condemn me as a heretic while the world stands.” “But,” said the bishop to his company, “before we proceed any further with him, let us pray to God that he would send some spark of grace upon him; and it may so chance, that through our prayer God will here turn and convert his heart.” When Rawlins heard the bishop say so: “Ah, my lord,” he cried; “now you deal well, and like a goodly bishop. And I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ says: ‘Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them;’ and there are more than two or three of you. Now, if your request is godly and lawful, and you pray as you should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, go on; pray to your God, and I will pray to my God: I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire.”

By and by, the bishop, with his company, fell to prayer. And Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands; and when they had prayed a while, the bishop, with his company, arose from prayer. And then Rawlins also arose, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop: “Now, Rawlins, how is it with you? Will you revoke your opinions, or not?” Rawlins said, “Surely, my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and by God’s grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them. But you honor a false God, and do not pray as you should pray. And therefore God has not granted your desire. But I am one poor, simple man, as you see, and God has heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause.”

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs had no effect, reproved him with angry words, and was immediately ready to read the sentence. However, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains who were present, he thought it best to have a mass first, thinking that by so doing some wonderful work might be wrought in Rawlins. And thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the meantime, poor Rawlins took himself to prayer in a secret place, until such time as the priest came to the elevation, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the elevation bell ring, he rose out of his place, and came to the choir door. Standing there a while, he turned himself to the people, speaking these words: “Good people, if there are any brethren among you, or at least, if there is but one brother among you, let him bear witness at the day of judgment, that I do not bow to this idol,” — meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

The mass being ended, Rawlins was called for again. The bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so steadfast, that the bishop’s talk was altogether in vain. Upon which, the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. This being done, Rawlins

was dismissed, and by the bishop's commandment he was carried back to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town — a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison.

Rawlins in the meantime passed the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing psalms. He always used this kind of godly exercise, both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

When he perceived his time was near, he sent to his wife, that she should make ready and send him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which he was afterwards burned in. This request, or rather commandment of his, his wife performed with great sorrow and grief of heart; early in the morning she sent it to him. He received it most gladly and joyfully.

When the hour of his execution had come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat, which he usually wore. Besides this, he had an old pair of leather buskins (half-boots) on his legs, which he had used long before.

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Thus being brought out of prison, he was guarded with a great company of bills and gleaves (short swords). When he beheld them, he said, "Alas! What does all this mean? All this was not needed. By God's grace I will not start away; but with all my heart and mind I give to God most hearty thanks that he has made me worthy to abide all this for his holy Name's sake."

Coming to a place on his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation, the sudden sight of them so pierced his heart, that tears trickled down his face. But soon after, as if he had disliked this infirmity of his flesh, he began to be angry with himself. And striking his breast with his hand, he said, "Ah, flesh, you check me so! Would you gladly prevail? Well, I tell you, do what you can, you shall not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time, this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice, and there he found a stake ready set up, with some wood for making the fire. When he beheld this, he went forward very boldly; but in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground; and in rising again, the earth sticking on his nose a little, he said these words: "Earth to earth, and dust to dust: you are my mother, and to you I shall return." Then he went cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close to the stake. When he had stood there a while, he cast his eye upon the person who gave this account of his martyrdom, and called him to him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very gladly have his swing; and therefore I pray you, when you see me tempted in anything, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I will remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close to the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron. When Rawlins saw him, he lifted up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God thanks. Then the smith put a chain about him. As he was making it fast, Rawlins said to him: "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily, but God of his great mercy, give me strength and patience to abide the extremity."

Now, when the smith had made him fast to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds, in which the good old man was no less occupied than the rest; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds, and lay them about him in places most convenient for his speedy dispatch. He did this with such a cheerful countenance, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus when all things were ready, so that nothing was lacking but the fire, a stand was erected directly against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, on which a priest stepped up. He addressed himself to the people who were assembled in great numbers, as if it was market day. Then the priest went on in his sermon, and spoke of many things about the authority of the church of Rome. Rawlins gave such good attention, that he seemed not at all moved or disquieted. At last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins' opinions, and cited the usual place of Scripture, in support of his dogmas.

Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture. So he suddenly started up and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come here, good people, and do not hear a false prophet preaching." And then he said to the preacher, "Ah, you naughty hypocrite, do you presume to prove your false doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text that follows. Did not Christ say, "Do this in remembrance of me? After these words, the priest being amazed, immediately held his peace.

Then some who stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire!" This being done, the straw and reed cast up both a great and sudden flame. This good and blessed man kept his hands in it till the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away, except that once he wiped his face, as it were, with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul; O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At last the fire burned so vehemently against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned. This made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. Thus died this godly old man, Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, now being rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of eternal life.

Before I pass over the month of March, I cannot help but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of Queen Mary to certain of the council on the 28th, about restoring back the abbey lands. She had called into her presence four of the privy council, viz. William, lord marquess of Winchester, high treasurer of England; Sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; Sir William Peter, knight, secretary; and Sir Francis Inglefield, knight, master of the wards. Queen Mary then said, "You are here of our council, and we have desired you to be called to us so that you might hear my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions of monasteries, and of other churches now in my possession.

The sum of the words spoken by Queen Mary to certain of the Councillors, March 28, 1555, regarding the restitution of Abbey Lands.

"First I consider, that the lands were taken away from the churches in the time of schism, and by unlawful means, which are contrary both to the law of God and of the church. For this cause my conscience does not allow me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the lands, but with all my heart freely and willingly, here and before God, I surrender and relinquish the lands and possessions, or inheritances, and renounce them with this purpose: that order and disposition of them may be taken as will seem best to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate, the lord cardinal, to the honor of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And although you may object that considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity of it, my imperial crown cannot be honorably maintained and furnished without these possessions;

yet I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms. And therefore these possessions I utterly refuse to hold here, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, who has given me a like-minded husband, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

"Therefore I charge and command that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, tomorrow, resort together to the most reverend lord legate, and signify to him this matter in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the fuller declaration of the state of my kingdom and of these possessions, as you yourselves understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

This intimation being given by the queen, first to the councilors, and then to the cardinal, he drew out a copy in Latin, and sent it to the pope. This copy coming afterwards to my hand, I have thus translated it into English.

In the preceding month, the bishop of Ely, with the lord Montacute and one hundred and forty horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen, to the pope of Rome. The reason is not expressed; but it maybe supposed to be about the abbey lands, as it may appear by the sequel.

It was not long after that the pope set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all those persons, without exception, who kept any of the church or abbey lands, by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated not only those who had any of the church or abbey lands, but also all princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of peace and others in office, who had not, or did not, immediately put the same bull into execution. Although this execution (God be thanked) was never put into practice to this day.

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Here again is to be observed another popish device, not unworthy of being noted. For where the papists may overmaster by force, they spare no cost. This well appeared, and still appears, in burning the poor patient Christians who, because they are destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatever is put upon them, play the lion, 1Pet 5.8 and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they find themselves overmatched, or fear to receive a defeat in presuming too far, there they hold off, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, however so apostolical they may be, till they perceive a convenient time for their purpose, as in this case.

For notwithstanding that the pope's bull came with full authority for the restitution of the abbey lands, and it thundered out his most terrible excommunication not only against those who retained any such lands, but also against all others who did not see the pope's commandment executed. Yet neither Winchester nor any of the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility was too strong for them. Therefore they were content to let the matter fall, or at least to wait till circumstances might better serve them.

Yes, and under a crafty pretense that the nobility and men of landed property at the first publishing of the bull, might not be exasperated too much against them, they subtly abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people. They affirmed that the pope's bull, set forth in print for the restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries! But it is evident that the bull was meant only for England, and no other country, both by the above intimation of queen Mary, as well as by many other causes. So that it is easy to understand what the purpose of those men was, if the time had served them.

Persecution of Other Protestants

In the beginning of April, **John Awcock** died in prison. He was buried in the fields, as was the manner of the papists to deny their Christian burial to those who died outside of their popish antichristian church. On the first of April 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent, to apprehend **Thomas Wodgat** and **William Maynard** for preaching secretly.

On the 7th, another letter was sent to the sheriff for the apprehension of one **Harwick**, who went about from place to place with a boy with him, preaching.

On the 15th, a letter was directed to Sir Nicolas Hare and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, desiring them to examine **Master Flower**, alias Branch, as to what he meant by wearing around his neck the words, "Fear God, flee idols." They also asked them to speak to Bonner, Bishop of London, to proceed against him for his religion, and that the Justice of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding blood in the church. So that if he continued in his opinion, he might be executed by the latter part of this week, and his right hand, the day before his execution, or the same day, would be stricken off.

On the 22d there was a letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before he was burnt.

On the 29th, Master **Robert Horneby**, a servant to the lady Elizabeth, was brought before the council for his religion. Standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, he was committed to the Marshalsea.

The History and Martyrdom of George Marsh.

George Marsh was burnt in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster. He was well brought up by his parents in learning and trade, and afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, he married a young woman belonging to the county. He lived with her for many years on a farm, and had several children. upon the death of his wife, he went into the University of Cambridge, where he studied and increased greatly in learning and godly virtues, and became a minister of God's holy word and sacraments. For a while he was curate to Lawrence Sanders. He continued in this condition of life for a time, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the overthrowing of antichrist's false doctrine by his godly readings and sermons, both there and in the parish of Deane, and elsewhere in Lancashire.

At length he was apprehended by his adversaries, and kept in prison four months by the bishop of Chester, not being permitted to have relief and comfort from his friends. But the porter was charged to mark who asked for Marsh, and to signify their names to the bishop. This appears by an account written by himself, as follows:

The Handling, Entreating, and Examination of George Marsh.

"On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th of March, I was told at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone with others of Master Barton's servants, made diligent search for me in Bolton. When they perceived that I was not there, they gave strict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh to find and bring me to Master Barton on the following day, with others, to be brought before the honorable earl of Derby, there to be examined in matters of religion, etc.

"Knowing this by means of several of my friends, I was variously affected. My mother, and others of my friends, advised me to flee, and to avoid the peril, as I had intended to do after the week next ensuing, if this had not happened in the meanwhile. Seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as I never will, God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit), it would not only have put them to

great sorrow, heaviness and losses, with costs and charges to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also put myself to shameful death, after troubles and painful imprisonment.

"This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and flee the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened. My weak flesh would gladly have consented to their counsel, but my spirit did not fully agree. Thinking and saying this to myself, that if I fled it would be thought, reported, and said that I not only fled the country and my nearest and dearest friends, but that I fled from Christ's holy word, as these past years I had professed with my heart, or at least with my outward living, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given to me by the Lord. Having their counsel and advice, and the cogitations and counsels of my own mind, and being drawn in diverse ways, as it were, I went from my mother's house saying that I would come again at evening.

"In the meantime I did not cease by earnest prayer to ask and seek counsel from God (who is the Giver of all good gifts) and from others of my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Deane Moor, about sunset. We departed after we had consulted together about my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees. Not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, I said I did not doubt that God (according to our prayer and trust) would give me such wisdom and counsel that would be most to His honor and glory, the profit of my neighbors and brethren in the world, and to obtaining my eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

"This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where several of Master Barton's servants had been seeking me. When they could not find me, they strictly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smithy-hills the next day.

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"Being so charged, they had gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere. I intended before to have been all night with my mother. But then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her, I departed and went beyond Deane church, and there tarried all night with an old friend.

"At my first awaking, someone came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters which I never read nor yet looked at. He said my friend's advice was that I should in no way flee, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At his words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from then on I considered no more whether it was better to flee or tarry. I was at a point with myself, that I would not flee, but go to Master Barton who sought me, and there present myself, and patiently bear whatever cross it might please God to lay upon my shoulders. Thereupon my mind and conscience which were much disquieted and troubled before, was now merry and in quiet estate.

"So early in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany (as was my custom) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bedside, I prepared myself to go towards Smithy-hills. As I was going there, I went into the houses of Henry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Ralph Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson. I desired them to pray for me, and to have me commended to all my friends, to comfort my mother, and to be good to my little children. For I supposed they would not see my face anymore before the last day. And so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parts, and came to Smithy-hills about nine o'clock, and presented myself before Master Barton.

"He charged my brother and William Marsh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten o'clock, before the earl or his counsel.

“So we went to my mother’s, and praying there, I took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping, and so I departed from them, and came to Lathum early the next day.

“Then I was called to my lord and his council, and brought into the chamber of presence, where there were present Sir William Nores, Sir Pierce Alee, Master Sherburn, the parson of Grapnal, and Master More, with others. My lord turned himself toward me, and asked what was my name; I answered, *Marsh*.

“Then he asked whether I was one of those who sowed evil seed and dissension among the people. I denied this, desiring to know my accusers, and what could be laid against me.

“Then he said he with his council would examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, no. Then he asked me, what had been my living. I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then my lord said to his council, this is a wonderful thing. He said he was no priest, and now he confesses himself to be one. I answered that ‘by the laws now used in this realm (as far as I know) I am no priest.’

“Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered, I received orders from the bishop of London and Lincoln.

“They asked me how long I had been a curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered that I had been a curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God. And if the laws of the realm would have allowed me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would allow me to minister in that way, I would minister again.

“At this they murmured, and the parson of Grapnal said this last communion was the most devilish thing that was ever devised! Then they asked me what my belief was.

“I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, according to what the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments teach, and according to what the four symbols or creeds teach; that is to wit, the creed commonly called the Apostles’ creed, the creed of the Nicene council, the creed of Athanasius, of Austin, and of Ambrose.

“After a few words, the parson of Grapnal said ‘But what is your belief in the sacrament of the altar?” “I answered, ‘I believe that whoever, according to Christ’s institution, received the holy sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, ate and drank Christ’s body and blood with all the benefits of his death and resurrection to their eternal salvation. For Christ,’ I said, ‘is ever present with his sacrament.’

“Then they asked me, whether the bread and wine, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it was received or reserved, was the very body of Christ?’

“I answered, ‘I knew no further than I had shown already. For my knowledge is imperfect,’ I said, ‘desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions by which to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. At this they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing but to make me a good Christian.

“So after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could — remembering the saying of St. Paul to ‘avoid foolish and unlearned questions, knowing they only gender strife,’ Tit 3.9 — my lord commanded me to come to the table. He gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write my answers to the questions about the sacrament. I wrote as I had answered before. Being much offended at this, he commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying that I should not choose to do otherwise.

"Then I took the pen and wrote that I did not know more. Being sorely grieved at this, and after many threatenings, he said that I would be put to shameful death like a traitor, with other such words. Sometimes giving me fair words, he said how glad he would be if I would turn and be conformable.

"In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to prison in a cold, windy, stone-house, where there was little room. There I lay for two nights without any bed except a few canvass tent-clothes, and a pair of sheets, but no woolen clothes. So I continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study; for no man was allowed to come to me but my keeper, who came twice a-day when he brought me food and drink.

"On Palm Sunday I was sent for to appear before my lord and his council, among whom was Sir John Beram and the vicar of Prescot. So they examined me again about the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot concerning that matter, he returned to my lord and his council, saying that the answer which I had made before, and then made, was sufficient for a beginner, and as one who did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. The Earl was very well pleased with this, saying he did not doubt that by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot I would be conformable in other things. So after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go among his servants, as long as I would do no harm among them.

"And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than before, because I had not confessed Christ with more boldness, but had done so in such a manner that my adversaries thought they might prevail against me. I was therefore much grieved, and I cried more earnestly to God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit with boldness to confess him, and to deliver me from their enticing words, so that I might not be 'spoiled through their philosophy and vain deceit according to the traditions of men and the rudiments of the world, and not according to Christ.' Col 2.8

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"And so after a day or two I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot and the parson of Grapnal; where our communication was concerning the mass. He asked what offended me in the mass. I answered, the whole mass offended me, first, because it was in a strange language whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine in 1Corinthians 14, and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained in it, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice. I also named some parts which they set about to mitigate with gentle and far-sought interpretations, saying those were understood far otherwise than the words purported, or than I took them. I answered that I understood them as they purported, and as their own books commented upon them.

"They said *sacrifice* or *oblation* did not signify anything else in the mass, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they sent for a mass-book, and showed me where in some places of the mass it was written 'a sacrifice of praise.' I answered that it did not follow from that, that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and even if it did, a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving was not to be offered for the sins of the people, for Christ by his own passion was once offered on the cross. Whereas the words of the mass were that the priest offered an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offenses both of himself and of the people — for the dead and for the salvation of the living.

"After much exhortation to me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church, by which they meant the Romish church, I departed, not consenting to them.

“Within a day or two, Master More came, bringing with him certain articles to which Doctor Crome had subscribed in the days of king Henry VIII, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe to those articles. I confessed plainly I would in no way consent and subscribe to those articles; and so he departed.

“Shortly after, the parson and vicar sent for me again, saying that if I would not consent and subscribe, I must go to prison. Those articles were as follows:

“1. Whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ’s institution, and to be heard and seen with faith, reverence, and devotion?

“2, Whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, changed the bread and wine after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it was either received or reserved?

“3. Whether lay people ought to receive the sacrament under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

“4. Whether confession to the priest, now used in England, was godly and necessary?

“They delivered these four questions or articles to me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with my own hand, and come back. So within half an hour I came back to them, and delivered to them the questions with my answers. The first I denied. The second I answered as I did before. To the third I answered that the lay people, by Christ’s institution, ought to receive under both kinds (bread and wine), and that it does not suffice to receive the one kind only. To the fourth I replied that, though auricular confession is a convenient means to instruct ignorant people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded by God.

“They urgently exhorted me then to leave my opinions, saying that I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss; and they counselled me to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did. I answered that my faith in Christ was derived from his holy word, and that I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change my belief for any living creature. I desired them to speak to my lord, so that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be allowed to relieve me with necessary things according to their power. And so after exhorting me again to do and believe as the church did, we departed.

“On one of the Easter holydays, Master Sherburn and Master More sent for me, and tried to persuade me to leave my opinions. They said all the bringers up and favorers of that religion had bad luck, and were either put to death, or else in prison and in danger of their lives. Again, the favorers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things — with many other worldly reasons from man’s wisdom. But as for the Scriptures, Master Sherburn confessed himself entirely ignorant.

“I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity. But they earnestly advised me to recant my opinions, and not to be prevented by any worldly shame.

“I replied that what I did was not to avoid any worldly shame, saying that my soul and life were dearer to me than avoiding any worldly shame. Nor yet did I do it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverend fear of God.

“Then More questioned me about receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ’s institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup. Then he told me of the 24th chapter of Luke, and the 20th chapter of the Acts, where mention was made of breaking bread only. From this he gathered that they received the sacrament under one kind only.

"I denied that, saying those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else the phrase "breaking bread" signified and meant receiving the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to His institution. So after much communication on this subject, Sherburn said it was a great pity that I, being a well-favored young man, and one who might have a good living and do good, would so foolishly throw myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions.

"I answered as I had done to my lord and to his council: that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet to me as to any other man. And that I would be as loath to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with a good conscience, and without dishonoring the cause of Christ. But seeing that I could not do that, my trust was that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for His sake. 'For I take myself,' I said, 'as a sheep appointed to be slain, and to patiently suffer whatever cross it pleases my merciful Father to lay on me.' And so, after I requested that if I were committed to prison, my friends might be allowed to relieve me, they departed."

Such is the account which Marsh himself gives, under his own hand, of his troubles. He adds many other things, among which is the following:

"While I was in ward at Lathum, a number of persons at sundry times came to me. Some said to me that all my companions had recanted, and had gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw several of them afterwards. Others said that it was reported among my lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council.

"While I was at Lancaster, many came to talk with me, some of good will towards me. But being without knowledge, they gave me such counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, 'Lord, this shall not happen to you.' But I answered with Christ's sharp reply to Peter, who turned about and said to Peter, 'Get behind me, Satan!' Perceiving that they were a hindrance to me, and that they did not savor the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I gave them a plain answer, that I neither could nor would follow their counsel. Rather, by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, according to what I had believed and professed up to now. For we should in no way flatter and bear with those, however well they love us, who go about to turn us away from the obedience that we owe to God and to his word. But following Christ's example, we should sharply rebuke them for their counsel.

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"Some others, yes, even strangers came to me, far unlike these. After sober communication, they consented with me in all things, much lamenting my troubles, giving me comfortable words, and some money too; and they resorted to me often, for the space of two, three, or four days. Many priests also came to me — two, three, four, five, or six at once — whose mouths it was easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) are not always the greatest clerics, nor best learned in the law of God. At their departing, they either consented with me, or else they had nothing to say against me, saying that they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. Master Westby, Master Ashton of Hill, Master Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, also came to me in the prison, to my great comfort. I had good opportunity to utter a great part of my conscience to them. For God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer (everlasting thanks be given to Him), that I was not afraid to speak to any who came to me — no, not even to the judges themselves, before whom I was three times arraigned at the bar, among thieves, with irons on my feet. Yet with boldness I spoke to them so long as they would allow me.

> "They also sent for me the fourth time to come into their chamber where, among other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I reported that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of my opinion, and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's grace, to show who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as indeed it was a false forged lie of some wicked wretches). After that, they threatened and rebuked me for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loudly that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, every day on our knees I and my fellow prisoner Warburton read morning and evening prayers with the English Litany, twice every day, both before noon and after, with other prayers. Every day we also read certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night; and we read with such a loud voice that the people outside in the streets might hear us; and they would often come in the evenings, and sit down in our sight under the windows and hear us read."

After this, Marsh was brought several times before Dr. Cotes, the bishop, and examined. He answered to every article very modestly, according to the doctrine received by public authority, and taught in this realm at the death of King Edward. After this, he was returned to his prison again.

At last, after some weeks, the bishop and others being assembled in the chapel, Marsh was brought before them by the keeper, and others with bills and weapons. When the chancellor, by way of an oration, declared to the people who were present, the bishop's concern and charity. He said that as a good shepherd watches over his flock to see that none of his sheep have any disease for infecting other clean sheep, but would save and cure the diseased sheep, so his lordship had sent for Marsh as a diseased sheep. He had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition towards him, to reduce him from his naughty heresies. But all that he could do would not avail. So that he was now determined, if Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Therefore he bade George Marsh to be well advised now of what he would do, for it stood upon his life. And if he would not at that present time forsake his heretical opinions, it would (after the sentence was given) be too late.

Then the chancellor read all his answers that Marsh made at his former examination, and at every one he asked him whether he would stick to the same or not? To which Marsh answered again, 'Yes, yes.'

"What do you say then to this?" asked the chancellor. "In your last examination, among many other damnable and schismatical heresies, you said that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church.'"'

"I said so, indeed," replied Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here others also took occasion to ask him, because he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men. Marsh answered, "Yes, and some others; but they claimed no more authority in England, than the bishop of Canterbury does at Rome. And I do not strive with the place, nor do I speak against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"You are an arrogant fellow, indeed," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?"

George Marsh answered and said, "Oh, my lord, I pray you, do not judge so of me. I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case has no cause to be arrogant,

nor am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome errs in the sacrament. For Christ in its institution delivered the cup as well as the bread, saying, 'Drink you all of this;' and Mark reports that they drank of it; in like manner St. Paul delivered it to the Corinthians. And in the same way also, it was used in the primitive church for many hundreds of years. Now the church of Rome takes away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Therefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that this was done rightly, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then the bishop said, "There is no disputing with a heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, the bishop asked whether Marsh would stand to them, or forsake them.

He said that, "he held no heretical opinions, but utterly abhorred all kinds of heresy, even if they so untruly slandered him." And he desired all the people present to bear witness that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was established by law, and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward VI, and that he would, by God's grace, live and die in the same pure religion and doctrine.

The bishop then took a writing out of his breast pocket, and began to read the sentence of condemnation. But when he had read almost half of it, the chancellor said, "Good, my lord, stay, stay; for if you proceed any further, it will be too late to recall it;" so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and others of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh to recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him. So they knelt down, and he desired them to pray for him, and said that he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not accept the queen's mercy in time? He answered that, "he loved her grace as faithfully as any of them; yet he dared not deny his Savior Christ, so as to lose his everlasting mercy, and so win everlasting death."

Then the bishop put his spectacles upon his nose, and read his sentence about five or six lines, before the chancellor again, with a smiling countenance, called to the bishop, and said, "Yet good, my lord, once again stop, for if that word is spoken, all is past, and no relenting will then serve." And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay, if it might be so."

"How do you say?" he asked, "Will you recant?" Many of the priests and poor people urged Marsh to do so, and to call to God for grace. They pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. He replied, "I would as gladly live as you, if in so doing I might not deny my master Christ, and He deny me before his Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence to the end, and said, "Now I would no more pray for you, than I would for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding, he would pray for his lordship. After this, the bishop delivered him to the sheriffs.

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Being in a dungeon or dark prison, no friend was allowed to speak with him. But some of the citizens who loved him for the gospel's sake, would call to him in the evening, through a hole in the wall of the city belonging to the prison, and ask how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God for granting His mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, at which he rejoiced. He besought God that He would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear it to His glory and the comfort of His church, with many other godly sayings, as one who desired to be with Christ.

When the appointed time came that he was to suffer, the sheriffs of the city brought out Marsh. He came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. As he came towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and expected that he would have gone with a little purse in his hand, as was the custom of felons in that city in times past, at their going to execution. It was to give to a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, by which they might, they thought, be saved. But Marsh said he would not then be troubled with money, but desired some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it to the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way to his death with his book in his hand, looking upon it. And many of the people said, "This man does not go to his death as a thief or one who deserves to die."

When he came to the place of execution outside the city, near to Spittle-Boughton, one Cawdrey, the deputy Chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Marsh answered that he would gladly accept it, and said further that he loved the queen; but as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and exhorting them to hold fast to Christ. One of the sheriffs said, "We must have no sermoning now." He said, "Master, I cry for mercy." And so kneeling down, he made his prayers, and then put off his clothes down to his shirt. He was chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and something like a keg over his head, filled with pitch and tar. The fire was not made skillfully, so he suffered great extremity in his death; but he endured it very patiently.

When he had been tormented a long time in the fire, without moving, his flesh broiled and puffed up, so that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened. Therefore they supposed he was dead. However he suddenly spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven have mercy upon me," and so he yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord. Upon this, many of the people said that he was a martyr, and died marvelously patient and godly. This caused the bishop shortly after to preach a sermon in the cathedral church. He affirmed in his sermon, that Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

Letters of George Marsh.

This good man wrote sundry letters out of prison, besides reports of his examinations. The first in order, concerning his examinations, is as follows:

> "Here you have, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of Christian doctrine briefly enumerated, which up to now I have both believed, professed, and taught, and still believe, profess, and teach, and am surely purposed by God's grace to continue in the same until the last day. I lack both time and opportunity to write out at large the proofs, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these Articles which whoever desires to know, let them read over the commonplaces of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon, Erasmus, and Sarcerius, whose judgment in these matters of religion I chiefly follow and lean to. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to His will and pleasure, and bring us back out of this hell of affliction into which it has pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil-doing, and keep us unto His everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.
>
> "Though Satan is permitted to sift us as wheat for a time, yet our faith does not fail, through Christ's aid. Rather, we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asks us a reason for the hope that is in us, and we do that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience. When

they backbite us as evil-doers, they should be ashamed, because they have falsely accused our good conduct in Christ. In recent years I thought of myself, regarding the cares of this life, as well-settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well-quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates; Jos 1.3-4 I confess this. But the Lord, who works all things for the best to those who love him, Rom 8.28 would not leave me there, but took my dear and beloved wife from me; her death was a painful cross to my flesh.

"Also recently, I thought myself well-placed under my most loving and most gentle Master Lawrence Sanders in the cure of Langton. But of his great mercy, the Lord would not allow me to continue there long, although for the small time that I was in his vineyard, I was not an idle workman. But he has provided me, as I perceive it, the taste of a far different cup. For my violence He has yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, so that I would not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his dearly beloved disciples, I would have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ. The glory of His church, I see well, does not stand in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistening of miters and copes, nor in the shining of gilt images and lights, as the blind papists judge it — but in continual labors and daily afflictions for His name's sake.

"God at this present time in England has his winnowing fork in his hand. Mat 3.12 And after his great harvest, into which for years past He has sent his laborers, He is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his threshing floor, making ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

"Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadducees. I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, who deprave the Scriptures with their glosses. For as the apostle Peter teaches us, 'there shall be false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who shall secretly bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord who bought them, and bring swift destruction upon themselves. Many shall follow their pernicious ways; because of them, evil shall be spoken of the way of truth; and through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandise of you.' 2Pet 2.1-3 And Christ earnestly warns us to 'beware of false prophets, who come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them.' Mat 7.l15-16 The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place we Christians are taught that we should test the preachers, and others who come under color to set forth true religion to us, according to the saying of St. Paul, 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.' 1The 5.21 Also the evangelist St. John says, 'Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits whether they are from God; because many false prophets have gone out into the world.' 1Joh 4.1 Therefore, if you would know the true prophets from the false, test their doctrines by the true touchstone, which is the word of God. And like the godly Bereans 'searched the Scriptures daily,' Act 17.11 whether those things which are preached to us are so or not; or else you may be easily deceived by their outward conversation."

An Exhortational Letter of George Marsh
to the faithful Professors of Langton.

"Grace be to you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

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"I thought it my duty to write to you, my beloved in the Lord at Langton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told to you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Spirit, Barnabas exhorted the Antiochians) that with purpose of heart you continually cling to the Lord, and that you stand fast. Do not be moved away from the hope of the gospel, of which, God be thanked, you have had plenteous

preaching to you by your late pastor, Master Sanders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ. Now when persecution arises because of the word, they do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel, of which they have been preachers. But they are willing and ready for your sakes (who are Christ's mystical body) to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life — I mean their native countries, friends, livings, etc. — but also to fulfill their ministry to the utmost; that is, with their painful imprisonments and blood sheddings, if need requires, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, of which they have been ministers. And as St. Paul says, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Whether these are to be believed, being that good salt of the earth (that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savory unto God, and who themselves do not lose their saltness, now when they are proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution); or others are to be believed, being that unsavory salt which has lost its saltness (that is, those ungodly ministers, who fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of antichrist) — which of these, I say, are more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, receive with meekness the word of God that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls. And see that you are not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but be doers of the word. Christ likens these to a wise man, who builds his house on a rock, so that when the great rain descended, and the floods came, and beat upon the house, it did not fall, because it was founded upon a rock. That is, when Satan, with all his legion of devils with all their subtle suggestions, and the world with all its mighty princes, and with their crafty councils, furiously rage against us, we do not faint, but abide constant in the truth, being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and upon the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell, *i.e.*, the power of Satan, cannot prevail.

"And be followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did. Rev 2.9 For the true followers of Christ and the apostles, are those who receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God who both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and are ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord, as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all those who live godly in Christ Jesus must do. 2Tim 3.12 For there is no other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer anything for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, as an example to comfort us. For they all entered into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leads unto life, which few find. Mat 7.14 And unless we are content to deny ourselves, and take up the cross of Christ, and [be] his saints, it is an evident argument that we shall never reign with Him.

"And again, if we can find it in our hearts to patiently suffer persecution and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. As the apostle says, 'Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to those who trouble you — and to you who are troubled, rest with us when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.' 2The 1.6-7. For after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest. Whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwise shall be tormented forevermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ plainly declares and teaches by the parable of the rich glutton and the wretched Lazarus. These we ought to have before our eyes always, so that in the time of adversity and persecution (of which all that are the children of God shall be partakers, and with which it has pleased God to put some of us in practice already) we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endure even to the end, so that we may be saved. For unless, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, we will endeavor to please Him, who has chosen us to be

soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even to the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness which the Lord, who is a righteous judge, shall give to all those who love his coming. 2The 4.8

"Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls, Jas 1.21 and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. As the apostle says, 'For no other foundation can any man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man builds upon this foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work will be made manifest; for the day will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire; and the fire will test every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abides which he has built upon it, he will receive a reward. If any man's work is burned, he will suffer loss; but he himself will be saved; yet as through fire.' 1Cor 3.11-15.

"By fire here, the apostle means persecution and trouble. For those who truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the Cross, will be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tested in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tested in the fire.

"By gold, silver, and precious stones, are meant those who in the midst of persecution abide steadfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant those who in time of persecution fall away from the truth. And when Christ purges his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which will be burned with unquenchable fire. If then, in time of persecution, those who believe stand steadfast in the truth, the builder (I mean the preacher of the word) will receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved. But if they turn back and swerve when persecution arises, the builder will suffer loss, that is to say, he will lose his labor and cost, yet he will be saved if, being tested in the fire of persecution, he abides fast in the faith.

"Therefore, my beloved, give diligent heed that you, as living stones, are built upon this sure rock, and are made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. 1Pet 2.5 For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in us, if we continue in the doctrine of the gospel. We are also a holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations. 1Pet 2.9 For the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual and of three kinds.

"The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which St. Paul calls the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God. Heb 13.15

"The second is mercy towards our neighbor, as the prophet Hosea says, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.' Hos 6.6 Read the 25th chapter of Matthew.

"The third is when we make our body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God; Rom 12.1 that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscence and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. Rom 8.13 This is a sacrifice most acceptable to God, which the apostle calls our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure that unless now, at this present time, we take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth — unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threatens to the Jews will happen to us.

[755] A.D. 1555.

"That is, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, infidelity, and unbelief — the mother and head of all vices, which was cast out of us by the grace of God— brings in with him seven other spirits worse than himself; it will return again to us, to our utter destruction. And

so we will be in a worse case than we ever were before. Mat 12.44-45 'For,' says St. Peter, 'if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, they are again entangled in them, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning. For it would have been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered to them. But it has happened to them according to the true proverb, The dog returns to its own vomit; and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.' 2Pet 2.20-22.

"And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and despairing of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Spirit, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. Mat 12.32 'For it is impossible,' says St. Paul, 'for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: seeing that they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.' Heb 6.4-6. [11]

"St. Paul's meaning in this place, is that those who believe God's word truly and unfeignedly, will continue and abide steadfast in the known truth.

"If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites for all their fair faces outwardly, and they never believed truly — as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, who all fell away from the truth, and made a mockery of Christ. Here St. Paul calls this crucifying Christ anew, because, turning back to their old vomit, they most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. Those who are such, can in no way be renewed by repentance. For their repentance is fleshly, as was the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas, which being without godly comfort, breeds desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the elect. And as St. John says, 'They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us.' 1Joh 2.19. Also the apostle Paul says in another place, 'For if we sin willfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins, but only a certain fearful expectation of judgment and fiery indignation, which will devour the adversaries.' Heb 10.26-27.

"Those sin willingly, who out of a set malice and purpose, hold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, even though they perfectly know that in all the world there is no other sacrifice for sin, except that all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death. Yet they will not wholly commit themselves to it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man (as we see by daily experience), if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, there remains a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St. John would not have a man pray. 1Joh 5.16

"Therefore, my beloved in Christ, let us (on whom the ends of the world have come) take diligent heed to ourselves, that now in these last and perilous times (in which the devil has come down, and has great wrath because he knows his time is but short, and of which the prophets, Christ, and the apostles have spoken so much, and given us an earnest forewarning) we do not hold the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking anything against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatever cause it may be, it is a willful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death. As our Savior Christ says, 'If you do not believe, you shall die in your own sins.' Joh 8.24 For unless we hold fast the word of life, both

[11] Most reformers believed Paul was the author of Hebrews.

believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, Luk 3.8 we will be cut down with the unprofitable fig-tree, which only encumbered the ground, Luk 13.7 and our talent will be taken from us and given to another who will put it to a better use. Mat 25.28 And we, through our own unthankfulness, put from the mercy of God, will never be able to pay our debts — that is to say, we will be altogether lost and undone. For the earth that drinks in rain that comes often upon it, and brings forth herbs fit for those who cultivate it, receives blessing from God. But that ground that bears thorns and briars is reproved, and is near to being cursed, whose end is to be burned. Heb 6.7-8

"Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better things from you, things which accompany salvation; and that you being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word plenteously preached among you, will hear the word of God with a good heart and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. Luk 8.15 Be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers who, although they hear the word, yet the devil comes, and snatches away that which was sown in their heart. Having no root in themselves, they endure but a season; as soon as tribulation or persecution arises because of the word, by and by they are offended; or else the cares of this world, and deceitfulness of riches choke the word, and so they are unfruitful. Mar 4.15,17,19 Read the parable of the Sower. Among other things, note and mark that most of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit; indeed, it is only to their greater condemnation. For only a fourth of the seed brings forth fruit. Therefore, let us not be discouraged, who are ministers, or professors, and followers of God's word, if very few give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and are saved.

"Therefore, whoever has ears to hear, let him hear: 'for whoever has, to him more will be given, and he shall have abundance; but whoever does not have, even what he has will be taken away from him.' Mat 13.12 That is to say, those who have a desire for righteousness, and for the truth, will be more and more illuminated by God. And on the contrary, those who do not covet righteousness and truth, are even more hardened and blinded, though they seem most wise to themselves. For God here follows an example of a loving father, who when he sees that fatherly love and correction does not help towards his children, uses another way. He ceases to be beneficial to them, and to minister fatherly correction to them. He gives them over to themselves, allowing them to live as they please themselves.

"But we trust to see better things from you, my dearly beloved, and that, for fear of losing your worldly substance or other delights of this life, you will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you, as the Gadarenes did. Luk 8.37 But rather, with all diligence of mind you will receive the word of God taught to you by such ministers as now, when persecution arises because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus. But they are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and in this to suffer trouble as evil-doers, even unto bonds. If you refuse to do this, your blood will be upon your own heads. As you have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had, so if you do not repent and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, you will be sure to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance than others at God's hand; and the kingdom of God will be taken from you, and be given to another nation which will bring forth its fruits.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. Heb 10.31 And see that you do not receive the word of God in vain, but continually labor in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of true justifying faith, which is never idle, but works by charity.

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"And see that you continually give yourselves to all manner of good works. Among these, the most important are to be obedient to the magistrates (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they are good or evil), unless they command idolatry and ungodliness, *i.e.* things contrary to true religion. For then we ought to say with St. Peter, 'We ought to obey God rather than man.' But in any way, we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

"The weapon of a Christian in this matter ought to be the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word, and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart, to die rather than do any ungodliness. Christ also teaches us that all power is of God, yes, even the power of the wicked whom God oftentimes causes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards Him and His word. Whoever then resists any power, resists the ordinance of God, and so he purchases for himself utter destruction and undoing.

"We must also by all means be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honor and reverence princes, and all who are in authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity.

"*Secondly*, we must obey our parents, or those who are in their places, and be careful for our households, that they are provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much more with spiritual food, which is the word of God.

"*Thirdly*, we must serve our neighbors by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, 'Whatever you would have men do to you, do you likewise to them, for this is the law and the prophets.' Mat 7.12

"*Fourthly*, we must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates, knowing that God has therefore so much commanded it, and has made such great promises for it, and so well accepts it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatever they may be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for those who hurt, persecute, and trouble us. And by thus ordering ourselves, we will obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we are the elect children of God.

"And thus I commend you, brethren, to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all those who are sanctified, Act 20.32 — beseeching you to help Master Sanders and me, your late pastors, and all those who are in bonds for the gospel's sake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all those who do not believe, and from unreasonable and froward men;, and that this, our imprisonment and affliction, may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it is by death or by life. Amen.

"Greet for me all the faithful brethren; and because I do not write separate letters to them, let them either read or hear these letters of mine. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen. The 28th of June, by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also His prisoner,

"GEORGE MARSH."

"Save yourselves from this untoward generation. Pray, pray, pray: never more need."

A Prayer of George Marsh, which he used to say daily.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in your gracious goodness, briefly open to you the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks and knots, all of which you know; for you thoroughly perceive the inward lusts, doubts, and denying of your providence which we commit inwardly, as well as those gross outward sins, and deadly. Therefore we beseech you, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we are far unable and unapt to pray,

that you would mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and for these old hearts, create new ones within us; and replenish us with a new spirit; and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and foul juice of the flesh may be dried up, and the custom of the old man changed; and that our hearts, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from now on may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting. Amen."

The History and Martyrdom of William Flower

Being apprehended for striking a priest, William Flower first had his hand cut off, and was afterwards martyred.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch, was born at Snowhill, in the county of Cambridge, and then came to the abbey of Ely, where he was a professed monk, bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the house, until he was twenty-one years of age. Before then, he was made also a priest in the house, and there he celebrated mass. After that, he forsook the house, cast off the monk's habit and religion, took upon himself the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snowhill, where he was born. There he celebrated mass, and taught children for about half a year.

After some time, he moved to other places, and at last to Gloucestershire, where after he had made his abode in the country a while, he at length in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued. After this, he settled in London, and on Easter he came over the water from Lambeth to St. Margaret's church at Westminster. There, seeing a priest ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for doing so, he struck him with his woodknife, wounding him on the head, and also on the arm and hand. The priest had a chalice in his hand at the same time, with some consecrated hosts, which were sprinkled with the blood of the priest.

In so doing, Flower acted neither well nor Christian-like. And therefore afterward, being examined before Bishop Bonner, he confessed to it, submitting himself willingly to punishment. However, regarding his belief in the sacrament and the popish ministration of it, he neither would nor did submit himself. Being examined before Bishop Bonner, the following articles were objected against Flower:

Articles objected against William Branch, alias Flower.

"First, that you being of a lawful age and discretion, at least seventeen years old, were professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, in which after your profession you remained until the age of twenty-one, using in the meantime the habit and religion of the same house, and you were reputed and well-known for being such a person.

"Also, that afterwards you were ordained and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; afterward you ministered as a priest, and were commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

"Also, that afterwards, forgetting God, your conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, and contrary to your profession and vow, you took as your wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Fulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury in the diocese of Gloucester.

"Also, that being a religious man and a priest, and contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, you took it upon yourself to practice medicine and surgery in diverse places within the diocese of London, when you were not admitted, expert, nor learned.

"Also, that upon Easter day last past, that is to say, the 14th of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, you maliciously, outrageously, and violently pulled out your weapon, that is, to wit, your woodknife or hanger. [12] And whereas the priest and minister there, called John Chelton, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, you then wickedly and abominably struck the said priest with your weapon —

[757] A.D. 1555.

"first upon the head, very sorely, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly from him. The said priest was then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and gave no occasion why you should so hurt him. The people were grievously offended with this, and the said church was polluted by it, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

"Also, that by reason of the premises, you were and are by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, among other penalties, excommunicated and accursed, *ipso facto*, and not to be associated with, neither in the church nor otherwise, except in special cases.

"Also, that you, concerning the verity of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, have been for these twenty years, and still are at this present time, of this opinion — that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Savior Jesus Christ.

"Also, that you for the hatred and disdain that you had and bore against the said sacrament, and the virtue of it, and against the said priest ministering the same (as said before) struck, wounded, and hurt him in the manner and form as declared before.

"Also, that over and besides the pains due to you for that cruel act, you are also by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as you are indeed) a true heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, because of the said heresy and damnable opinion.

"Also, that all the premises are true, manifest, notorious, and famous, and that upon the same, and every part of it, there was and is within the said parish of St. Margaret's, and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame."

After his examination, the bishop began to instruct him with his fine divinity, and to exhort him to return to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he commonly used with others, promising many fair things if he would do so, besides remitting what was past.

William Flower thanked him for his offer. And where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he was content to let him do what he chose. Yet he had no such power over his soul, which once it is separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or destroy.

In the afternoon, William Flower appeared again before the bishop. The bishop, sitting in his consistory, spoke these words:

"You were here before me this forenoon, and answered to certain articles, and I respited you till now, that you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and remember, while

[12] *Hanger*: short and broad backsword (it has only one cutting edge), that hangs at the side.

you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which you have conceived regarding the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar."

Flower answered, "That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I request that the law may proceed against me." Upon this, the bishop commanded his notary to read his articles again; which being read, William Flower answered to all parts of the articles, confessing, that whereas he struck the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he has since that time, and still does dislike himself in that act, and now judges and believes that the act was evil and naughty.

On the 20th of April 1555, William Flower was brought by the keeper of the Fleet, before Bonner, who in his usual manner of persuasion, went about to reduce Flower to his catholic church, that is, from Christ to antichrist — sometimes with fair and alluring promises, sometimes with menaces and terrors, frightening him. To this Flower answered, "Do what you will, I am determined; for the heavens will as soon fall. as I will forsake my opinion," etc. The bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses. And thus speaking to Flower, he asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he be pronounced as a heretic? The martyr of God answered, "I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said all that I have to say; and what I have said I will not go from: and therefore do what you will."

When he had thus spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him as a heretic. Afterwards he also pronounced him to be degraded; and so he committed Flower to the secular power. On the 24th of April, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster where the act was committed. And coming to the stake there, he made his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his Christian faith.

A Prayer and Confession of William Flower.

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who has sent down your Son upon the earth to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for your dear Son our Savior Jesus Christ's sake, in whom alone I confess to be all salvation and justification; and that there is no other means, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world. This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

Then he said the Lord's Prayer, and so he made an end.

His hand being held up against the stake, was struck off, his left hand being tied behind him. At the striking off of his hand, some who were present observed that he in no part of his body shrunk at the striking of it, except that once he stirred his shoulders a little.

Then fire was set to him. As he burned, he cried with a loud voice, "O Son of God have mercy upon me, O Son of God receive my soul," three times; and so he spoke no more, lifting up his stump with his other arm as long as he could.

The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne.

On the 30th of May, these men suffered together at Smithfield: **John Cardmaker**, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and **John Warne**, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Wallhrook. It now remains to give an account of them, beginning with Master Cardmaker, who was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys. Afterwards, he was a married minister, and in King Edward's time he was appointed to be a

reader in St. Paul's, where the papists were so aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker, being apprehended at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, along with Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, though King Edward's laws were still in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had gotten power and authority, *ex-officio*, to exercise their tyranny, these two men were brought before Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), and others who were appointed by commission, to examine the faith of those who were then prisoners.

To this they both gave an answer, that the chancellor with his fellow commissioners reported them as Catholics. Whether they so answered in weakness, or he so understood their answer in subtlety, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to mention to those who were yet to be examined, may be perceived by this: that to all who followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning.

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But whatever their answer was, Barlow was led back to the Fleet, from where he constantly bore witness by his exile, to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-street, the bishop of London having it published that he would shortly be delivered from there, after he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. Lawrence Sanders was brought to the same prison where Cardmaker was (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him), where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ.

Articles objected by Bonner against John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, with his Answers to the same.

"First, I, Edmund bishop of London, object against you John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that you were and are of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Also, that in times past you professed the rule of St. Francis, and by vow promised to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

"Also, that in times past you received all the orders of the church then used.

"Also, that after your entry into religion, and profession, and orders, you took to wife a widow, thereby breaking your vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church."

The remaining articles relate to his denial of transubstantiation.

Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully answered the latter part of the eighth article, according to his true meaning, the next day he answered these articles severally; and afterwards he exhibited to the bishop in a schedule this which follows:

"Where in my answer to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I do not mean his *sacramental* presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his *carnal* presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution, so I say that Christ is present *spiritually* too, and in all those who

worthily receive the sacrament. So that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporeal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence.

"This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

"JOHN CARDMAKER."

Articles ministered against John Warne, Upholsterer.

"First, that you, John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine, and of the parish of St. John, of Walbrook, in London, have believed, and do believe firmly and steadfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Savior Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

"2. That you have believed, and do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England believes and teaches) the body of Christ; but that there only remains the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking the words of consecration; and that the bread is in no way altered or changed.

"3. That you have said and do believe, that if the catholic church believes and teaches that there is in the mass, now used in England and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice in which there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly, then that belief and faith of the church is naught,[13] and against God's truth and the Scriptures.

"4. That you have said about twelve months ago and more, that where a great rough water spaniel of yours was shorn on the head, and has a crown made like a priest's, you laughed at it and the like, though you did not do it yourself, nor knew who did it.

"5. That you have not come into the church, heard mass, been confessed nor received the sacrament of the altar, neither at Lent past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign; and you have said you are not sorry that you have not done so, but are glad, because you have not defiled your conscience with it, which otherwise you would have done."

John Warne being examined upon these articles by the bishop, answered them, confessing and granting the articles to be true. Such strength and fortitude had God's Holy Spirit worked in him, to stand valiantly and confidently to the defense of the sincere doctrine of his Son.

After the bishop had exhorted him with many words to leave his heresies (as he called them) and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, he commanded him to appear again the next day.

On that day the bishop, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings, he could not prevail, finished this examination by pronouncing the definitive sentence of condemnation against John Warne.

On the 30th of May, the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker and John Warne were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they were to suffer. Having come to the stake, the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly for so long that in the meantime Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set about him, so that nothing was lacking but the torch. But still Cardmaker continued talking with the sheriffs.

[13] *Naught*: this can be taken two ways: either amounting to nothing; or else naughty (evil, sinful).

The people who had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this conversation, were in a great sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker would now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake. In his garments as he was, he kneeled down and made a long prayer in private. The people, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no appearance of any burning, were confirmed in their opinion that he would recant.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes down to his shirt, went with courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly. He then took Warne by the hand, and comforted him, and so he gave himself to also be bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this done so suddenly, contrary to their expectations, cried out for joy, saying, "God be praised, the Lord strengthen you, Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive your spirit." And this continued while the executioner put fire to them. And thus these godly men passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty forever. Amen.

The Confession of the Faith of John Warne,
Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned,
on the 30th of May A.D. 1555.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and maker of heaven and earth."

"A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he has begotten of himself. This Word was made flesh, and in this was also manifested to be his Son; in whom he has adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom. And therefore he is our Father; an Almighty God, because he has of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and on earth, even all creatures contained in it, and he governs them."

[759] A..D. 1555.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord."

"The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing lives. He was made also perfect man, and so being very God and very man in one person, he is the only Savior, Redeemer, and Ransomer of those who were lost in Adam, our forefather. He is the only means of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation."

"Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary."

"According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh from a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took from the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become in this the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, forever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all, for our sin."

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

"He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate, the ruler of Judea, and unjustly accused of many crimes, of which the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him. But contrary to known justice, he let Barabbas go, who had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death; who declares to us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins,

and was buffeted for our offenses, as the prophets witness, thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world. Therefore suffering for our sins, he received and bore our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the state of abjection, the very terror of hell, yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried on earth."

"The third day he rose again from death to life."

"To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead. He became the first fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory over death, that by him all might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins."

"He ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

"After he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, in his death and resurrection, and had been conversant forty days on the earth, being seen by the apostles and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, and hell, leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sits at his Father's right hand, that is, equal in power and glory, co-eternal in majesty."

"From there he shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

"He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect to himself, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all who are dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. Then he shall give to each man according to his deeds. Those who have followed him in regeneration, who have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him forever; and those who according to the race of the corrupt generation of Adam have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels."

"I believe in the Holy Spirit."

"I believe that the Holy Spirit is God, the third person in the Trinity; in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminates, quickens, and certifies our spirit, that by him we are sealed up until the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures; so that by him and through him we receive all the abundant goodness promised to us in Jesus Christ."

"The holy catholic church."

"This is a holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also teaches."

"The Communion of Saints."

"This most holy congregation (being, as St. Paul teaches, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone), though it is persecuted by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers — some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments — yet it remains in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship. This unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, of those who are departed from this mortal life, as well as of those who are now living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so

they shall continue until they all meet in the kingdom, where the head, Jesus Christ, with all his holy members, of which number, through Christ, I assuredly believe I am one, shall be fully complete, knit, and united together forevermore."

"The forgiveness of sins."

"I believe that my sins, and all their sins who rightly believe the Holy Scriptures, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, from whom alone I profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption, which St. Paul says comes not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any man should boast. Eph 2.8,9 Through the blood of the cross, all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without Him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven."

"The resurrection of the body."

"I believe that by the same, my Savior Christ, I and all men shall rise again from the dead; for as St. Paul says, 'He is risen from the dead, and has become the first-fruits of those who slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.' 1Cor 15.20-21 This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we shall all rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality to live with Christ forever; the reprobate also shall rise immortal to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting."

"And the life everlasting."

"Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He alone is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. 'For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' This life I am sure to possess as soon as I am dissolved and departed out of this tabernacle. And in the last day, both my body and soul shall possess the same forever, to which God grant that all men may come.

"I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, just as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangs on my flesh, so I assuredly believe that I am washed clean from my sins by Christ's blood, through which I have sure confidence of my salvation. In partaking of the Lord's Supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine — the nature of which is to strengthen the body — so by faith I receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection, and in brief, all that Christ in his body ever suffered for my salvation — to the strengthening of my faith in the same.

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"And I believe that God has appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper according to His word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

"This is my faith; this I believe; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

"JOHN WARNE."

The History of John Ardeley and John Simson.

On the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, John Ardeley and John Simson were also condemned. But before we come to their history, we will give **a letter of**

the king and queen, directed from the court the same day, and sent to the bishop by a post early in the morning, which in tenor and form is as follows:

"To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London.
"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters to the justices of the peace within every of the counties of this our realm; whereby, among other instructions given in it for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are directed to have a special regard to such disorderly persons as lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions (forgetting their duties towards God and us), refusing to show themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; whom if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are directed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be charitably dealt with by him, and removed, it may be, from their naughty opinions; or else if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf. Understanding now, to no little marvel by us, that many of the said disorderly persons, being brought to the ordinaries by the justices of peace for their contempt and obstinacy, to be used as aforesaid, they either refused to be received at their hands, or if they are received, they are neither so dealt with as Christian charity requires, nor yet proceeded with according to the order of justice, but are allowed to continue in their errors, to the dishonor of Almighty God, and the dangerous example to others. Just as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought it convenient both to signify our knowledge of it, and with this also to admonish you in this behalf, to have such regard from here on to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders are brought to you by the said officers or justices of peace, you use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else, in proceeding against them, if they continue obstinate, then proceed according to the order of the laws; so that, through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth be more quietly governed.

"Given under our signet at Hampton Court,
the 24th of May, in the first and second years of our reigns."

This letter thus coming from the Court to the bishop, made him more earnest and hasty to condemn others as well as these men, of whom we will now presently treat, namely, John Simson and John Ardeley. Both being husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also both being almost of one age — for Simson was thirty-four, and Ardeley thirty — they were brought up together by the under-sheriff of Essex, to Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation of heresy.

As the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop, as well as the articles laid against them, were much alike, so their answers were not much discrepant in manner and form. We find them in the bishop's own registers as follows:

Articles objected against John Simson and John Ardeley.

"First, that you John Simson (or John Ardeley), husbandman, aged thirty-four or thereabout, were and are of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London, and you have not believed nor do believe, that there is here on earth one catholic and universal whole church, which holds and believes all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

"2. That you have not believed, nor do believe, that you are necessarily bound, under the pain of damnation of your soul, to give full faith and credence to the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points in the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part of it.

"3. That you have not believed, nor do believe, that that faith and religion, which both the churches of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, England, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, believe and teach, both agrees with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and is also the very true faith and religion which all Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep. But contrariwise, you have believed, and do believe, that that faith and religion which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid have up to now believed, and now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no way ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed by any Christian man.

"4. That although it is true that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance, the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine; and although it is so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and in all other of the aforesaid churches, yet you have not so believed, nor do so believe. But contrariwise, you have and do believe firmly and steadfastly that in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the material substance of common bread and wine, with the forms of it; and that the said material and common bread and wine, are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are to be received by faith, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

"5. That you have believed and taught, and you have openly spoken, and maintained and defended to your power, and so believe, think, maintain, and defend that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to make material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, remembering thereby only the passion and death of Christ.

"6. That you have likewise believed, taught, and spoken that the mass now used in this realm of England, and in the other churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and has no goodness in it, except the Gloria in Excelsis, and the epistle and the gospel; and that therefore you have not, nor will come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and in the other churches aforesaid.

"7. That you have in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so you now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made to the priest, but that it is a superfluous and vain thing, and should only be made to God, and to no other person. And likewise, you have condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the service of the same, and have said that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, and if it is otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught."

They answered to these articles with constancy and Christian boldness; and then the bishop endeavored to induce them to recant. John Ardeley answered Bonner as follows:

[761] A.D. 1555.

"My lord, neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church. For you are of a false faith: and I have no doubt that you will be deceived at length. You will shed innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet you go about to kill more," etc.

He added further, saying, "If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." He spoke these, with many other words. Then the bishop still demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and

be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered, “No, God forbid that I should so do, for then I would lose my soul.”

After this, the said bishop asked John Ardeley if he knew any reason why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him. And then he read the condemnation; as he also did against John Simson, who stood with the same constancy as John Ardeley. They both were committed to the secular power — that is, to the hands of the sheriffs — to be conveyed to the place where they would be executed.

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley, it happened that the bishop, being in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the two prisoners, burst out in a loud and angry voice, and said, “Have him away, have him away!”

The people in the church, who were assembled in great numbers, hearing these words, and thinking that the prisoners had received judgment, desiring to see the prisoners, severed themselves, some running one way, others another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that those in the consistory were all amazed. And the bishop being afraid of this sudden stir, asked what it was. The bystanders answered, saying that there was likely to be some tumult. When the bishop heard this, his heart failed him. Leaving his seat he and the rest of the court took to their legs, hastening with all possible speed to get back to the door that went into the bishop’s house. But the rest being somewhat lighter of foot than my lord, reached the door sooner, and thronging hastily to get in, they kept the bishop out. They cried, “Save my lord, save my lord!” but they meant first to save themselves, by which they gave the bystanders good matter to laugh at.

John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered to the sheriffs, they were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where they were both put to death on one day (June 10, 1555). John Simson suffered at Rochford, John Ardeley at Railey.

The Martyrdom of John Tooly

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Bonner and his fellows against John Tooly.

In the same month that the two godly men mentioned above were burned, a solemn process was made about the pope’s spiritualty against John Tooly, in a case of heresy. The history is this:, about the time that the Spaniards first began to make a stir in England, there was one John Tooly, a citizen and poulterer in London. He conspired with certain others of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James’s. [14] Although the deed was heinous and wicked of itself, yet it was aggravated and made greater than it was, by being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court highly favored.[15] The robbery being known and brought into judgment, Tooly was found guilty and judged to be hanged.

Tooly was led to the gallows. A little before he died, standing on the cart, he read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two papers. Then, having the halter about his neck, he desired the people present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ’s passion and shedding of his precious blood, and not by any masses, or trentals, images, or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, devised by the

[14] St James's is a district within the City of Westminster in central London, west of Whitehall and northeast of Buckingham Palace.

[15] Recall that Queen Mary was married to King Philip of Spain in 1554.

bishop of Rome. Tooly said, just as and his fellows who were hanged with him there, stole and robbed for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome sold his masses and trentals, with such other peltry, for covetousness. He spoke with a loud voice these words: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of your word and commandment, good Lord deliver us!" He then spoke to the people. "All you who are true Christian men, say with me. Amen." And immediately about three hundred persons or more, to the judgment and estimation of those who were present there, answered and said, "Amen," three times.

As soon as the account of this fact came to the ears of the priests and mitered prelates, they were not a little mad, thinking it intolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. At last they all agreed that violating the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. I easily believe that cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence. [16] For just as Winchester and Bonner always thirsted after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself. I do not know for what purpose, except that perhaps, being loath to be so cruel as the others, he nevertheless thought by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius, who had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned in Cambridge, just as Tooly 's dead body was here at London. And besides this, so that he might show some token of his diligence in both universities, he had Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be dug out of the churchyard and buried on the dunghill. We will say more about these two acts later. But now to our purpose concerning Tooly, having ended his prayer, he was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was dug back up by the commandment of the bishops. And because he was so bold as to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as a heretic. This may further appear as follows:

The Writ or Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London, set up at Charing Cross, on St. Paul's Church-door, and at St. Martin' s-in-the-Fields, to cite and further inquire into the case of John Tooly.

"Edmund, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and others, clerics and learned men being within our diocese of London, and especially to Richard Clonic, our sworn sumner, greeting, salutation, and benediction. Because it has come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of sundry credible persons, that one John Tooly, late citizen and poulterer of London, the sou of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice in the self-same time in which he went to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft recently committed by him, at which time chiefly he should have cared for the wealth of his soul, and have died in the unity of the catholic church, he uttered diverse and sundry damnable, blasphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the truth of the catholic faith and unity of the same; and he exhorted, stirred up, and encouraged the people, standing there in great multitudes, to hold and defend the same errors and opinions. And moreover, certain of the people standing there, as it appeared, affected with errors and heresies, as abettors and defenders of the said John, confirmed and gave express consent to the aforesaid words, propositions, and affirmations, which we utter with sorrow and bitterness of heart.

[16] Cardinal Pole was the *legate de latere* of Pope Julius III.

"We, therefore, the aforesaid Edmund and bishop, not being able, nor daring to pass over in silence, nor wink at the aforesaid heinous act, lest by our negligence and slackness, their blood might be required at our hands at the most terrible Day of Judgment, and desiring to be certified and informed whether the premises declared to us are true, and lest any scabbed sheep lurking among the simple flock of our Lord, infect them with pestiferous heresy —

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"To you, therefore, we straitly charge and command that you cite, or cause to be cited, all and singular persons, having or knowing the truth of the premises, by setting up this citation on the church-door of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, being within our diocese of London, and also upon the cathedral church-door of St. Paul's in London, leaving the copy of it there; or by other means or ways, the best you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

"All and singular of whom, by the tenor of these presents, we cite and admonish that they appear, and every one of them appear before us, our vicar-general, or commissary, whatever he is in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul's in London, in the consistory place, on Thursday, the 2nd of May next ensuing, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, to bear witness of the truth in this behalf, and to depose and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premises; and moreover, to do and receive what law and reason require.

"Further, we commit to you, as before, and straitly enjoining you, command that you will generally cite the wife of the said Tooly, who is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and his familiars specially, and all other and every of them, if there are any who desire to defend and purge the remembrance of the person in the premises, that you admonish them in the aforesaid manner and form; whom we likewise, by the tenor of these presents, in such a way cite and admonish that they all appear, and that every one of them appear before us (under pain to be compelled to keep silence forever hereafter in this behalf), or before our vicar-general in spiritual matters, or such our commissary, at the day, hour, and place aforesaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to say, allege, and propose in due form of law, a reasonable cause if they have or can tell of any, why the said John Tooly, who is dead, should not be determined and declared as such a heretic and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned, in the detesting and condemning of so heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcass to lack church burial, like a rotten member cut off from the church, and the same to be committed to the secular arm and power, and they be compelled hereafter to forever hold their peace.

"And furthermore, to do, receive, and suffer, as law and reason have it, and as the quality of such a matter and the nature of themselves constrain and require; and moreover that you cite and admonish, in the manner aforesaid, all and every one of the receivers, abettors, and creditors of the said John Tooly who is dead, especially if any of them incline and give consent to those wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, so that on this side, the said Thursday, they return and submit themselves to us, and to the lap of the mother holy church. If they do this thing, trusting upon the mercy of Almighty God, we promise that we will receive them, being penitent for their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favor, to the comfort and health of their own souls, and in that behalf save their persons to the uttermost of our power. Otherwise, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary process of the law, let those men know that we will punish this offense more severely, according to the uttermost of the law, and as far as the law will bear it. And what you do in the premises, let him among you, who will execute this present mandate of ours, certify to us, or to our vicar-general in spiritual matters, either by his own person, or by his letters patents, together with these authentically sealed.

"Dated at London, under our seal, the last day of April 1555, and the eleventh year of our translation."

When the time of this citation had expired, and Tooly being cited did not appear, next in order of time came the suspension (whereas one suspension would have been enough for him), and after that, the excommunication — that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if anyone met him by the way, he should not bid him good-morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church. These things being prepared in such a manner as they used to do in such cases, at length someone stood out for the purpose, who gave his answer to certain articles, recited openly in judgment, and that was on behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor sufficiently answer them to avoid the name of a heretic, then he was condemned as a heretic, and so he was committed to the secular power, namely, to the sheriffs of London, who went about to execute their charge with diligence. Therefore, taking the man, being previously suspended, excommunicated, condemned as a heretic, and besides that, *dead*, they laid him on the fire to be burned as a continual remembrance of it. This was done on the 4th of June.

The History and Martyrdom of Thomas Hawkes.

Immediately after the history of Doctor Taylor, mention was made of six men who were brought before Bishop Bonner on the 8th of February. The names of these martyrs were Thomas Tomkins, William Hunter, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Lawrence. In their number was Thomas Hawkes, who was also condemned with them on the 9th of February.

As to his education and order of life, he was born of honest parents, in Essex; in calling and profession, a courtier — brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. He was handsome, tall of stature, and endued with excellent qualities. But his gentle behavior toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love for true religion and godliness, surmounted all the rest. In these, as God singularly adorned him, even so, being such a valiant martyr of God, he may seem to ennoble the whole company of other holy martyrs.

This Hawkes, following the fashion of the court, as he grew in years, he entered into the service of the lord of Oxford. There he remained for some time, being well-esteemed there and loved by all the household, so long as Edward VI lived. But the king dying, all things began to go backward — religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger everywhere, and chiefly in the houses of good men. Hawkes disliked this state of things. Rather than change the profession of true godliness which he had made, thought to change the place. And so, forsaking the nobleman's house, he departed to his own home, where he might more freely give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

Shortly after this, Hawkes had a son born to him, whose baptism he deferred to the third week, because he would not allow him to be baptized in the papistical manner. So his adversaries, laying hands on him, brought him to the earl of Oxford, as being not sound in religion, in that he seemed to despise the sacraments of the church.

The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to argue with him in matters of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger and letters. And so he put Hawkes in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London.

Then the bishop began to enter into communication with Thomas Hawkes, first asking what would move him to leave his child unchristened so long?

Hawkes. — “Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.”

Bonner. — “Why, baptism is commanded by the word of God.?

Hawkes. — “I do not deny His institution in this.”

Bonner. — “What do you deny then?”

Hawkes. — “I deny all things invented and devised by man.”

Bonner. — “What things are those that are devised by man, that you are so offended with?”

Hawkes. — “Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water,” etc.

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Bonner. — “Will you deny that which the whole world and your father have been contented with?”

Hawkes. — “What my father and the whole world have done, I have nothing to do with; but what God has commanded me to do, to that I will stand.”

Bonner. — “Would not you be contented that your child should be christened according to the book that was set out by King Edward?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, with a good will; it is a thing that I desire.”

Bonner. — “I thought so; you would have the same thing. The principle is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and in the necessity it may serve.”

Hawkes. — “Christ used it without any such necessity; and yet we lack the most important point.”

Bonner. — “What is that?”

Hawkes. — “‘Go teach all nations, baptizing them,’ etc.”

Bonner. — “You say that because I am no preacher.”

Hawkes. — “I quote the text; I do not mean you.”

Bonner. — “Will you be content to wait here, and your child be baptized?”

Hawkes. — “If I would have done so, I need not have come to you.”

Bonner. — “You seem to be a stout young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defense of it for the honor of your country. Do you think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?”

Hawkes. — “What the queen and you can do I will not say, but you will never get my consent any the sooner.”

Bonner. — “Well, you are a stubborn young man; I perceive I must work another way with you.”

Hawkes. — “You are in the hands of God, and so am I.”

Bonner. — “Whatever you think, I will not have you speak such words to me.”

A Dialogue between Harpsfield and Thomas Hawkes.

Then the bishop brought Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to talk with him.

Harpsfield. — “Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?”

Hawkes. — “I know that well; but Christ never used it in baptism. If you need to have it, put it to the use that Christ put it to.”

Harpsfield. — “Suppose your child dies unchristened; how heavy a case do you stand in?”

Hawkes. — “I admit that if it does, what then?”

Harpsfield. — “Why, then you are damned, and your child too.”

Hawkes. — “Judge no further than you may by the Scriptures.”

Harpsfield. — “Do you not know that your child is born in original sin?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, that I do.”

Harpsfield. — “How is original sin washed away?”

Hawkes. — “By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus.”

Harpsfield. — “How can your child, being an infant, believe?”

Hawkes. — “The deliverance of it from sin stands in the faith of his parents.”

Harpsfield. — “How can you prove that?”

Hawkes, — “By St. Paul; in 1Cor 7.14, where he says,’ For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: otherwise your children would be unclean; but now they are holy.’ “

Harpsfield. — “I will prove that those whom you put your trust in are against you in this opinion.”

Hawkes. — “Who are those?”

Harpsfield. — “Your great learned men in Oxford.”

Hawkes. — “If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them.”

Bonner. — “Recant, recant; do you not know that Christ said, ‘Unless you are baptized you cannot be saved?’ “

Hawkes. — “Does Christianity stand in outward ceremonies or not?”

Bonner. — “Partly it does. What do you say to that?”

Hawkes. — “I say as St. Peter says, ‘It is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God.’” 1Pet 3.21

Harpsfield. — “Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride.”

Hawkes. — “It is written, ‘Pride does not serve for men, nor yet for the sons of men.’” [17]

Bonner. — “Let us make an end here. What do you say to the mass, sirrah?”

Hawkes. — “I say it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.”

Bonner. — “What, nothing profitable in it! What do you say to the epistle and gospel?”

Hawkes. — “It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used.”

Bonner. — “Well, I am glad that you somewhat recant: recant all, recant all.”

Hawkes. — “I have recanted nothing, nor will I.”

Bonner. — “What do you say to the confessional?”

[17] He may be quoting one of the church fathers, or perhaps Aquinas.

Hawkes. — “I say it is abominable and detestable, yes, and a blasphemy against God and his son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, except to Christ Jesus.”

Bonner. — “We do not bid you to trust to any, but to call upon them; and we bid you to pray to them. Do you not know when you come into the court you cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless you call to some of the privy chamber who are next to the king and queen?”

Hawkes. — “Those who choose may receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them; and St. Paul says, ‘How will they call upon him in whom they have not believed?’” Rom 10.14

Bonner. — “Will you have nobody to pray for you when you are dead?”

Hawkes. — “No, surely, unless you can prove it by the Scriptures; a man’s prayers, once you are dead, profit nothing at all.”

Bonner. — “ Will you grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?”

Hawkes — “I grant it does for the living, but not for the dead.’’

Bonner. — “Not for the dead?”

Hawkes. — “No; for David says, ‘None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: for the redemption of their souls is precious, and it will cease forever.’ Psa 49.7 Also Ezekiel says, ‘Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, says the Lord God.’” Eze 14.14

Harpsfield. — “What books do you have?’’

Hawkes. — “The New Testament, Solomon’s Books, and the Psalter.”

Harpsfield. — “Will you read any other books?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, if you will give me such books as I request.”

Harpsfield. — “What books do you request?”

Hawkes. — “Latimer’s books, my Lord of Canterbury’s book, Bradford’s Sermons, Ridley’s books.” ‘

Bonner. — “Away, away! He will have no books but those which maintain his heresies.”

The next day an old bishop attended, who had a pearl in his eye. He brought with him for my lord a dish of apples and a bottle of wine; for he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me back into the orchard, and said to the old bishop, “This young man has a child, and will not have it christened.”

Hawkes. — “I do not deny baptism.”

Bonner (speaking in much anger). — “You are a fool; you cannot tell what you would have.”

Hawkes. — “A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, not quarrelsome, nor given to anger.’ Tit 1.7

Bonner. — “You judge me to be angry; no, by my faith I am not. What do you say to holy water?”

Hawkes. — “I say to it as to the rest, and to all that are of his making who made them.”

Bonner. — “The Scriptures allow it.”

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Hawkes. — “Where do you prove that?”

Bonner. — “In the book of Kings, where Elisha threw salt into the water.”

Hawkes. — “You say the truth; the children of the prophets came to Elisha, saying, ‘The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters are corrupted.’ This was the cause that Elisha threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good; and so when our waters be corrupted, if you can, by putting in of salt, make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.” 2Kng 2.19-21

Bonner. — “We believe no doctrine but that which is wrought by miracles.”

Hawkes. — “No, truly, for Christ says, ‘And these signs shall follow those who believe; in my name will they cast out devils; they will speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink anything deadly, it will not hurt them.’” Mar 16.17-18

Bonner. — “With what new tongues do you speak?”

Hawkes. — “Truly, before I came to the knowledge of God’s word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker. But since I came to the knowledge of it, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks to God, even with the same tongue — and is this not a new tongue?”

Bonner. — “How do you cast out devils?”

Hawkes. — “Christ cast them out by his word, and he has left the same word, that whoever credits and believes it, will cast out devils.”

Bonner. — “Did you ever drink any deadly poison?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, truly, that I have done. For I have drunk of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome.”

Bonner. — “Now you show yourself to be a right heretic.”

Hawkes. — “I pray you, what is heretic?”

Bonner. — “All things that are contrary to God’s word.”

Hawkes. — “If I stand in anything contrary to that word, then I am worthy to be called such.”

Bonner. — “You are one, and you shall be burned if you stand and continue in this opinion. Yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you.”

Hawkes. — “Where do you prove that Christ or his apostles killed any man for his faith?”

Bonner. — “Did not St. Paul excommunicate?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, my lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning.”

Bonner. — “Have you not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, truly, I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, who were destroyed for lying against the Holy Spirit.”

The next day Fecknam came to converse with him, and asked “Are you the one who will have no ceremonies?”

Hawkes. — “What do you mean by that?”

Fecknam. — “You will not have your child christened, unless in English, and you will have no ceremonies.”

Hawkes. — “Whatever the Scripture commands to be done I do not refuse.”

Fecknam. — “Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures.”

Hawkes. — “Which are those?”

Fecknam. — “What do you say of St. Paul’s breeches?”

Hawkes. — “I have read no such thing. “

Fecknam. — “Have you not read in the Acts of the Apostles, how things were brought from St. Paul’s body, and they received health thereby?”

Hawkes. — “I have read in the nineteenth of the Acts, how handkerchiefs or aprons were brought from St. Paul’s body. Is that what you mean?” Act 19.12

Fecknam. — “Yes, it is the same. What do you say to those ceremonies?”

Hawkes. — “I say nothing to the ceremonies. For the text says that God so worked by the hands of St. Paul, that handkerchiefs or aprons were brought from him, etc. So that it seems by the text, that it was God who wrought, and not the ceremonies.”

Fecknam. — “What do you say to the woman who came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture? Did her disease not depart from her by that ceremony?”

Hawkes. — “No, truly: for Christ turned around and said to St. Peter, ‘Who touched me?’ And St. Peter said, ‘Master, the multitude surround you, and press you, and you ask, Who touched me? And Jesus said, Somebody has touched me: for I perceive that virtue (power) has gone out from me.’ I pray you, whether it was the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?”

Fecknam. — “Both.”

Hawkes. — “Then is Christ not true? For he said, ‘Go your way, your *faith* has made you whole.’” Luk 8.43-48

Bonner. — “Away, away to the sacrament, for these are but mere trifles compared to that.”

Fecknam. — “What do you say, sirrah? Christ took bread and broke it, and said, ‘Take, eat, this is my body.’”

Hawkes. — “I grant Christ said so.”

Fecknam. — “And is it not so?”

Hawkes. — “No, truly, I do not understand it so.”

Fecknam. — “Why, then is Christ a liar?”

Hawkes. — “I think you will prove him so.”

Fecknam. — “Will I? Why I have spoken the words that Christ spoke.”

Hawkes. — “Is every word to be understood as Christ spoke it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way, etc.”

Fecknam. — “Christ spoke these words in parables.”

Hawkes. — “And why does he speak this in parables when he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, etc., more than when he said, ‘This is my body?’ For in the same phrase of

speech, as he says, 'This is my body,' so he says, I am a door, a vine, a king, a Way; He does not say, I am *like* a door, *like* a vine, etc."

The next day Doctor Chedsey came to Hawkes, and he, as well as Bonner, entered into the following argument with him.

Bonner. — "He thinks that there is no church except in England and in Germany."

Hawkes. — "And you think that there is no church, but the church of Rome."

Chedsey. — "What do you say to the church of Rome?"

Hawkes. — "I say it is a church of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey. — "What do you say to the bishop of Rome?"

Hawkes. — "From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Chedsey. — "My, so may we say from King Henry VIII and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Hawkes. — "Where were you, while he lived, that you would not say so?"

Chedsey. — "I was not far."

Hawkes. — "Where were you in his son's days?"

Chedsey. — "In prison."

Bonner. — "He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass. For he cannot abide either the mass, or the sacrament of the altar, nor will he have any service but in English.'*

Chedsey. — "Christ never spoke in English."

Hawkes. — "Nor did he ever speak any Latin, but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified by him. St. Paul says that 'tongues profit us nothing.' He makes a similitude between the pipe and the harp; and unless it is understood what the trumpet means, who can prepare for the battle? 1Cor 1;4.6-8 So if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit do I have by it? No more than he has by the trumpet, who does not know what it means."

Bonner. — "The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve throughout the world; that they should all pray generally together in one tongue, to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order throughout the world."

Hawkes. — "Your councils of Rome settled this."

Bonner. — "Do you understand what the general councils of Rome meant?"

Hawkes. — "Indeed; all your general councils of Rome are in Latin. I am an Englishman; therefore I have nothing to do with them."

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Chedsey. — "You are blameworthy, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout the world."

Hawkes. — "I do not reprove them, but St. Paul rebukes them, saying, 'If any man preaches any other gospel to you than what you have received, let him be accursed.'" Gal 1.8

Chedsey. — "Has any man preached any other doctrine to you?"

Hawkes. — "Yes, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."

Chedsey. — "What gospel have you been taught?"

Hawkes. — "Praying to saints, and to our Lady, and to trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."

Chedsey. — "Whoever teaches you so, does not teach you amiss."

Hawkes. — "Cursed be the one who teaches me so: for I will not trust him nor believe him."

Bonner. — "You speak of idols, and you do not know what they mean."

Hawkes. — "God has taught us what they are: for whatever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What do you say to that?"

Chedsey. — "What are those that you are so offended with?"

Hawkes. — "The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, etc."

Bonner. — "What say you to that?"

Hawkes. — "I say it is an idol. What do you say to it?"

Bonner. — "I say every idol is an image; but every image is not an idol."

Hawkes. — "I ask, what difference is there between an idol and image?"

Bonner. — "If it is a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol; but if an image is made of God Himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God."

Hawkes. — "Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and you will see the difference. Do your images have feet and do not go, eyes and do not see, ears and do not hear, hands and do not feel, mouths and do not speak? Even so have your idols."

Chedsey. — "'God forbid,' says St. Paul, 'that I should glory, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.'" Gal 6.14

Hawkes. — "Do you understand St. Paul so?"

Bonner. — "Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"

Hawkes. — "If the cross were such a profit to us, why did Christ's disciples not take it up and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession with a salutation?"

Chedsey. — "It *was* taken up."

Hawkes. — "Who took it up? Helen, as you say.[18] For she sent a piece of it to a monastery, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the monks held in such estimation, and which had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for. And when it was proved that it was but a piece of a lath covered over with copper, double gilded as if it had been clean gold."

Chedsey. — "It is a pity that you should live, or any who are like you."

Hawkes. — "In this case, I do not desire to live, but rather to die."

Chedsey. — "You die boldly, because you would glory in your death."

[18] Tradition says that Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, sent pieces of the True Cross to Rome after her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the early 4th century.

After all these and other private conferences, persuasions, and long debates with Hawkes in the bishop's house, the bishop seeing no hope to win him over, was fully set to proceed openly against him in the ordinary course of his popish law.

After the bill of confession was read, and he adhered to it, the bishop assigned him, with five others, to appear before him again the 9th of February, to give a final answer. This day having come, and the prisoners severally called before the bishop, at the appearing of Thomas Hawkes, the bishop desired him to remember what was said to him yesterday — and now, to advise with himself what he would answer while he still had time; for he stood upon life and death. "Well," said Hawkes again, "I will willingly receive whatever will be put upon me." Then certain other interrogatories or articles were objected to him. Being exhorted by the bishop with many fair words, to return to the bosom of the mother church, he said, "No, my lord. That I will not do. For if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than abjure or recant." Whereupon Bonner at last read the sentence of death upon him, and he was condemned on the 9th of February. His execution was postponed, and he remained in prison till the 10th of June.

A little before his death, some of his familiar acquaintances and friends seemed to be not a little confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk. Yet being frightened with the sharpness of the punishment, they desired that in the midst of the flame he would show them some token, if he could, by which they might be more certain whether the pain of such burning was so great that a man might not keep his mind quiet and patient in it. This he promised them to do. And so it was agreed secretly between them, that if the rage of the pain was tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head toward heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Not long after, when the hour had come, Hawkes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the lord Rich and his assistants. At the stake, Hawkes mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a chain cast about his middle amid a great multitude of people assembled. After he had spoken many things to them, especially to the lord Rich, reasoning with him about the innocent blood of saints, at length, after he had made fervent prayers and poured out his soul to God, the fire was set to him.

When he had continued a long while in the fire, and when his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed, so that all thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly and contrary to all expectation, this blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise made before, reached up his burning hands over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight of this, there followed such applause and outcry from the people, and especially from those who understood the matter, that the same has not commonly been heard. And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, June 10th A.D. 1555.

A Letter to the Congregation,
by Thomas Hawkes.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, always be with you all, my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ, forever; and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he appears to reward every man according to his works, you may as obedient children be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and when the Bridegroom shows himself, you need not be ashamed of this life which God has lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like a vapor, that for a season

appears and vanishes away, so soon pass away all our terrestrial honor, glory, and felicity. 'All flesh is grass (says the prophet), and all its goodness is like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower fades; because the spirit of the Lord blows upon it. Surely the people are grass.' Isaiah 40.6, 7. For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are like pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man except all vain vanities and vexation of mind — subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labors, banishment, in danger of that dreadful dragon and his sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted, and tormented;

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"who does not cease to lay a bait behind every bush, when we walk awry, to have his pleasure upon us — casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life — promising the world at will, to all who will fall down in all ages, and for a bowl of stew to sell and set at naught the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood. 'And especially Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches,' as the prophet says.

"Therefore I am bold in bonds, as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity, to warn you and most heartily desire you to watch and pray. For our state is dangerous, and it requires continual prayer. For the most plentiful grass does not grow on the high mountains; nor are the highest trees farthest from danger, but they are seldom sure, and always shaken by every wind that blows. Such a deceitful thing, says our Savior, is honor and riches, that without grace it choaks the good seed sown in his creatures, and so blinds their seeing, that they go groping at noon-day in darkness. It makes a man think himself to be something, who is nothing at all. For though, for our honor, we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, when we stand before the living God, there will be no respect of persons. For riches do not help in the day of vengeance, nor can we make the Lord partial for money. But as we have ministered to the saints, so we will receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured will be plenteously poured upon all, for the great goodness shown to the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that you may grow, as you have begun, to such a perfection that it may be to God's honor, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rages, and blasphemes the elect of God, you know that it did so to Christ, to his apostles, and to all who were in the primitive church, and so he will do unto the world's end.

"Therefore believe in the light while you have it, lest it be taken away from you. If you neglect the great mercy of God that has been opened to you, and your hearts consent that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father. Therefore I say in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast to it. Never let it depart out of your hearts and conversation, so that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock, as we have one Shepherd, may rise to life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Savior. Amen.

"Yours, in him that lives for ever,
"THOMAS HAWKES."

The History and Martyrdom of Thomas Watts.

Thomas Watts, of Billericay, in Essex, was a linen draper. Being in continual fear of seizure, he sold his cloth in his shop, disposed his things to his wife and children, and gave away much to the poor.

On the 26th of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich and other commissioners. There, being accused of not coming to church, he was examined before the lord Rich and the others.

At the sessions at Chelmsford, the lord Rich said to him, "You are brought here, because of disobedience to the laws of the queen. Vou will not come to the church, you will not hear mass, etc., contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings."

Watts answered, "My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said to him, "I pray you tell me, who has been your schoolmaster to teach you thus; or where did you first learn this religion?" Watts answered, "Even from you, sir. You taught it to me, and none more than you. For in King Edward's days, in open session, you spoke against this religion now in fashion; no preacher could say more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, earnestly exhorting that none should believe in them, and that our belief should be only in Christ. And you said then that whoever were to bring in any foreign power to rule here, it would be treason, and not to be allowed." Then Brown said to my lord Rich, "He belies me, my lord. What a knave is this? He will soon belie me behind my back, when he does it before my face." My lord Rich said, "I dare say he does."

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, sent him to the bishop of London.

Articles objected against Thomas Waits, of Billericay, in the county of Essex, by Bishop Bonner.

"1. That the said Thomas Watts was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. Also, that he did not believe in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome and all other churches, members of the same, have ever believed up to now, and which is taught by all good and faithful people, nor has allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but has despised the same.

"3. Also, that he believes, and has also taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration, and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood shed there, and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

"4. Also, that he believes and precisely affirms that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and nowhere else.

"5. Also, that he believes, affirms, and says, that the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ never instituted it, nor ordained it, nor yet allowed that it is a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

"6. Also, that he believes and affirms that auricular confession to the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man only to believe, and to confess himself to God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess to.

"7. Also, that he believes that Luther, Wycliffe, Barnes, and all others who have held against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire or otherwise for the maintenance of

the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

"8. Also, that he has and does believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is an utterly unprofitable thing; for if a man will be saved, he will be saved without doing them; and if he will be damned, they will not help him or do him any good at all.

"9. Also, that the said Watts recently coming into open court at the sessions before the lord Rich, Sir Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, Esquire, and others, and being examined then and there, openly confessed that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church — because, just as the service of the church set out in the days of the late King Edward VI was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naughty, so Thomas Watts then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naughty. And he also then uttered before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

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"10. Also, that the said Thomas, because of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifest and open heretic, and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, he is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, he is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic.

"11. Also, that over and besides all these offenses and trespasses aforesaid, he had also added this trespass: that is, that he had believed and deliberately said that the church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooly, recently hanged at Charing Cross, who, at the time of his execution, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as if to say that his authority and doings were tyranny, and he had all enormities and iniquities in them.

"12. Also, that the premises and every part of them are true, notoriously, manifestly, and openly spoken of and talked about among the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that within the aforesaid Billericay and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common-voice and notoriety about it."

The answer of Thomas Waffs to the aforesaid Articles.

To the first, he confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answered that he believes in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church. And he further said that he does not believe now as he had done in times past; for in times past he believed as the church then believed, but now he does not so believe. For the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he said he did not believe as the church of Rome believes, but as Christ has taught him. And further, he said that he was so taught to believe by the preaching of one Master Alvey, and others, whose names he did not remember; this Alvey, he said, preached the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the third he answered, that he has and does believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and nowhere else: and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he believed that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet still believes, that the priest can absolve him of his sins: however, he does not deny that it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the seventh he said, that he did not know what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons believed that the body and blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, then they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ were not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article, but said that he has and does believe that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds are works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, that he uttered and spoke as is contained in this article, and further he desires of God that he might die in that faith and belief in which he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he would submit himself in this to the order of the law: and he further said, that he trusted that with God he would be blessed, even though with men he would be accursed.

To the eleventh he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooly he said, he never saw or knew him. But in case the said Tooly wished and prayed as is contained in the article, than he likewise wished and consented with him in that.

To the twelfth he answered, that all of which he confessed to be true before, is also true: and all that he has denied to be true, he denies again to be true, and he believes the same to be according to such things as he has confessed.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop at another appearance of Watts in the consistory began with him in this way: "You know what I said to you today. The time has now come. Weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and though you willfully cast away your body, yet do not cast away your soul, but while you have time, return and confess the truth."

Watts answered, "I am weary of living in such idolatry as you would have me live in."

The bishop after many persuasions to recant, desired Watts to depart, and to come back on Saturday, when the bishop was absent. Doctor Nicholas Harpsfield, his deputy, earnestly exhorted Watts to renounce his opinions. In the end, he answered,

"Well, you have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it."

On the 10th of May, the bishop privately sent for Watts into his chamber, and there with many fair promises he tested him, whether he would revoke his "errors," as he termed them. But Watts answered, "I will not believe your church, nor the Romish church, and therefore you but labor in vain with me." Hereupon he was again dismissed until Friday the 17th, and then he was commanded to appear in the consistory.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and from hour to hour, he was at last, on the 15th of May, brought into the consistory. And there, being desired to renounce his profession, he gave this final answer, "God keep me from the doctrine that you would have

me come to, which you have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that which I have done. For I will stand to my answers."

The bishop perceiving his fair flattering promises to be useless, proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation. This being ended, Watts was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and sent by them to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th of June, or (as some record) to the 22nd of May. At that time he was carried to Chelmsford, and there he was brought to an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Hawkes and the rest who came down to be burned, they prayed together, both before and after their meal.

Then Watts went and prayed privately. Afterward he came to his wife and six children, and said, "Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you. Therefore from here on I will know you no more; but as the Lord has given you unto me, so I give you back to the Lord, whom I charge you to obey and fear him. And beware that you not turn to this abominable papistry, against which I will soon, by God's grace, give my blood. Do not let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be stronger in the Lord's cause, and I have no doubt that he will be a merciful Father to vou." In this manner he spoke to them, and they to him. Two of them offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spoke thus to Lord Rich, "My lord, beware! beware! for you act against your own conscience in this. And unless you repent, the Lord will revenge it. For you are the cause of my death."

An Account of the supposed pregnancy of Queen Mary.

A persuasion had been in England, for half a year or more, that the queen was pregnant. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and others around the court, so that several were punished for saying the contrary.

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Commandment was given that in all churches, supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery. And also, provision was made in an act of parliament for the child.

In the beginning of June, about Whitsuntide,[19] the time was thought to be near that this young master would come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, should be prepared and in readiness. Suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a rumor was spread in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child. So that, the bells were wrung, bonfires and processions were made, not only in the city of London and in most other parts of the realm, but also at the town of Antwerp, guns were fired upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners were rewarded with a hundred pistolets (or Italian crowns) by the lady regent, who was queen of Hungary. Such was the great rejoicing and triumph for the queen's delivery, and that a prince was born. Some preachers, such as the parson of St. Anne, within Aldersgate, after the procession and *Te Deum*, took it upon himself to describe the proportions of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was.

[19] *Whitsunday:* the 7th Sunday after Easter, commemorating Pentecost; Whitsuntide is the week following.

In the end, all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were notified that the queen was then neither delivered, nor in hope of having any child.

Restraining Books against Popish Doctrine

About this time, a certain English book was brought over into England, warning Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain secretive practices for the recovery of abbey lands. This book was called 'A Warning for England.' More will be said about this when we come to the Spanish inquisition. So that by the occasion of this book, on the 13th of June, a certain proclamation was set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, which tended to the disparagement of the pope's dignity. The proclamation follows here:

A Proclamation of the King and Queen, for the restraining of all Books and Writings, tending against the doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

"Whereas by the statute made in the second year of King Henry IV, concerning the repressing of heresy, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their favorers and supporters, but also for those who have or keep any such books or writings, and do not deliver them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being recently revived by authority of parliament, was also openly proclaimed with the intent that the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and yet nevertheless, in most parts of the realm, the same is neglected and little regarded. The king and queen our sovereign lord and lady, therefore straitly charge and command that no person or persons, of whatever estate, degree, or condition he or they may be, from now on presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned — that is to say, any book or books, writing or works, made or set forth by, or in the name of, Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works, made and set forth by, or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius [Zwingli], John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus, Ochinus, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called friar Bale, Justus, Jonas John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basel, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called 'Hall's Chronicle,' or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing, or work that is made, printed, or set forth by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary to and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church.

"And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm, in the time of King Edward VI, commonly called the communion book, or book of common service, and ordering of ministers, otherwise called 'The book set forth by authority of parliament, for common prayer and administration of the sacraments, or to be used in the mother tongue within the church of England,' but shall within fifteen days next after the publication of this

proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every one of them remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese where such books, works, or writings are or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, color or deceit, at the said ordinaries' will and disposition, to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender, contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

"And their majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and its dominions, and expressly command and will the same and every one of them, that they and every one of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days have expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works. And for this purpose they shall enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected of keeping any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation; and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every one of them within their said limits and jurisdictions finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute limits and appoints in this behalf.

"Given under our manual signatures, at our Honor of Hampton Court, the 13th of June, the first and second years of our reigns.

"Imprinted by JOHN CAWOOD, A.D. 1555."

Articles to he inquired into by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, especially touching the Book called, 'A Warning for England.'

"1. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books.

"2. Whether they have heard of any of the said books.

"3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.

"4. Whom they know to have recently come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wesel, Emden, and Disburgh.

"5. Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common carriers of letters, or money, to there from here.

"6. That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books which they have, or will have found hereafter."

In this proclamation you have heard, Christian reader, the profound and learned censure of the popish church of England, of whatever books they dislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious.

[769] A.D. 1555.

I do not now argue against this censure. Only that it may please the reader to allow me to set before him a balance in which to weigh the books condemned on one side, with the books

allowed on the other side, so that weighing the one with the other, we may better discern between them, as to which part weighs best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now, therefore, just as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation of these books recited above, so I desire you to give your censure of the books allowed by them, and of the matter contained in them.

Our Lady's Matins and Our Lady's Psalter

I begin first with the Primer in English, for children, following the use of Salisbury, printed with a privilege according to the king and queen's majesties' letters patent in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us survey some part of the Primer, beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

> "Holy Mary; mother most pure of virgins all;
> Mother and daughter of the king celestial.
> So comfort us in our desolation,
> That by your prayer and special mediation.
> We enjoy the reward of your heavenly reign," etc.

Compare this with the Scriptures, good reader, and judge rightly whether this doctrine is tolerable in the church or not. It follows further in the second lesson:

> "Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,
> Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;
> That he may accept our prayers in good wise,
> Who was born of you, and reigns above the skies," etc.

In the third lesson:

> "Your Son beseech with humble intercession,
> To purge us clean of our transgression;
> That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
> Where you dwell with him, world without end."

The versicle: [20]

> "Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel your help, who worthily solemnize your memorial," etc.

Another versicle:

> "Holy mother of God, make your petition, that we may deserve Christ's remission," etc.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, it thus follows:

> "We beseech you of your pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that being supported by your help, we may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the collect afterward, it follows:

> "And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin your mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

Moreover, it thus follows in the said primer, concerning the material cross:

[20] *Versicle*: a short verse said or sung by a priest or minister, followed by a response from the congregation.

"O God, who have ascended your most holy cross, and have given light to the darkness of the world, grant by the virtue of your cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies," etc.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist, thus it prays:

"O Lord, defend us always through the continual succors of St. John the Baptist. For the frailer we are, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," etc.

In these words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the folly of the reason. For where their doctrine pretends that St. John the Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John the Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It follows further in the name of Peter and Paul:

"Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting," etc.

Of St. Andrew:

"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to you," etc.

Of St. Lawrence, thus:

"St. Lawrence, the deacon, did work a great work.
For by virtue of the holy cross he gave sight to the blind," etc.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen who first found the cross, as they say, came more than forty years after St. Lawrence!

To Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury:

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for you did spend,
Make us, Christ, to climb, to where Thomas did ascend."

Of St. Nicholas.

"O God, which have glorified blessed Nicholas, your holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech you, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

Of Mary Magdalen.

"Grant, we beseech you, through your mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting."

Another prayer to our Lady.

"The dolorous compassion of God's sweet mother, Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," etc.

Another prayer in the said primer, to our Lady.

"Establish us in peace and tranquility.
And change the name of sinful Eva:
Loose your prisoners from captivity.
Unto the blind give sight again.
Deliver us from malignity.
To the end we may some grace attain.
Show yourself to be a mother:
So that he accepts our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin," etc.

Also,

> "Holy mother succor the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind," etc.

Another blasphemous prayer.

> "O you meek mother, have mercy therefore
> On wretches, for whom you had these pains all,
> Seeing your Son that vine cluster pressed sore:
> And from the pestilence of death eternal,
> Keep us by voiding the fiend infernal.
> And join us with those who rewarded be
> With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

Another blasphemy in the said primer:

> "Hail queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. To you do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our patroness, cast upon us your pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of your womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation to the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean," etc.

Also to our Lady,

> "The fruit of your womb everlasting,
> May we behold through your deserving," etc.

Also,

> "Grant we beseech you, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy. whereas she being assumed, now rejoices with you in heaven forever."

And thus much for this popish primer, called "Our Lady's Matins." To this, though tedious for the reader, we would also add "Our Lady's Psalter." Thus all impartial readers, having seen what books these popish fathers have condemned and do condemn as heretical, they may also see and judge what books on the other side, they approve as lawful and catholic. As perhaps it is not known to everyone what "Our Lady's Psalter" is, and some perhaps will deny that "Our Lady's Psalter" was approved, we will therefore first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a "seraphic doctor," [21] also bishop and cardinal, canonized by pope Sixtus IV, A.D. 1482, as a saint in the Calendar. In his book, he has taken every psalm of David's psalter, which was peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God, and has in several psalms and verses pulled out the name of the Lord, and inserted in its stead the name of "Our Lady." This being done through the whole psalms, it is called "Our Lady's Psalter," which used to be sung and spoken in the praise and service of our Lady.

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For example's sake, we thought to exhibit a little of it here to the reader.

The Title in English of the Psalter.

> "Here begins the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphic Doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Alban, and Cardinal of the holy church of Rome."

[21] *The Seraphic Doctor* was a title given to the Italian medieval theologian Bonaventure (c.1221-1274).

Psalm 1. — “Blessed is the man who understands your name, O Virgin Mary, your grace shall comfort his soul. You shall bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of Justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women you surpass in the beauty of your body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of your holiness. Your mercy and your grace is magnified everywhere,” etc. “Glory be to the Father,” etc.

Psalm 2. — “Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let your right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come to her all you who labor and are troubled, and she will give rest for your souls. Come to her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall establish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father,” etc.

Psalm 3. — “Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In your fury you shall persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of my enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me to the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit to my Maker and Creator. — Glory be to the Father,” etc.

Psalm 4. — “When I called to you, you heard me, O my Lady, and out of your high throne you granted to think upon me. From the roaring of those who prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of those who seek my life, your grace shall deliver me. Because your mercy and your pity are great towards all those who call upon your holy name. Blessed be you, O Lady, forever, and your majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her all nations of the earth,” etc.

Psalm 5. — “Hear my words, O Lady,” etc. “Turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with your power dash their heads in pieces.”

Psalm 6. — “O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God’s anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure,” etc. “From the gate and deep pit of hell, with your holy prayers, deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth your marvellous works forever. Because the dead shall not praise you, O Lady, nor those who are in hell, but only those who shall obtain by your grace life everlasting.”

Psalm 7. — “O my Lady, in you I will put my trust; deliver me from my enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for your name’s sake, to show your mercy upon me. Let the brightness of your countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most high. If the enemy persecutes my soul, O Lady, help me, that he does not destroy me.”

Psalm 9. — “I will give thanks to you, O Lady, with my whole heart, and I will show forth among the nations your praise and glory, etc. They shall find grace through you, the finder out of grace and salvation, the humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal the sores of their hearts.” etc.

Psalm 11. — “In you, O Lady, I put my trust,” etc. “Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, etc. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give us plenteousness of merits,” etc.

Psalm 12. — “Save me, O mother of love, and fountain of mercy, etc. You yourself alone have gone about the compass of the earth, to help those who call upon you.”

Psalm 13. — “How long do you forget me, O Lady, and do not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall my enemy triumph over me? With your mighty power destroy him,” etc. “We magnify you the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired,” etc.

Psalm 16. — “Preserve me, O Lady, for in you have I put my trust, etc. Blessed be your breasts, with which your deifying milk nourished the Savior,” etc.

Psalm 18. — “I will love you, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon your name among the nations. Confess yourselves to her, you who are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies, etc. All you cloisterers honor her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be our refreshing and rest, for you are the marvellous foundation of all religion.”

Psalm 20. — “Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble, etc. Do not cast us away in the time of our death, but succor our soul when it forsakes the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies, etc. In torments and pain let it feel your comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God.”

Psalm 25. — “To you, O Lady, I lift up my soul, etc. Let not the snares of death prevail against me,” etc. “Be my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me.”

Psalm 26”. — “Judge me, O Lady, for I have fallen from my innocency: but because I put my trust in you, therefore I shall not fall,” etc.

Psalm 27. — “O Lady, let the brightness of your face be my sight, and let the clearness of your grace shine unto my mind,” etc.

Psalm 28. — “To you, O Lady,” etc. “Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of your truth deliver me,” etc.

Psalm 31. — “In you, O Lady, I put my trust; let me not be confounded forever; in your glory receive me. You are my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection, etc. Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because you are my helper. Into your hands I commend my spirit,” etc.

Psalm 34. — “I will always praise our Lady,” etc. “In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need you will find succor. Let her conversation be an example to you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because, therefore, O Lady, you were humble and lowly, you compelled the Word uncreate to take flesh from you.”

Psalm 36. — “The wicked man said, etc. Let him depart from his evil purpose; O mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us. Compel him to be merciful to sinners. Blessed be your empire and dominion in heaven, and blessed be your magnificence upon the earth.”

Psalm 45. — “My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady,” etc. “By your holiness let my sins be purged, by your integrity let me obtain incorruption,” etc.

Psalm 47. — “Clap your hands, all you people,” etc. “For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me; for you are the light and hope of all who put their trust in you.”

Psalm 51. — “Have mercy upon me, O Lady, who are called the Mother of Mercy, and in the bowels of your great compassion cleanse me from my iniquities.”

Psalm 54. — “O Lady, in your name save me, and from my unrighteousness deliver me,” etc.

Psalm 70. — “Make haste, O Lady, to help me,” etc. “Have mercy on your servants, upon whom your name is invoked,” etc.

Psalm 71. — “In you. Lady, I have put my trust: lei me not be confounded forever, in your mercy deliver me,” etc.

Psalm 79. — “O Lady, the Gentiles have come into the inheritance of God, whom you joined to Christ by your merits,” etc.

Psalm 80. — “You who rule Israel,” etc. “The savor of life comes from her, and all health flows out of her heart,” etc.

Psalm 91. — Whoever dwells in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, etc. Cry to her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him who trusts in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open to him.”

Psalm 95. — “Come, let us rejoice to our Lady, etc. Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest,” etc.

Psalm 105. — “Praise our Lady, and call upon her name,” etc. “Everlasting salvation is in your hand, O Lady,” etc.

Psalm 110. — “The Lord said to our Lady, ‘Sit here, my mother, at my right hand,’ “etc.

Psalm 119. — “The whole earth is full of your mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of your justifications, etc. I will covet forever to praise you, O Lady, when you teach me your justifications,” etc.

Psalm 125. — “Those who put their trust in you, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy,” etc.

Psalm 127. — “Unless our Lady builds the house of our heart, the building of it shall not continue.”

Psalm 128. — “Blessed is everyone who fears our Lady, and blessed be all those who know to do her will,” etc.

Psalm 130. — “Out of the deep I called have to you, O Lady; O Lady, hear my voice,” etc.

Psalm 132. — “O Lady, remember David, and all those who call upon your name,” etc.

Psalm 134. — “Behold and bless now our Lady, all you who put your trust in her holy name.”

Psalm 136. — “At the floods of Babylon,” etc. “There is no propitiation to be found without her,” etc.

Psalm 140. — “Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and defend me from the infernal enemy,” etc.

Psalm 145. — “Our eyes look up and trust in you. Send us meat and food convenient,” etc. “My tongue will speak your praise, and bless you forever.”

Psalm 148. — “Praise our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O Sion; for she builds up your walls, and blesses your children. Her grace makes you fat, and gives peace to your coasts,” etc.

I could recite much more of such blasphemy in this “Psalter of our Lady,” by the seraphic doctor, St. Bonaventure.

Is good popish stuff not found here, Christian reader?, I beseech you, compare this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer you to no better judge than your own conscience. And now, if any man has been in doubt in times past of the doctrine of the Church of Rome, whether or not it is rightly charged with blind errors, with intolerable blasphemy and abominable idolatry, he may now be fully certified and resolved. For where was idolatry or blasphemy ever to be found, if not here in this “Matins” and “Psalter of Our Lady?” If idolatry is the making an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we have here if not to make an idol of “our

Lady," to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than the Lord God himself? And as He is called *our Lord*, so she is called *our Lady*. And if he is king, she is the queen of heaven. And though he has the name of God, yet she bears the title of the Mother of God — that just as mothers have authority over their children, so she is to show herself to be His mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he is our patron, yet she is our patroness. The commandment says, "You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve." Mat 4.10 And what worship, or service, can we give to God more than all this ascribes to *her*? And what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ, our Savior, which is not equally asked of *her*? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, etc. To her we pray, we cry, weep, we sigh, we groan, we knock, and kneel; to her we trust, and if we do not believe also in our Lady, we are immediately denounced as heretics.

Further, just as Christ, our only Lord and Savior, has his church and congregation which profess his name, of whom we are called Christians, so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities and brotherhoods, which, professing her name in like manner, are called *our Lady's brethren*, or *White friars*, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches. Each one of these has his peculiar church and religion by himself, and yet all these together are included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now, to proceed further to the other part of the commandment which says, "Him only shall you serve.' What service does the Lord have in all the church of Rome, that our Lady does not have jointly with him? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and complin, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter, her holidays likewise, indeed, five to one. Finally, just as the Lord has his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so has she has her 'Hail Mary,' indeed, ten *Hail Marys* to one *Our Father*. And read further in Bonaventure, and you will see her 'We praise you,' her 'Blessed,' her 'My soul does magnify,' and also her 'Whoever will be saved,' etc.

If the Lord our God had not expressed to us his will by plain words, limiting us by express injunction, what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve Him, and how to receive our salvation from him, but had left us to the imagination of our own minds, every man shifting for himself, then perhaps this way taken by the pope's church might have some reason — to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation. But now God's word binds us, precisely prescribes and limits us, in every point regarding salvation, what to believe, and what to do. It shows us plainly that we cannot be saved but by the blood of his Son alone, nor can we be justified but by faith alone in the same Christ his Son. Therefore, not to believe that which he has promised, is infidelity; and to follow any other belief than he has sent us is plain idolatry. These two special errors most commonly follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as may well appear not only in this primer and psalter of our Lady, but also in all their proceedings, teaching and preaching besides. For the Scripture perfectly promises and pronounces us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and allows us to seek our salvation nowhere else, but only in the merits of Jesus. But the institution of the church of Rome will not receive that which God has freely given (in which infidelity stands). Nor yet will they seek the same where they should, but instead, in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthiness of the material cross, and other such unlawful means, in which plain idolatry stands. And yet books such as these can be allowed among the papists to be accepted as

good, wholesome, and lawful books. Whereas, the others can in no way be allowed — those which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry, to true Christianity. But it is vain to complain of this. We will now proceed in our history.

The History of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne.

Mention was made before in the account of Thomas Hawkes, of six prisoners who were sent down with him to Essex at the same time that he went to execution. Three were sent to be burned, and the other three to recant and do penance. It now follows to address them.[22] The names of the six were, Thomas Osmond, *fuller*; William Bamford, alias Butler, *weaver*; Thomas Osborne, *fuller*; Nicholas Chamberlam, *weaver*; Thomas Brodehill, *weaver*; Richard Webb, *weaver*. All of theme were from the town of Coxhall. All six of these Coxhall men, after the examinations of Thomas Hawkes and Thomas Watts, were sent up to Bonner to be examined by the Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris, knight.

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The prisoners were brought before the bishop on the 17th of the month, to be examined on some articles objected against them, and compelled to answer. The articles were similar to those so frequently objected to other godly martyrs, and they were answered in like manner.

The articles being propounded and answered, the men were dismissed until the afternoon, when they again appeared. They were examined, and with fair and flattering speeches by the bishop and his assistants, they were urged to recant their opinions. Notwithstanding, they remained firm in their opinions, and therefore, following the common usage of the ecclesiastical laws of the papal church, they were sent away again until the next day, the 18th of May. In the forenoon, according to his accustomed manner of proceeding, the bishop again dismissed them. At last in the afternoon he condemned them as heretics. And so he delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and executed by him: Chamberlain at Colchester, on the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, on the 15th; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, on the same day.

The History and Martyrdom of John Bradford.

The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God,
Master John Bradford.

John Bradford was born at Manchester. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living. He continued some years in an honest and good life, following the course of this world. Then the Lord, who had elected him to a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospel of Christ, in that hour of grace which He had appointed in His secret counsel, called his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the gospel of life. He was so truly taught in it, that his effectual call was perceived by its fruits. For Bradford forsook his worldly affairs and worldly wealth, and gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures. To better accomplish his purpose, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. At Cambridge, his diligence in study and his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation so

[22] None of these men was among the six previously named with Hawkes (see p. 762).

pleased all men, that within one year after he had been there, the university gave him the degree of a master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke hall gave him a fellowship in their college. That man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he held him not only most dear to him, but also often exhorted him to direct his talent to preaching. He always answered that he was unable to serve in that office, through lack of learning. Bucer usually replied to this, saying, “If you do not have fine manchet bread, you still give the poor people barley bread, or whatever else the Lord has committed to you.” While Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Doctor Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, called him to take the degree of a deacon. He obtained for him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul’s.

Many parts of England can testify how faithfully Bradford walked in this office for three years, and how diligently he labored. He sharply exposed and reproved sin; he sweetly preached Christ crucified; he pithily impugned heresies and errors, and earnestly persuaded the people to live godly lives. After the death of our blessed young King Edward VI, when Queen Mary had gotten the crown, Bradford still continued diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council.

The fact was this: on the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourne, then bishop of Bath, gave a sermon at St. Paul’s Cross in London, to push popery abroad. This moved the people to no small indignation, almost being ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Nor could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, nor yet the commandment of the Mayor of London, whom the people should have obeyed, stay their rage. But the more these men spoke, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourne, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, ended his sermon, fearing lest he end his wretched life there. And he desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forward, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford at his request spoke to the people, and exhorted them to godly and quiet obedience. As soon as the people saw him begin to speak to them, they were so glad to hear him, that they cried with a great shout: “Bradford! Bradford! God save your life, Bradford!” showing not only what affection they bore toward him, but also what regard they gave to his words. For after he preached to them, and exhorted them to be quiet and patient, soon all the raging ceased, and in the end each man departed quietly to his house. Yet Bourne thought himself not yet fully sure of his life till he was safely housed — notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were at hand to help them. Therefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he was in safety; which Bradford performed, according to his promise. For while the mayor and sheriffs led Bourne to the school-master’s house, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so he set him safely there.

Within three days, Bradford was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of saving of Bourne, which they called seditious, and they also objected against him for preaching. He was then committed first to the Tower, then to other prisons, out of which neither his innocence, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ’s cause), he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he was sent to the King’s Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter, in the Poultry, in London. In these two places he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered

him. The sacrament was often administered there; and through the kindness of the keeper toward him, there was such a resort of good people to his lecture daily, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was nearly filled. Preaching, reading, and praying occupied his whole life. He did not eat more than one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he often used to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from where there usually came plenty of tears. He was very gentle to man and child, and in such good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening, being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark, he had license upon his promise to return that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit someone who was sick. Neither did he fail in his promise, but he returned to his prison, rather anticipating his hour, than breaking his fidelity, so constant was he in word and in deed.

In person he was somewhat tall and slender, spare in body, of a faint sanguine color, with auburn beard. He commonly did not sleep over four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book was not out of his hand. His chief recreation was not in gaining, or other pastime, but only in honest company, and profitable talk, in which he would spend a little time after dinner. Then he went to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, in which he did not do some good, either with pen, study, or in exhorting others, etc. He was not sparing with his purse, but would liberally share what he had with his fellow prisoners.

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And commonly, once a week he visited the thieves, pick-pockets, and such others who were with him in prison where he lay, to whom he would give godly exhortation, to amend their lives by repentance, and afterwards distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

While he was in the King's Bench, and Master Sanders in the Marshalsea prison, they met many times at the rear of those two prisons, and conferred together, so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles. Bradford was so trusted by his keeper, and had such liberty, that there was no day that he might not have easily escaped if he would; but the Lord had other work for him. In the summer, while he was in the King's Bench, he had liberty from his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance. Horse and all things were prepared for his journey, and the party was in readiness who would ride with him; but God prevented him by sickness, so that he did not go at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came to him while he was prisoner. He asked him, if he sued to get Bradford out, what he would do, or where would he go? He answered as if not caring whether he went out or not; but if he did, he said he would marry, and still abide in England secretly, teaching the people, and occupying himself in that way. He was held in such great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude who never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death; yes, and also a number of the papists themselves wished heartily that his life might be spared.

One afternoon as he was walking in the keeper's chamber, the keeper's wife suddenly came to him, as one seeming in much trouble, and said: "Oh, Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" he asked "Goodness," she said; "tomorrow you are to be

burned; and your chain is now being bought, and soon you must go to Newgate." [23] With that, Master Bradford took off his cap, and lifting np his eyes to heaven, he said: "I thank God for it; I have looked for this a long time, and therefore it does not come to me suddenly now, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy." So thanking her for her gentleness, he departed to his chamber, and called his friend with him. When he came there, he went secretly by himself alone a long time, and prayed. This done, he came back to his friend and gave him several writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things which he wished to have done. They then continued together all evening, when half a dozen more of his friends came to him, with whom he spent the time in prayer and other good exercise, as they wondered to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer at his farewell, with such humility and holy unction, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also, when he put on the shirt that was made for his burning, he made such a prayer concerning the wedding garment, that some of those present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking at him, as their ears gave way to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he likewise made a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with an exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually laboring to shun all manner of evil. That done, he turned himself to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for Christ's sake. When he was in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before with tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate was about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, when it was thought that none would be stirring abroad. And yet contrary to their expectation, in Cheapside and other places between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears. And he as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them. Now, whether it was a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents; or whether it was devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or not, I cannot tell; but there was a great noise overnight around the city, that Bradford was to be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four o'clock in the morning, before it would be widely known. Some thought the fear of the people was the cause of this; others thought it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth. So some thought one thing, and some another. But this was certain: the people prevented the suspected device. For the next day, at four o'clock in the morning, there was a great multitude of men and women in Smithfield.

However, it was nine o'clock before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield. He was led forth with a great company of armed men, as the like was not seen at any man's burning. Bradford, having come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes down to his shirt, he went to the stake, and there he joyfully and constantly suffered with a young man, twenty years of age, whose name was John Leaf.

Communication *between John Bradford, and the Lord Chancellor and others in Commission with him, on the 22d of January A.D. 1555.*

After the lord chancellor (Stephen Gardiner), and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with Farrar, late bishop of St. David's, the

[23] Bradford was burned on July 1, 1555. What follows in the Commission, took place the previous January.

under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford. Having come into the presence of the council, he knelt down; but he was immediately bid by the lord chancellor to stand up.

When he had risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked at him, but he gave no way; that is, he did not cease in like manner to look at the lord chancellor, except that once he cast his eyes heavenward and sighed for God's grace.

Then the lord chancellor, somewhat troubled, spoke to him to this effect: "That for a long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behavior at St. Paul's cross on the 13th of August 1553, for his false preaching and arrogance, taking it upon himself to preach without authority. But now," he added, "the time of mercy has come, and therefore the queen's highness, willing to offer mercy, has sent to declare and give the same, if you will return. And if you will do as we have done, you will find as we have found, I warrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner, the same words which he spoke.

To these words John Bradford replied, "My lord, and lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence let it be spoken) unjustly, for I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or deed, by preaching or otherwise; but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, both as an obedient and faithful subject in going about to save Master Bourne, now the bishop of Bath, who was then preaching at St, Paul's Cross."

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the lord chancellor said that "the act was seditious, as you, my lord of London, can bear witness."

Bonner. — "You say true, my lord. I saw him with my own eyes, when he took it on himself to rule and lead the people impudently, thereby proving he was the author of the sedition."

Bradford — "My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet I have told the truth, as one day my Lord God Almighty will reveal to all the world, when we will all come and appear before him: In the meantime, as I cannot be believed by you, I must and am ready to suffer."

Lord Chancellor. — "I know you have a showy and glorious tongue, but all you speak are lies. I have not forgotten how stubborn you were when you were before us in the Tower, whereupon you were committed to prison concerning religion.

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I have not forgotten your behavior and talk, for which you have worthily been kept in prison, as one who would have done more hurt than I will speak of."

Bradford. — "My lord, as I said before, so I say again, that as I stand before you, so before God, and one day we will all stand before him. The truth will then be the truth, though now you will not so take it. Yes, my lord, I dare say that my lord of Bath (Master Bourne) will witness with me, that I sought his safety at the peril of my own life."

Bonner. — "That is not true; for I myself saw you take too much upon yourself."

Bradford. — "No, I took nothing upon myself that was not desired, and that too by Master Bourne himself, as I dare say he would affirm what I say, if he were here present. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. If I said anything before your honors, in the Tower, that did not beseem me, if your lordships would tell me what it was, I should and would shortly give you an answer."

Chancellor. — “Well, leave this matter. Will you return again, and do as we have done, and receive the queen’s mercy and pardon?”

Bradford. — “My lord, I desire mercy with God’s mercy; but may God keep me from mercy with God’s wrath. My conscience does not accuse me. All that I ever did or spoke, was both agreeable to God’s laws, and the laws of the realm.”

Chancellor. — “Well, if you make this babbling rolling in your eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vainglorious,[24] and will not receive mercy offered to you, know for truth, that the queen is minded to make a ‘purgation of all who are such as you.’”

Bradford. — “The Lord, before whom I stand, as well as before you, knows what I have sought. His mercy I desire, and I would also be glad of the queen’s favor, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord’s mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands who will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it is His pleasure. Therefore His good will be done; life in his displeasure is worse than death; and death with His true favor, is true life.”

Chancellor. — “I know well enough, that we will have glorious talk enough from you. Be assured, therefore, that as you have deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so you shall receive.”

Bradford. — “I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God’s grace I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry if you could so prove it.”

Durham. — “Why, tell me, what do you say about the ministration of the communion?”

Bradford. — “My lord, here I must desire a question of your lordship, and of all your honors, before I dare give you an answer to any interrogatory or question. I have been sworn six times that I will in no case consent to the practicing of any jurisdiction, or any authority, on the bishop of Rome’s behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honors tell me whether you ask me this question by his authority, or not? If you do, I dare not, nor may I answer you anything which you demand of me in his authority, unless I would be forsworn, which God forbid.”

Secretary Bourn. — “Have you been sworn six times? What office have you borne?”

Bradford. — “I was thrice sworn in Cambridge: when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke Hall; and when I was there, the visitors came there, and swore the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I was given a prebend, and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death.”

Chancellor. — “Tush! A man should have no conscience at Herod ‘s oaths.”

Bradford. — “But, my lord, these were no Herod’s oaths, nor unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God’s word, as you yourself have well-affirmed in your book ‘De vera Obedientia.’”

Rochester. — “My lords, I never knew why this man was in prison before now. But I see that it would not have been good for this man to be abroad. For what cause he was put in prison, I do not know. But now I well know that it is not without cause that he was and is to be kept in prison.”

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[24] *Vainglorious*: feeling self-importance.

Bourn. — “Yes, it was reported this parliament-time by the earl of Derby, that he has done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those who have come to him, in religion, than he ever did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters, he curses all who teach any false doctrine (for so he calls that which is not according to what he taught) and most heartily exhorts those to whom he writes to continue in what they have received from him.”

Bradford. — “I have not written or spoken anything seditiously, nor I trust, will I ever.”

Bourn. — “Yes, you *have* written letters.”

Chancellor. — “Why do you not speak? Have you not written as he says?”

Bradford. — “What I have written, I have written.”

Southwell. — “Lord God! what an arrogant and stubborn boy this is, that he thus stoutly behaves himself before the queen’s council!”

Chancellor. — “We will never be done with you, I perceive now. Be short, be short: will you have mercy?”

Bradford. — “I pray God to give me His mercy, and if you will extend yours with this, I will not refuse it; but otherwise I will have none.”

Here now there was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, about his arrogance in refusing the queen’s pardon.

He was again brought before them on the 29th of July, when he was again offered mercy and pardon if he would recant. After the lord chancellor’s long talk about the queen’s pardon, Bradford began to speak,

Bradford. — “My lord, and my lords all, as I now stand before you, so I humbly beseech your honors to consider that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David witnesses) is in the congregation of judges, and sit in the midst of them. And as you would now have your place regarded as God’s place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow Him in your sitting. That is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare, those who are out of it. At present I stand before you guilty or guiltless. So then, proceed and give sentence accordingly. If I am guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which up to now I could not have.”

Here the lord chancellor made much ado to purge himself, as if he did not seek guiltless blood. And so began a long process, how Bradford’s act at St. Paul’s Cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and showed that he took it upon himself to lead the people. And he charged Bradford with writing seditious letters.

Bradford. — “I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, I will, by God’s grace, never deny. And where your lordship says that I dare not answer you, so that all men may know that I am not afraid, except for my oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly answer you, by God’s grace, though I now see my life lies upon it. But, O Lord, into your hands I commit it, come what will; only sanctify Your name in me, as in an instrument of your grace. Amen. Now ask what you will, and you will see I am not afraid, by God’s grace, to plainly answer.”

Ld. Chanc. -” Well, then, what do you say to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe Christ is present there concerning his natural body?”

Bradford. — “My lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporeally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word ‘corporeally,’ I mean that Christ is present there corporeally unto faith.”

Ld. Chanc — “Unto faith? We must have many more words to make it plain.”

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Bradford. — “You shall have it: but first give me leave to speak two words.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Speak on.”

Bradford. — “I have now been a year and almost three quarters in prison, and all this time you never questioned me about this, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril. But now you have a law to hang and put to death, if a man answers freely, and not according to your wishes. And so *now* you come to demand this question! Ah, my lord, Christ did not use this way to bring men to faith.”

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, it seems, and said most gently that he did not use this means. “It was not my doing.” he said. “For my part, I have been challenged for being too gentle.”

Bradford. — “My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it, for up to now I never felt it. I was three-quarters of a year in the Tower, and you forbade me paper, pen, and ink. And never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather found extremity up to now, just as I looked for.”

Here several persons were telling my lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon he would speak more with him. Bradford was then brought into the vestry and kept there till night, when he was conveyed back to prison.

The next day, a gentleman called Master Thomas Hussey, came into the chamber in which John Bradford lay, and he began a long oration, how he came to him out of love and old acquaintance. “You,” he said, “so wonderfully behaved yourself before the lord chancellor and other bishops yesterday, that even the truest enemies you have, saw that they have no matter against you. And therefore, I advise you to desire a time, and men to confer with. And thus all men will think there is a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you. And by this means you will escape present danger.”

John Bradford answered, “I neither can, nor will make such a request. For then I will give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt the doctrine which I confess, which I do not.”

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Doctor Seton came in, with the very same insidious design to deceive and entrap this godly man.

This Doctor Seton, after some talk of Bradford’s age, his country, and such, began a long sermon about my lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, and Master Ridley, and how those at Oxford were not able to answer anything at all. And therefore my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others. All this talk tended to this end, that Bradford should make a similar request for a conference. But to this, Bradford briefly answered as he had done before to Hussey. Neither Seton nor Hussey were content with this answer, After many attempted persuasions, Seton said, “I have heard much talk from you, and last night a gentleman reported about you at the lord chancellor’s table, that you were able to persuade as much as anyone he knew. I thought your modesty was such before the

bishops, your behavior and talk were so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry if you did worse than myself. And I tell you further, I perceive my lord chancellor has a regard for you. Therefore, do not be so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer with," etc.

But Bradford kept to his one answer: "I cannot, nor will I so offend the people. I have no doubts. I am most certain of the truth of the doctrine I have taught."

Here Doctor Seton grew heated, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, and vainglorious.

Then Bradford asked them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace from Him. "For," he said, "otherwise I am helpless." And so, with much ado, they departed. Then Bradford prayed to God, which the Lord of his goodness graciously accepted in his need, praised be His holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the church, and there he tarried till eleven o'clock.

After the excommunication of Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford was called in. And being brought before the lord chancellor and the bishops, the lord chancellor said that if Bradford would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he might yet find mercy, because they would be loath to use extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, urging Bradford to recant his doctrine. After the lord chancellor ended, Bradford spoke thus:

Bradford. — "Just as yesterday I besought your honors to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God, so that you might follow Him who does not seek to subvert the simple by subtle questions, so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day. For you know well enough that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray your lordships to do, not as one who it takes upon myself to condemn you, but that you might be more admonished to do that which none does so much as he should. For our nature is so corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, just as yesterday I alleged my oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I would never consent to the practicing of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England, so I do again today. And last of all, just as yesterday the answers that I made were by protestation and saving my oath, so I would have your honors know that my answers will be so today. And I do this, so that when death comes (which I look for at your hands), I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

The lord chancellor was angry at these words, and said that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which, yesterday," he said, "you uttered."

Bradford. — "My lord, you gave me no time for any such deliberation. Nor did I say anything about the sacrament which you disallowed. For when I declared there was a presence of Christ to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so you went to dinner."

Ld. Chanc. — "What? I perceive that we must begin it all over again with you. Did I not plainly tell you yesterday, that you had a conscience (scruple) where none should be? Did I not make it plain that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Bradford. — "No, indeed, my lord. You *said* so, but you did not prove it."

Ld. Chanc. — "O Lord God, what kind of fellow are you? You would bring into the people's heads, that we — all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm — are perjured! O what a heretic this is! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I were to make an oath that I would never help my brother,

nor lend him money in his need, would this be a good answer, to tell my neighbor desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?"

Bradford. — "O, my lord, discern between oaths that are against charity and faith, and oaths that are according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent talking about oaths, which ones were good and which were evil. But Bradford proved that obedience in this point to the queen, if she were to demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, denying it was not a general denial of her authority and of obedience to her. "No more," he said, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a man's inheritance, proves it to be a sale, gift, or lease of the whole inheritance."

Thus a great discussion was made about this matter, the lord chancellor speaking much. Bradford replied to him that, "It was a wonder his honor did not weigh conscience more in this; yet he would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless about solemn oaths made to God and to princes." The lord chancellor said the queen might dispense with it, and did so to the whole realm.

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But Bradford said that the queen's highness could do no more than remit her own right. As for the oath made to God, she could never remit it, because it was made to God."

At these words the lord chancellor chafed remarkably, and said that in plain sense Bradford slandered the realm of perjury. "Therefore," he observed to the people, "you may see how this fellow takes it upon himself to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England, and yet he has no conscience at all."

Here the chamberlain of Woodstock came forward, and spoke to my lord chancellor, how Bradford had been a serving-man, and was with Master Harrington.

Ld. Chanc. — "True, and he deceived his master of 140 pounds. Because of this, he became a gospeller and a preacher; and yet you see how he pretends to have a conscience."

Bradford. — "My lord, I set my foot by his, whoever he is that comes forth and vouches to my face, that I ever deceived my master. And as you are chief justice by office in England, I desire justice upon those who so slander me, because they cannot prove it.''

Here my lord chancellor and the chamberlain were struck blank, and said they heard it. "But," said my lord chancellor, "we have another matter than this against you: for you are a heretic."

"Indeed," said the bishop of London, "he wrote letters to Master Pendleton, who knows his hand as well as his own; your honor saw the letters."

Bradford. — "This is not true; I never wrote to Pendleton since I came to prison."

London. — "Yes, but you penned it."

Bradford. — "I did not, nor do I know what you mean."

Here one of the clerics of the council came, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

Ld. Chanc. — "You say true: for we have his handwriting to show."

Bradford. — “I deny that you have my handwriting to show of letters sent into Lancashire, other than those which I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.”

Here all was answered. Then the lord chancellor began a new matter. “Sir,” he said, “in my house the other day you most contemptuously despised the queen’s mercy, and further said that you would maintain against all men, the erroneous doctrine in King Edward’s days.”

Bradford. — “Well, I am glad that all men now see that you have had no matter to justly imprison me before this day. Now I say that I did not contemptuously despise the queen’s mercy, but would have received it, if I might have had it with God’s mercy; that is, without doing or saying anything against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in King Edward’s days, than I ever was. And if God would have it, I trust I would declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification of it. So I said then, and so I say now.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Well, yesterday you maintained false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament, and therefore we gave you respite till this day to deliberate.”

Bradford. — “My lord, I said nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed and did not reprove, nor did you give me anything to deliberate on.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Why, did you not deny Christ’s presence in the sacrament?”

Bradford. — “No, I never denied nor taught anything but that *to faith*, a whole Christ — body and blood — was as present as the bread and wine, to the due receiver.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Yes, but do you not believe that Christ’s body is naturally and really there, under the forms of bread and wine?”

Bradford. — “My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver. As for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I do not believe it.”

Here Bradford was called a devil, a slanderer. “For we ask no question,” said my lord chancellor, “about transubstantiation, but of Christ’s presence.”

Bradford. — “I do not deny His presence to the faith of the receiver, but I deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread was transubstantiated.”

Another bishop asked, “Whether the wicked man received Christ’s very body or not?” And Bradford answered plainly, “No.” At this the lord chancellor made a long oration, how it could not be that Christ was present, unless the evil man received it. But Bradford pushed aside his oration in few words, saying that grace at that time was offered to his lordship, even though he did not receive it. So that (Bradford said) the receiving does not make the presence, as your lordship infers; but God’s grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence. The wicked who lack faith cannot receive this grace. Here Bradford asked my lord not to separate that which God had coupled together. He has coupled all these together: “Take, eat, this is my body.” He does not say, “See, person, this is my body,” but “Take, eat.” So that it appears this is a promise dependent on the condition that we take and eat.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops exclaimed that Bradford had made a ploy of the condition. But Bradford said, “My lord, are not these words, ‘Take, eat,’ a commandment? And are not these words, ‘This is my body,’ a promise? If you challenge the promise, and do not challenge the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?”

Here the lord chancellor denied that Christ commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

"Why, my lord," said Bradford, "I pray you tell the people what mood 'Take, eat,' is; is it not plain to children that Christ, in saying so, commands it?"

At these words the lord chancellor began trifling about the imperative mood, and fell to parsing, or examining, as he should teach a child, and so he concluded that it was no commandment.

But Bradford prayed him to leave trifling, and said, "My lord, if it is not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why would anyone dare take it upon themselves to command and make of necessity, that which God leaves free, as you do in making it a necessary commandment once a year for all who are of the age of discretion, to receive the sacrament?"

After much more examination and questioning, which would be too long to detail, the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, *layman*, he asked "Why, are you no priest?"

Bradford. — "No, nor was I ever either priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion, or preacher in public authority had altered religion. And yet I am thus handled at your hand. But God, I do not doubt, will give his blessing where you curse." And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. And so praying God to give him repentance and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, to be delivered from there to the Earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born. But their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London.

Private Conferences with Bradford in Prison

After the condemnation of John Bradford, which was on the last day of January, being sent to prison, he remained there until the 1st of July, during all which time he sustained other conferences with sundry adversaries, who repaired to him in the prison. Of these, Bishop Bonner, first coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor on the 4th of February, entered into talk with Bradford. In effect, it was as follows:

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Private conferences with John Bradford, by the Prelates sent to him, in the time of his condemnation; from his own writing.

On the 4th of February, that is, the same day on which Master Rogers was burned, Bonner, bishop of London, came to degrade Dr. Taylor. But before he spoke to Master Taylor, he called for John Bradford. When he saw him, he took off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying, "Because I perceive that you are desirous to confer with some learned men, I have therefore brought Archdeacon Harpsfield to you: and I tell you, act like a wise man."

Bradford. — "My lord, I never desired to confer with any man; however, if you will have one to talk with me, I am ready."

"What," said Bonner in a passion to the keeper, "did you not tell me that this man desired conference?"

Keeper. — "No, my lord; I told you that he would not refuse to confer with anyone, but I did not say that it was his desire."

Bonner. — “Well, Mr. Bradford, you are well-beloved. I pray you consider yourself, and do not refuse charity when it is offered.”

Bradford. — “Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never broke your laws.”

Bonner. — “Well, well.” And so he called for Doctor Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

On another day, Mr. Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, came to confer with Bradford. But when he perceived that Bradford did not desire to see him, he said “Well, Mr. Bradford, I pray you let us confer a little, for perhaps you may do me good, if I can do you none.” At these words Bradford consented, and they entered into conversation about the doctors, the fathers, and the sixth chapter of St. John. He then departed. In the afternoon he came back, and they had a long talk to little effect. At length, Willerton began to talk of the church, saying that Bradford swerved from the church.

Bradford. — “No, I do not, but you do; for the church is Christ’s spouse, and Christ’s obedient spouse, which your church is not. It robs the people of the Lord’s cup, and of service in the English tongue.”

Willerton. — “Why, it is not profitable to have the service in English.”

Bradford. — “Should the people not have the Scriptures? To what end, then, does this saying of Christ serve, ‘Search the Scriptures?’”

Willerton. — “This is not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men.”

Bradford. — “Then the people must not have the Scriptures?”

Willerton. — “No; for it is written, ‘They shall be all taught of God.’ “

Bradford. — “And must we learn everything from the priests?”

Willerton. — “Yes.”

Bradford. — “Then I see you would bring the people to hang Christ and let Barabbas go, as the priests persuaded the people then.”

On the 12th of February, one of the Earl of Derby’s servants came to Bradford, saying, “My lord has sent me to you; he wishes you to tender yourself, and he will be a good lord to you.”

Bradford. — “I thank his lordship for his good will towards me, but in this I cannot tender myself more than to God’s honor.”

Servant. — “Ah, Mr. Bradford, consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort it will be to them to see you die as a heretic.”

Bradford. — “I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have; yes, even my own self. For otherwise I cannot be Christ’s disciple.”

Servant. — “If my lord might obtain for you, that you might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen’s appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea?”

Bradford. — “No, I would rather be burned in England than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she were to send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, they would immediately burn me.”

On the 14th of February, Percival Cresswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford’s, came to him and said, “Mr. Bradford, tell me what suit I should make for you?”

Bradford. — “What you do, do not do it at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her; if she will banish me, I will thank her; if she will burn me, I will thank her; if she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her.”

Cresswell went away. About eleven o’clock, he and the other man came back, and brought a book of More’s making,[25] desiring Bradford to read it over. Bradford, taking the book, said, “Good Percival, I am fixed in this article.”

Cresswell. — “Oh, if ever you loved me, do one thing for me.”

Bradford. — “What is it?”

Cresswell. — “Desire and name what learned man, or men, you would have come to you. My lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others, will gladly come to you.”

Bradford. — “No, I will never desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me. For I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of anything. But for your pleasure, and so that all men may know that I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom you will, and I will talk with them.”

On the 15th of February, after a fruitless conference with Harding on a previous day, Percival Cresswell came with Harpsfield, archdeacon of London. After formal salutations, he said that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, anabaptists, and libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and that everyone thinks they will attain it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he had spoken not far amiss.

Harpsfield. — “But the way there is not all alike; for the infidels come to heaven by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Al-Qur'an, the Jew by his Talmud.”

Bradford. — “You speak truly.”

Harpsfield. — “Well, then, here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.”

Bradford. — “We may not invent any ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself witnesses, ‘I am the way.’”

After some further conference on the church and succession of bishops, and on baptism, they departed.

On the 16th of February, in the morning, the archdeacon, and two others with him, came again, and after a few words they sat down.

The archdeacon began a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone over before, and began to prove the succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years: in France, at Lyons, for twelve hundred years: in Spain, at Seville, for eight hundred years: in Italy, at Milan, for twelve hundred years, laboring by this to prove his church. He used the entire succession of bishops in the eastern church to confirm his words. And he concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation. The exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could show any such succession for the demonstration of his own church (for so he called it) which followed.

To this long oration, Bradford gave this short answer: “My memory is bad, so that I cannot answer your oration particularly. Therefore I will do it generally. If Christ or his apostles here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then existing, to have made a

[25] Presumably Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), a staunch Roman Catholic (p. 578).

demonstration of that church by a succession of those high priests who had approved the doctrine which he taught, then I think that Christ would have done as I do; that is, he would have alleged that which upholds the church, even the truth, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, who had persecuted it a long time, but by the prophets and other good men who perhaps were counted as heretics of the church. This church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God."

Harpsfield. — "I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem."

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Bradford. — "I grant that, but not such a succession as allowed the truth."

Harpsfield. — "Did they not allow Moses' law?"

Bradford — "Yes, and kept it, as regards the books of it, as you do the bible and holy Scriptures. But they corrupted the true interpretation and meaning of it, as you have done and do. And therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not because of the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught, as you do now, that we must receive the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to conclude, I look daily for death, indeed, hourly; and I think my time is but very short. Therefore, I need to spend as much time with God as I can, while I have it, to pray for his help and comfort. And therefore, I pray you, bear with me, that I do not now answer your long talk particularly and in more words. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration. But because I dare not, nor will I, leave off preparing for that which is at hand, I desire you to hold me excused, even though I do as I do; and I heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I will heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I wish for myself."

Then the archdeacon began to tell him he was in a very perilous case, and that he was sorry to see him so settled.

Bradford. — "I do not doubt that I will die well; for just as I hope and am certain that my death will please the Lord, so I trust I will die cheerfully to the comfort of his children."

Harpsfield. — "But what if you are deceived?"

Bradford. — "What if you were to say the sun did not shine now?" (The sun was shining through the window where they sat.)

Harpsfield. — "Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless."

Bradford. — "Indeed, I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be. God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be too secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth."

Harpsfield. — "You are not; for you are out of the catholic church."

Bradford. — "No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, I am in the catholic church of Christ, and I am, and by God's grace I shall be a child and an obedient child of it forever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated by the synagogue. And I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith — I mean the twelve articles of the creed — I confess and believe that which you call the holy church. So that, even your church has taken too much upon herself to excommunicate me for that which, by the testimony of my lord of Durham, in the book of the sacrament recently published, was free many hundreds of years after Christ, to believe or not believe."

Harpsfield. — “What is that?”

Bradford. — “Transubstantiation.”

Harpsfield. — “Why, you are not condemned for that alone.”

Bradford. — “For that and because I deny that wicked men receive Christ’s body.”

After some further conference on transubstantiation, they departed.

On the 23d of the same month, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Chichester came to speak with Bradford. When he had come before them, they both, and especially the archbishop of York, used him very gently. They would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit; so they all stood. And whether he would or not, they insisted that he put on not only his nightcap, but his upper cap also, saying to him that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Bradford that they were not sent to him, but they came to him out of love and charity; and after commending Bradford’s godly life, he concluded with this question, “How was he certain of salvation and of his religion?”

After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, “By the word of God, even by the Scriptures, l am certain of my salvation and religion.”

York. — “Very well said. But how do you know the word of God and the Scriptures, except by the church?”

Bradford. — “Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a means to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God, as the woman of Samaria was a means that the Samaritans knew Christ. But when they heard him speak, they said, ‘Now we know that he is Christ, not because of your words, but because we ourselves have heard him.’ So too, after we come to hearing and reading the Scriptures shown to us by the church, we believe them, and know them as Christ’s sheep — not because the church says they are the Scriptures, but because they *are* so, being assured by the same Spirit who wrote and spoke them.”

York. — “You know that, in the apostles’ time the word was not written at first.”

Bradford. — “True, if you mean that for some books of the *New* Testament: but for the *old* Testament, Peter tells us, ‘We have a more sure word of prophecy.’”

York. — “That place in Peter is not to be understood of the written word.”

Bradford. — “Yes, sir, it is, and of no other.”

Chichester. — “Yes, indeed Mr. Bradford tells you truly in that point.” And then he added, “I pray you tell me where was the church which allowed your doctrine, these four hundred years?”

Bradford. — “I will tell you, my lord, or rather you will tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where was the church in Elijah’s time, when Elijah said that he was left alone?”

Chichester. — “That is no answer.”

Bradford. — “I am sorry that you say so: but I will tell your lordship this, that if you had the same eyes with which a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it was no answer. The fault why the church is not seen by you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it.”

Here my lord of York took a book of paper of common places, and read a piece of St. Augustine, how there were many things that held him in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity. "Besides this, what holds me in the church," said St. Augustine, "is the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of *catholic* holds me," etc.

Bradford. — "My lord, these words of St Augustine make as much for me as for you. Although I might answer that all this, if they had been so urgent as you make them out to be, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles. For there was the law and the ceremonies consented to by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and a continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time till then."

York. — "But what do you say to St. Augustine? Where is your church that has the consent of people and nations?"

Bradford. — Even all people and nations that are God's people have consented with me, and I with them in the doctrine of faith."

York. — "St. Augustine here talks of succession, even from St. Peter's seat."

Bradford. — "Yes, that seat then was not so corrupt as it is now."

York. — "Well, you always judge the church."

Bradford. — "No, my lord. As Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice but do not judge it, so they discern the church but do not judge her."

York. — "Yes, that they do."

Bradford. — "No; and yet full well one may not only doubt, but also judge about the Romish church; for she does not obey Christ's voice, as Christ's *true* church does."

York. — "In what?"

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Bradford. — "In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament, and in many other things in which it commits most horrible sacrilege."

Chichester. — "Why? Latin service was in England when the Pope was gone."

Bradford. — "True. There was a time in England when the pope was away, but not all popery; as in King Henry's days."

Chichester. — "You are too ready to blame, in saying that the church robs the people of the cup."

Bradford. — "Well, my lord, term it as you may please; all men know that the laity have none of it."

Chichester. — "Indeed, I wish the church would define it again, that they might have it, for my part."

Bradford. — "If God makes it free, who can define to make it binding?"

And so after more conversation of this kind, the bishop left him.

On the 25th of February, two Spanish friars came to Bradford. One of them, who was the king's confessor, asked him in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) whether he had seen or heard of one Alphonsus, who had written against heresy?

Bradford. — "I do not know him."

Confessor. — "Well, this man (pointing to Alphonsus) is he. We have come to you out of love and charity, because you desire to confer with us."

Bradford. — "I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you or any other. But as you have come out of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you. And regarding a conference, though I do not desire it, I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will."

Alphonsus. — "It would be requisite that you prayed to God, that you might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that you are not addicted to your own self-will or wisdom."

Upon this Bradford offered up a prayer, and sought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children forever.

Alphonsus. — "Indeed, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak only with your tongue, God will not give you his grace."

Bradford. — "Sir, do not judge, lest you be judged. You have heard my words, now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."

Alphonsus. — "You must not be wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt: pray, and be ready to receive what God will inspire."

Bradford. — "Sir, my conviction of religion must not be doubting or uncertain, and I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned. I have no cause to doubt it, but rather to be more certain of it. And therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is His truth, and because it is so certain and true, that it may abide the light. I dare behold to have it looked at, and to confer about it with you, or with any man."

Alphonsus. — "Do you not believe that Christ is really and corporeally present in the form of bread?"

Bradford. — "No, I believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as bread and wine are present to the senses and outward man."

Alphonsus. — "I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscribable." [26]

And here he made a long harangue about two natures of Christ, how the one is everywhere, and the other is in his proper place, asking such questions as no wise man would have spent time about. He then said, "Will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?"

Bradford. — "Yes, sir, I will believe whatever you will declare to me by demonstration out of the Scriptures."

"He is obstinate," said Alphonsus to his companion; and then turning to Bradford, he said, "Is God not able to do it?"

Bradford. — "Yes, but here the question is of God's *will*, and not of his *power*."

[26] *Circumscribable*: capable of being limited or confined within boundaries.

Alphonsus. — “Why? Does he not say plainly, ‘This as my body?’ “

Bradford. — “Yes; and I do not deny that it is so, *to the faith of the worthy receiver*.”

Alphonsus. — “To the faith? How is that?”

Bradford. — “Truly, sir, as I have no tongue to express it, so I know you have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter.”

Alphonsus. — “But I can tell all that I believe.”

Bradford. — “You do not believe much then. For if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more of it than you can tell, you will not desire to go there. For as the mind is more capable than the mouth, so it conceives more than the tongue can express.’’

Alphonsus. — “Christ says it is his body.”

Bradford. — “And so say I, in a certain manner.”

Alphonsus. — “In a certain manner — that is, in another manner than it is in heaven.”

Bradford. — “Augustine tells it more plainly, that it is Christ’s body in the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith. Or to make it plainer, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration.”

Alphonsus. — “Very well said. Baptism and the water is a sacrament of God’s grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized.”

Bradford. — “No, sir, away with your enclosing. But this I grant, that in the same way as Christ’s body is in the bread, so the grace and Spirit of God is in the water.”

Alphonsus. — “In water is God’s grace by signification.”

Bradford. — “So is the body in the bread in the sacrament.’’

Here the friar was in a remarkable rage, and spoke so loudly that the whole house rang with it. He had a great name for learning, but surely he had little patience. For if Bradford had been hot, one house could not have held them. At length he came to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture, that baptism and the Lord’s supper bear any similitude together. And here he gloated over it, saying that these men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet they were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Bradford. — “Be patient, and you will see that by the Scriptures I will find baptism and the Lord’s supper coupled together.”

Alphonsus. — “No, that you can never do. Let me see a text of it.”

Bradford. — “St. Paul says, ‘By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body; and have all been made to drink into one Spirit,’ (1Cor 12.13) meaning the cup in the Lord’s supper.’’

Alphonsus. — “St. Paul has no such words.”

Bradford. — “Yes, he has.’’

Confessor. — “He has not.”

Bradford. — “Give me a Testament, and I will show you.”

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they looked at one another.

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this defeat, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to 1Cor 11.29. And there he read how he was guilty, who did not distinguish the Lord's body.

Bradford. — "Yes, but with that he says, 'Whoever eats of the bread:' calling it bread still; and that was after consecration (as you call it) — as in 1Cor 10.16 he says, 'The bread which we break,'" etc.

Alphonsus. — "Oh how ignorant you are, who do not know that things after their conversion retain the same names which they had before, as with Moses' rod." Exo 7.12

Calling for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to gloat. But Bradford cooled him quickly, saying,

Bradford. — "Sir, there mention is made of the conversion in that case, and it appeared so to the senses. But *here* you cannot find it so. Find me one word as to how the bread is converted, and I will then admit that you bring some matter that makes for you."

At these words the friar was troubled. At length he said that Bradford depended on his own sense (understanding).

Bradford. — "No, I do not; for I will bring you the fathers of the church for 800 years after Christ, to confirm what I say."

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Alphonsus. — "No, you have the church against you."

Bradford. — "I do not have Christ's church against me. '

Alphonsus. — "Yes, you have. What is the church?"

Bradford. — "Christ's wife, the chair and seat of truth."

Alphonsus. — "Is she visible?"

Bradford. — "Yes, that she is to those who will put on the spectacles of God's word to look at her."

After much more passed between them, the friars departed.

Certain reasons against Transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Doctor Weston and others.

"1. That which is former (says Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. And the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally before the Council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under Pope Innocent III of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not to believe it, as the bishop of Durham witnesses in his book of the 'Presence of Christ in his Supper' recently published. Ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

"2. That the words of Christ's supper are figurative, as the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers teach, who wrote for a thousand years after Christ's ascension Whereupon it follows that there was no transubstantiation.

"3. The Scriptures witness that the Lord gave bread to his disciples, and called it his body. For he gave that, and called it his body; which he took in his hands, whereupon he gave thanks. This bread also he broke, and gave to his disciples; that is to say, *bread*, as the fathers

Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the rest who are of antiquity affirm. But in as much as the substance of bread and wine is something other than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appears that there is no transubstantiation.

"4. The bread is no more transubstantiated than the wine; and St. Matthew and St. Mark teach us that the wine is not transubstantiated. For they witness that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine — which was not blood, but wine. And therefore it follows that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom writing upon St. Matthew, and St. Cyprian, affirm this reason.

"5. Just as the bread in the Lord's supper is Christ's *natural* body, so it is his *mystical* body. For the same Spirit who spoke of it, 'This is my body;' also said, 'For we, being many, are one bread, and one body,' etc. 1Cor 10.17 But now, it is not the *mystical* body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his *natural* body by transubstantiation.

"6. The words spoken over the cup in Luke Luk 22.20 and in Corinthians, 1Cor 11.25 are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it. For then it, or that which is in it, would be transubstantiated into the New Testament. Therefore the words spoken over the bread are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

"7. All that doctrine which agrees with those churches which are apostolic mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holds what these churches received from the apostles, the apostles of Christ, the Christ of God. But it is manifest that the doctrine taught at this present time by the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, does not agree with the apostolic and mother churches of Greece, Corinth, Philippi, Colossae, Thessalonica, or Ephesus, who never taught transubstantiation. Indeed, it does not agree with the doctrine of the church of Rome taught in times past. For pope Gelasius, setting forth the doctrine which that See then held, manifestly confutes the error of transubstantiation, and reproves of sacrilege those who divided the mystery, and kept the cup from the laity. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation does not agree with the truth."

These arguments were written out by Bradford, and handed to Weston, who expressed a desire to confer with him. But the conference, like all the others, ended in nothing but confirming Bradford in the true faith which he had professed.

Thus Bradford continued in prison until the month of July, in labors and sufferings. But when the time appointed for his death had come, he was suddenly conveyed in the night to Newgate; and from there he was carried on the following morning to Smithfield. There, as narrated before, he firmly adhered to the truth of God which he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to turn to Christ. Sweetly comforting the godly young man, aged nineteen or twenty years, who was burned with him, he cheerfully ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

The History and Martyrdom of John Leaf

John Leaf, who was burned with Bradford, was an apprentice to Humphrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler (candle dealer), of the parish of Christ's Church, in London. He was born at Kirkby Moreside, in the county of York. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, he was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of London, who had the rule and charge of that ward or part of the city where John Leaf dwelt. When brought before Bonner, Leaf gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to those articles which were objected to him by the bishop.

First, regarding his belief and faith in the sacrament of the altar, he answered that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance — that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable — also, he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the self-same substance of Christ's body and blood contained there, but bread and wine, as it was before — and further, he believed that when the priest delivers the material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivers only material bread and wine. The communicants receive these in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually in faith they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine. He also affirmed that he believed auricular confession was not necessary to be made to a priest; for it is no point of the soul's health, nor does the priest have any authority given to him by the Scriptures to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon giving these answers, he was dismissed, and ordered to appear on the following Monday, the 10th of June, then and there to hear the sentence of his condemnation. Accordingly, the bishop then propounded the articles to him again, endeavoring by all means to turn him from truth to error. But notwithstanding all the bishop's persuasions, threats, and promises, he found Leaf the same man still. He was so firmly planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words or deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him if he had been Master Rogers' scholar (student)? John Leaf answered that it was so, and that he believed in the doctrine of Rogers, and in the doctrine of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who were recently burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine for which they died. After other replications again by the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, with great courage of spirit, Leaf replied in these words: "My lord, you call my opinion heresy; it is the limelight of the word of God." And again repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his well-grounded opinion while breath was in his body. The bishop being too weak either to refute his sentence, or to remove his constancy, proceeded to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation.

[781] A.D. 1555

Thus this godly and constant young man, being committed to the sheriff's secular power, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered on the same day with John Bradford, confirming with his death, that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of John Leaf, that after his examinations before the bishop, two bills were sent to him, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know which of them he would put his hand to. First having the bill of recantation read to him, he refused it; and when the other was read to him, instead of a pen he took a pin, and pricking his hand, he sprinkled the blood upon the bill, desiring the reader to show the bishop that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

When these holy martyrs came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves for an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood upon their feet. Then Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had done so, he desired the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment. "For," he said, "I have nothing else to give him; and besides

that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he would have it. And so immediately Bradford took off his raiment, and went to the stake. Holding up his hands, and casting his countenance to heaven, he said, "O England, England, repent of your sins, repent of your sins. Beware of idolatry; beware of false Antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you!" And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bid them tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "O Master Sheriff," said Bradford, "I am quiet. God forgive you this." And one of the officers who made the fire, hearing Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and had better hold your peace." Bradford gave no answer to these words; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and requested the people to pray for him. Then turning his head to the young man who suffered with him, he said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a happy supper with the Lord this night." He spoke no more words that any man heard; but embracing the reeds, he said, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leads to life, and few there are who find it."

And thus, like two lambs, they both ended their mortal lives, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize for which they had long run — to which may Almighty God happily conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior. Amen.

Letters of John Bradford from Prison.

This godly and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote several comforting treatises, and many godly letters, some of which he wrote to the city of London, to Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and to several to his private friends. It will appear by these letters, how piously this man occupied his time while a prisoner — what special zeal he bore toward the state of Christ's church — what care he had to perform his office — how earnestly he admonished all men — how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted — how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught. I thought it good to give a few of the most important of those letters here. For the rest, I refer the reader to the book of the *Letters of the Martyrs*, where they may be found. [27]

To the City of London.

"To all who profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated, and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wishes mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our sole and all-sufficient Redeemer, Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

"My dearly beloved brethren in our Savior Christ, although the time I have to live is very short (for I look hourly when I will be taken from here to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence), and although the charge is great to keep me from all things by which I might signify anything to the world of my state; yet having pen and ink, as now I have, through God's working, in spite of the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought it good to write a short confession of my faith, and join to it a little exhortation to you all, to live according to your profession.

[27] *Letters of the Martyrs*, collected and published in 1564 by Myles Coverdale.

"First, for my faith, I confess, and pray the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God (for faith is God's gift alone), all the twelve articles of the symbol and creed, commonly attributed to the Apostles Creed. I would gladly declare my faith particularly, and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple. But, alas! by starts and stealth I write in the manner that I do. And therefore I desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And I hold this faith, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, which teaches and confirms every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I believe to plentifully contain all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (necessary to salvation) ought to be added to it. And therefore the church of Christ, nor any of His congregation, should be burdened with any other doctrine than that which has its foundation and ground from this. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar, the general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as well as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporeal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

"To believe that Christ our Savior is the head of his church, and that kings in their realms are to be the supreme powers to whom every soul owes obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the 'sacrament of the altar' as the papists call it and use it, and utterly overthrow it), is a true and very presence of a whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but *not* to the bystander and onlooker, because it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men — to believe this, I say, will not serve. And therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and I will be burned. Therefore I heartily ask God for mercy, that I no more rejoice than I do, having such great cause as to be an instrument in which it may please my dear Lord God and Savior, that I suffer.

"For though my manifold sins, ever since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more then my former sinful life, which may the Lord pardon for Christ's sake, as I know he has done of his mercy, and will never lay my iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised, therefore, be His holy name). Although, I say, my recent manifold and grievous sins have most justly deserved all the tyranny that man or devil can do to me — and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that His judgments are true and deserved on my behalf — yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute those sins in me, but Christ himself: his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yes, great cause to rejoice that I was ever born, and kept by the Lord up to now; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleases my heavenly Father to glorify His name by having me testify his truth; to confirm his word; and to repugn his adversaries. O, good God and merciful Father! forgive my great unthankfulness, especially in this.

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"And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I now humbly and heartily beseech you, in his compassion and blood, for my last farewell in this present life, and that each of you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly: first be admonished by me to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security; do not profess the gospel with your tongue and lips only, but in heart and truth; frame and fashion your lives accordingly; beware that God's name is not evilly spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conduct. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have much sought myself in it. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without greater hurt than good to the bottles. If we would talk with the Lord, we must

put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we would hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy; if we would be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross and follow Christ; we cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek its righteousness. To this petition: 'Let your kingdom come;' we must join: 'Your will be done' — done 'on earth as it is in heaven.' If we would not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sorely deceive ourselves. If we hear the gospel, and do not love it; we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hates feigning; the Lord abhors deceitfulness. If we come to him, we must beware that we do not come with a double heart; for then perhaps God may answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we will deceive ourselves and others.

"See that we couple a good conscience to faith, lest we make shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we would be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we are Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with its affections and lusts; if we would be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw near to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath grow hot, and He take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach those who do not repent. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vaingloriously professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover my offenses in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God, most justly fallen upon us, be applied to every one of our deserts, so that from the bottom of our hearts, all of us may say, 'It is I, Lord, who have sinned against you. It is my hypocrisy, my vainglory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which deserved the taking away of our good king, of your word and true religion, of your good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death. It is my wickedness that causes success, and increase of authority, and peace of your enemies. Oh, be merciful! be merciful to us! Turn to us again, O Lord of Hosts, and turn us to you. Correct us, but not in your fury, lest we be consumed in your anger. Do not chastise us in your wrathful displeasure; do not reprove us, but in the midst of your anger, remember your mercy. For if you mark what is done amiss, who will be able to abide it? But with you is mercifulness, that you might be worshipped. Oh, then, be merciful to us, that we may truly worship you! Help us, for the glory of your name! Be merciful toward our sins, for they are great! O, heal us! and help us for your honor! Do not let the wicked people say, 'Where is their God?' etc.

"In this way, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins, repent of our former evil life, heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy Scriptures, labor in our calling to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness. Let us flee from all idolatry. Let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; renounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves for the cross; be obedient to all who are in authority in all things that are not against God and his word — for then, answer with the apostles, 'it is fitting to obey God rather than man.' However, never resist, or rise against the magistrates for anything. Do not avenge yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertains, and in his time He will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above what He will make you able to bear, be assured that the Lord will be true to you; and you will be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, flee and get away from here, rather than God's name be dishonored by your tarrying.

"In the end, cast your care on the Lord, knowing most certainly, that he cares for you. With Him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them will perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing will happen to our bodies, which will not be profitable, though for a time it seems otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means; indeed,

when all means are against you. Give Him this honor, which of all other things he most chiefly requires at your hands — namely, believe that you are His children through Christ; that he is your Father and God through him; that He loves you, pardons you all your offenses; that He is with you in trouble, and will be with you forever. When you fall, He will put you under His hand; you will not lie still. Before you call upon Him, He hears you. Out of the evil He will finally bring you and deliver you to His eternal joy. Do not doubt in this, my dearly beloved; do not doubt, I say, that God your Father will do this for you, not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your captain, your pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to snatch you. In Him be quiet, and often consider your dignity — namely, how you are God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Spirit, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

"Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do anything that might be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, etc. Do not marvel if the devil and the world hate you, or if you are persecuted here; for the servant is not above his master. Do not covet earthly riches; do not fear the power of man; do not love this world, nor the things that are in this world. But long for the Lord Jesus' coming, at which time your bodies will be made like His glorious body; when he appears you will be like him. When your life is thus revealed, then you will appear with him in glory.

"In the meantime, live in hope of this. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God. 'For the just shall live by faith.' This faith flees from all evil, and follows the word of God as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps. Her eyes are above, where Christ is. She does not behold the things present, but rather the things to come. She glories in affliction. She knows that the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. God grant us here a lively taste of this glory. Then we will run after the scent it sends out. It will make us valiant men, to take to ourselves the kingdom of God, where the Lord of mercy will bring us in his good time, through Christ our Lord. To Him, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God, be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given my body here, to be burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught to you; but my country must have that. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every one of you. Impute the lack in this to time and trouble. Pardon me my offensive and negligent behavior when I was among you.

[873] A.D. 1555.

"Repent with me, and labor to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught to you by preaching in all places where I have come. God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you are called, whatever comes of it, and the God of peace be with us all. Amen. This 11th of February 1555.

"Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,
"JOHN BRADFORD."

"To the University and Town of Cambridge.

"To all who love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only imprisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wishes grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Savior Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

"Although I look hourly for when I will be taken to the stake (my right dearly beloved in the Lord), and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet having secretly obtained pen and ink by the providence of God, I could not but signify something to you my solicitude which I have for you and every one of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth disputed and preached (especially in this matter for which I am condemned). So that it is needless to do any than to put you in remembrance of it. But up to now have you not heard it confirmed and sealed up, as it were, as you now and will hear by me — that is, by my death and burning. For although I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vainglory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, of which I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God, through Christ, I might, as is my assured hope, I shall find mercy) eternal death, and hell-fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me. Yet, my dearly beloved, it is not for these, nor any of these things, for which the prelates persecute me, but for God's word and truth. Indeed, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing for which I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic. It is because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and everywhere upon earth, by God's ordinance. And also because I will not grant such corporeal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as transubstantiates the substance of bread and wine, and is received by the wicked, even of dogs and mice. Also, I am excommunicated and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch; and therefore I will be cast into the fire.

"Therefore you should heartily rejoice with me, and give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father has granted our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please Him to magnify his holy name as he does; and I hope, for His mercy's and truth's sake, He will do in me, and by me. Oh, what benefit on earth can it be, that I, who deserved death because of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's word and truth! You, my mother, the university, have not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested to you by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make you altogether excuseless, and as it were, almost to sin against the Holy Spirit if you put your helping hand with the Romish mob to suppress the truth, and set out the contrary, you have my life and blood as a seal to confirm you, if you will be confirmed — or else to confound you, and bear witness against you, if you take part with the prelates and clergy, who now fill up the measure of their fathers, who slew the prophets and apostles, so that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

"Of this, therefore, I thought it good before my death, as time and liberty allowed me (for the love and duty I bear toward you) to admonish you, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from where you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know, if you will, these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown; his priesthood abolished; his sacrifice frustrated; the ministry of his word unplaced; repentance repelled; faith fainted; godliness extinguished; the mass maintained; idolatry supported; and all impiety cherished. You know, I say, if you will, that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it. And therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

"Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his compassion and blood, I beseech you to take Christ's eye-lotion and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting — as I hear you have admitted, yes and alas! authorized, and by consent confirmed — the Romish rotten rags which once you utterly expelled. O do not be like the proverb: 'The dog has returned to his own vomit; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.' Beware, lest Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then the latter end will be worse than the first. It would have been better that you had never known the truth, than after knowledge, to run from it. Ah! woe to this world and the things in it, which has now

so wrought with you. Oh, that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! For you, O mother! are like the eye of the realm. If you shine and give light, all the body will fare the better; but if your light is darkness, alas! how great will the darkness be? What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that you should thus be afraid of him?

"Oh, what is honor and life here but baubles? What is glory in this world, but shame? Why are you afraid to carry Christ's cross? Will you come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Don't you know Rome to be Babylon? Don't you know that just as the old Babylon held the children of Judah in captivity, so has this Rome held the true Judah, that is, the confessors of Christ? Don't you know that just as destruction happened to them, so it will happen to this? And do you think that God will not deliver his people now when the time has come, as he did then? Has God not commanded his people to come out from her? And will you give ensample to the whole realm to run to her? Have you forgotten the woe that Christ threatens to offense-givers? Will you not remember that it would be better that a millstone be hung about your neck, and you be thrown into the sea, than you should offend the little ones?

"And, alas! how have you offended? Yea, and how do you *still* offend? Will you consider things according to the outward show? Was the synagogue not more seemly and likely to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Does the whore of Babylon not have more costly array, and rich apparel to display herself externally, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter, the church of Christ, without or within? Does David not say *within*? O, remember that just as they are happy who are not offended at Christ, so they are happy who are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates honestly mean [what they say], who make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they despise. If this church were an honest woman (that is, Christ's wife) unless they would make much of her husband — Christ and his word — she would not be made much by them.

"When Christ and his apostles were on earth, who was more likely to be the true church: they, or was it the prelates. bishops, and synagogue? If a man had followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, would not Christ and his company have been cast out the doors? Therefore, said Christ, 'Search the Scriptures.' And, good mother, will the servant be above his Master? Will we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found?

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"Who was taken in Noah's time for the church? Poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom? Lot, or others? And does Christ not say, 'As it was then, so it will go now towards the coming of the Son of Man? What does Christ mean when he says, 'Iniquity will have the upper hand?' Does he not declare that charity will grow cold? And who does not see a shockingly great lack of charity in those who would now be taken for Christ's church? All who fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this than I can write.

"Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition from one of your poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come back to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent what is past; make amends by declaring your repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now somewhat seen by your children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scorie, Ponet, etc. somewhat awaken you. Let the imprisonment of your dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer move you. Consider the martyrdom of your chickens, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor. And do not now cast away the poor admonition of me also going to be burned, and to receive the same crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Do not be as

Pharaoh was; for then it will happen to you as it did to him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Eternal destruction of both body and soul. Ah! Therefore, good mother, awake! awake! Repent! Repent! Stir yourself up, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For otherwise it will be easier for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for you. O, do not harden your hearts! O, do not stop your ears today in hearing God's voice! Even if it is by a most unworthy messenger. O, fear the Lord! For his anger has begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

"You know I prophesied truly to you before the plague came, what would come if you did not repent your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart from here, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon all, both town and university, if you do not repent, if you do not leave your idolatry, if you do not turn speedily to the Lord, if you are still ashamed of Christ's truth which you know.

"Oh, Perne repent! Oh, Thompson, repent! Oh, you doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent! Oh, mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent! repent! repent! that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord. Rend your hearts, and come quickly, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, 'We have all sinned; we have done wickedly; we have not hearkened to your voice, O Lord! Do not deal with us according to our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh, pardon our offenses! In your anger remember your mercy. Turn us to you, O Lord God of hosts! for the glory of your name's sake. Spare us and be merciful to us. Let not the wicked people say; Where now is their God? O, for Your own sake, for Your name's sake, deal mercifully with us! Turn yourself to us, and turn us to you, and we will praise your name forever!

"If in this way, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth, we come to our Father and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely we will find mercy. Then the Lord will look graciously upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ. Then we will hear him speak peace to his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion. He cannot chide us forever. His anger cannot last long toward the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we will have our sorrow cease. For He is exorable, and takes no pleasure in the death of a sinner. He would rather have our conversion and turning.

"Oh, turn now and repent yet once again, I humbly beseech you; and then the kingdom of heaven will draw near. The eye has not seen, the ear has not heard, nor is the heart of man able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if you do not repent, but remain as you were, and go on forward with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers. You will perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your portions will be with hypocrites, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. You will be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever; eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, will be in both body and soul to you, world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn, turn, repent, repent, amend, amend your lives. Depart from evil; do good, follow peace, and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness; put on Christ; confess His truth; do not be ashamed of his gospel. Prepare yourselves for the cross; drink of God's cup before it comes to the dregs, and then with you and for you, I will rejoice in the day of judgment which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves for it, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my farewell forever from you in this present life, my own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom. Amen, Amen.

"Out of prison, the 11th of February A.D. 1555.
"Your own in the Lord forever,
"JOHN BRADFORD."

"To Lancashire and Cheshire.

"To all those who profess the name and true religion of our Savior Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially abiding in Manchester and thereabout, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wishes mercy and grace, peace, and increase of all godliness from God the Father of all pity, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit, the Comforter forever. Amen.

"I heard it credibly reported, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father has thought it good to provide that, as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel among you by word, so I will testify and confirm the same by deed — that is, I will leave my life with you, which by his providence I first received there (for I was born in Manchester) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you, and among you. So that, if from now on you waver in the same, you have no excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, who exercise this cruelty upon me (I speak in respect to my offense, which is none towards them), think to terrify you and others by killing me among you, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I do not doubt that my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in His truth forever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own craftiness, which is plain foolishness among the wise indeed — that is, among those who have heard God's word, and follow it; for they alone are counted wise who have the wisdom of God our Savior.

"Indeed, if I were to simply consider my life with that which it should have been, and as God in his law requires, then I could not help but cry as I do, 'Righteous are you, O Lord, and all your judgments are true. For I have grieved you, and transgressed your holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but also since. Indeed, since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God. I have not loved his gospel as I should have done; I have sought myself, and not simply and only His glory and my brethren's welfare. I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vainglorious, etc. All of these evils of mine, the Lord of mercy pardon me for Christ's sake, as I hope and certainly believe He has done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

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"But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do not rejoice more than I do. For it is God's word and truth. So that the condemnation is not a condemnation simply of Bradford, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument in whom Christ and his doctrine is condemned. And, therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, rejoice and give thanks with me and for me; that God ever granted so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one in whom it would please Him to allow any kind of affliction, much more this violent kind of death which I perceive is prepared for me with you, for His sake. All glory and praise be given to God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

"But perhaps you will say to me, what is the cause for which you are condemned? We hear say that you deny all presence of Christ in his holy supper, and so you make it a mere sign and common bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be said, I cannot tell. It is told to me that Pendleton has gone down to preach among you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he has preached contrary to that he usually preached before I came among you), but to recant what he has recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I have come, and when I am burned, I do not care much. For he that is so

uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, unless it makes for his purpose and profit. But enough of this.

"Indeed, the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporeal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine. That is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion, by which the mass is maintained; Christ's supper perverted; his sacrifice and cross made imperfect; his priesthood destroyed; the ministry taken away; repentance repelled; and all true godliness abandoned. In the supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true, and actual presence of the whole Christ, God and Man, to the faith of the receiver (but not of the bystander and onlooker) just as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of the one who partakes of it. This faith, this doctrine, which consents with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church (which the popish church persecutes) I will not forsake. And therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my I dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, which I believed, and do believe, and for this give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome — but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, in spite of the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the truth in any other than those who are children of unbelief, who have no love of the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies. From this plague, may the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech His mercy. Amen.

"And to the end that you might be delivered from this plague, right dear to me in the Lord, I will for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all, in the compassion and blood of our most merciful Savior Jesus Christ, to attend to these things which I will now briefly write to you, out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

"You know a heavy plague of God has fallen upon us (or rather plagues), in taking away our good king, and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, etc. And in setting over us those who do not seek the Lord according to knowledge; whose endeavors God prospers wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause of this is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation; we were unthankful to God; we despised the gospel and carnally abused it to serve our hypocrisy, our vainglory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, etc. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have shown mercy upon us, but we were ever longer the worse. Therefore God has most justly dealt with us, and deals with us. Indeed, we may yet see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, to which let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed. For if the Lord were to deal with us according to our deserts, alas! how could we abide it? ln his anger, therefore, seeing that He remembers his undeserved mercy (even undesired on our behalf) let us take occasion to more speedily go out to meet Him, not with force of arms (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him), but to beseech him to be merciful to us, and to deal with us according to His accustomed mercy.

"Let us arise with David, and say, 'Do not enter into judgment with your servant, O Lord; for in Your sight no man living shall be justified.* Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come to you ourselves; speak the word, and we will have peace. Let us penitently with the publican look down at the earth, beat our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, 'O God be merciful to us sinners,' Let us with the lost son return and say, O Father, we have sinned against heaven and before you, and are no longer worthy to be called your children. Let us, I say, go on this way, that is, heartily repent of our former evil life, and

unthankful gospelling past, repent, and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name. And then undoubtedly we will find and feel otherwise than we now feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we will feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace surpasses all understanding. Outwardly we will feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking away of them.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *Vale in aturnum* (i.e., my farewell forever) for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ shown to you, most earnestly beg and crave of you, out of prison (as I have done often out of your pulpits) that you would repent, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offenses, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose outstretched hand to strike to death, stays so that he may show mercy to you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort. He does not wish the death of a sinner, but rather that you should return, repent, and amend. He has no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering draws to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath comes, which is at hand.

"Now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, to utterly destroy the impenitent. Now the fire has gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent, repent. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false Christians, as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaks to us in mercy and grace. Oh turn before he speaks in wrath. There is still mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption. He has not yet forgotten to show mercy to those who call upon him. Oh then, call upon him while he may be found. For he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all those who call upon him. So that, whoever calls on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins are as red as scarlet, the Lord says he will make them as white as snow. He has sworn, and will never repent of it, that he will never remember our iniquities. But as he is good, faithful, and true, so he will be our God, and we will be his people. He will write his law in our hearts, and ingraft it in our minds, and he will never have in mind our unrighteousness."

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"Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn, turn to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Savior, to the Lord your Comforter. O why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts today, when you hear his voice by me, your poorest brother? Oh do not forget how the Lord has shown himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues which you often heard from my mouth before they came to pass, especially when I treated Noah's flood, and when I preached on the 22nd chapter of St. Matthew's gospel on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now, by me, the Lord sends you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, etc., with which, alas! alas! our country flows: if, I say, you will not turn and desist, seeing me now burned among you, to assure you on all sides how God seeks you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you, oh your blood will be upon your own heads! You have been warned and warned again by me in preaching, and now by me in burning.

"As I said, therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and darlings in the Lord, turn, turn, repent! Cease from doing evil; study to do well; do away with idolatry; flee the Romish god and service; desist from swearing; cut off carnality; abandon avarice; drive away drunkenness; flee from fornication and flattery, murder and malice; destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on piety and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, etc.; be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true; loving, gentle,

merciful; and then the Lord's wrath will cease, not for our doings' sake, but for His mercy's sake. Go to therefore, good countrymen. Take this council of the Lord by me now sent to you as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, so that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you. This thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance against the papists, God's enemies, whom I beseech God, if it is his will, to heartily forgive — yes, even those who put me to death and are the causers of it. For they know not what they do. So will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly-beloved in the Lord, if you do not repent, and do not amend and turn to the Lord.

"Turn to the Lord, yet once more I heartily beseech you — you Manchester, you Ashton-under-Line, you Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Steppor, Winsley, Eccles, Priestwich, Middleton, Radcliff, and you city of Westchester, where I have taught and preached the word of God truly. Turn, I say to you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, to the Lord our God, and he will turn to you. He will say to his angel, 'It is enough, put up the sword' — which He will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Savior Jesus Christ. Ah, good brethren, take in good part these last words of mine to every one of you. Pardon me my offenses and negligences in behavior among you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offenses, for our Savior Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

"Out of prison, ready to come to You, the 11th of February A.D. 1555."

"To my loving Brethren, B.C. etc., their Wives and whole Families.

"I beseech the everlasting God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever. Amen.

"The world, my brethren, seems to have the upper hand. Iniquity overflows, the truth and Scripture seem to be oppressed, and those who take exception to it are unjustly treated, as those who love the truth lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because here he punishes us, and as a Father he nurtures us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have despised his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been so carnal, covetous, licentious, etc. We have not hastened toward heaven, but rather toward hell. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances. So that of His justice, he could no longer forbear, but makes us feel his anger, as he has now done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with antichristian religion, and in such a way, that if we will not yield to it, but seem to allow it in deed and outward act, our bodies are likely to be laid in prison, and our goods given to whom we cannot tell.[28]

"We should look upon this as a sign of God's anger produced by our sins which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memories oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent of them, hate them, earnestly ask mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. We should do this in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now, His mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this: that God grants to punish us in this present life. If he were not to have punished us, do you think we would not have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, truly, we would have been worse, and have gone forward in hardening our hearts by impenitence and negligence of God and true godliness. And then if death had come, would we not have perished, both soul and body, in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery would we have fallen into if God had allowed us to

[28] His meaning appears to be that if we disagree with evil, but don't oppose it, we may yet be discovered by our enemies, and suffer persecution at their hands, as God's judgment on our passive acceptance of it (Lev 19.17).

go on in our evils? There is no greater sign of damnation, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished by God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security, which is the most grievous of all plagues that can be. They are bastards and not sons, for they are not under God's rod of correction.

"It is a great mercy, therefore, that God does punish us. For if he did not love us, he would not punish us. Now he chastises us, that we should not be condemned with the world. Now he nurtures us, because he favors us. Now we may think ourselves to be God's house and children, because he begins his chastising at us. Now he calls us to remember our past sins. Why? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children, and so begin to make us like Christ here, that we might be like him elsewhere, even in heaven, where we are already set by faith with Christ. And at his coming indeed, we will then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies will be made like Christ's glorious body, according to the power by which he is able to make all things subject to himself.

"Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect to this not lament, but praise God, not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God grants to offer us his cross, thereby to come to Him, to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we are not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity. For, 'blessed are those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' 'If,' says St. Peter, 'you are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are you; for the spirit of glory and of God rests upon you.' After you are afflicted a little, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, do not be discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods for confession of Christ's gospel and truth, which you have believed, and was lively taught among you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, King Edward. This is most certain: if you lose anything for Christ's sake, and for despising the antichristian service set up again among us, then just as you, for your parts, even in prison, will find God's great and rich mercy, far surpassing all worldly wealth, so your wives and children in this present life, will find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell.

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"For he will show merciful kindness on thousands of those who love him. The good man's seed will not go begging for bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

"I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this cross yourselves, and see God's mercy in the cross, which is sweeter and more to be esteemed than life itself, much more than any currency of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful; for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which winds toward the devil; but it is a straight way which few walk in. For few live godly in Christ Jesus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, who deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, who are ashamed of his truth and true service; few sum up their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which they disallow inwardly; few love God better than their goods.

"But I trust that you are of this few, my dearly beloved. I trust you are of that little flock which will inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters who will be comforted with that comfort which will not be taken from you; if now you repent of your former evils, if now you strive against the evils that are in you, if now you continue to call upon

God, if now you do not defile your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches, if you do not molest the good Spirit of God which is given to you as a pledge of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth. This good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace which is able to help you all, and save all you who believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

"And of this I wish you were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them will perish, nor will any man or devil be able to attempt anything, much less do anything to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, who loves you most tenderly, gives them leave. And when he has given them leave, they shall go no further than He wills, nor keep you in trouble any longer than He wills. Therefore, cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean, and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service which is now used everywhere, and God will marvelously and mercifully defend and comfort you. May He do this thing for his holy name's sake in Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Your afflicted poor brother and bondsman,
"John Bradford."

To a Woman who desired to know his mind, whether refraining from the Mass, she might be present at the impish Matins, or not.

"I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful to us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at present, give me grace to write to you something about the same, as may make for His glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

"Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, such as at matins, or at even-song, or not, is your desire to have me write something for your further guidance. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you think that in respect to this, I would bear with what otherwise was not to be borne with. Yet by God's grace I am purposed, simply and without any such respect in this matter, to speak the truth to you according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand to it when I come before the Lord.

"*First*, therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all who profess Christ, that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself.

"*Secondly*, learn after this, to begin at the lesson next to it, which is to seek God in all things you do, and which you leave undone.

"*Thirdly*, know, that you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's imagination, custom, multitude, etc., and when with your brother, you follow the rule of charity; that is, to do as you would be done by.

In these is the sum of all the counsel I can give you, if regarding this, I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather *against* God's word directly, and in manner wholly against it. So that your going to the service, is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor can ever learn it, so long as you go there. Therefore you will utterly lose the second lesson, if you do not cease seeking yourself; that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disallows. And that you may better perceive this, I purpose by God's grace to briefly show:

"First, the matins and even-song, are in a tongue forbidden to be publicly used in the congregation that does not perceive the tongue. Read how St. Paul affirms it, to pray in an unknown tongue, is to be against God's commandment, 1Cor 14. This one, indeed, would be enough, if nothing else were. For how can God's glory be sought where his word and commandment is willfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown?

"Again, both in matins and in even-song, idolatry is maintained instead of God's service; for there, invocation and prayer is made to saints who have departed this life, which robs God of that glory which He will give to no other.

"Moreover, this service, and those who set it forth, condemns the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God's curse which is threatened to all those who call good evil, and evil good, of which they will be partakers who take communion with them.

"Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of antichrist's catholic synagogue. So that the communicants and those who approved it, thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so they are cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments.

"Furthermore, the example of your going there to allow the religion of antichrist (as doubtless you are indeed doing, however you think in your heart) occasions the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sorely weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown. How great offenses these things are, no pen is able to utter by letters. You will be guilty of all those evils that accompany those in religion externally, from whom you are admonished to flee. If Christ is Christ, follow him. Gather with him, lest you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Do not make your body, now a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Come out from among them, says the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue, yes, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore they need to tremble, lest Christ deny them in the last day. If that day were set before our eyes often, the pleasures and treasures of this world would be but trifles.

"Therefore, good sister, have it often before your eyes, daily set yourself and your doings as though before the judgment seat of Christ now, so that hereafter you are not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well, 'Whoever would save his life, shall lose it.' The Father of heaven commands you to hear Christ; and He says, 'Follow me.' This you cannot do, and also follow idolatry or idolaters. Flee from such, says the Scripture.

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"This God grant to vow to me, and to all God's children, Amen. Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little means to do you some good spiritually. Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large. The 2nd of March A.D. 1555.

To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troublcd and afflicted by her Friends for not coming to the Mass.

"I wish to you, right worshipful and my dearly-beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, to strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's gospel, to which you are called. Amen.

“I perceived by yourself the last day when you were with me, how you are in the school-house and trial-parlor of the Lord. This, to me is (at least it should be) a great comfort to see the number of God’s elect increased by you, who are in that state of which God has not called many, as St. Paul says. And as it is a comfort to me, so it should be a confirmation to me, that the Lord for his faithfulness’ sake will make perfect and finish the good he has begun in you to the end.

“If then your cross is a comfort to me, or a token of your election, and a confirmation of God’s continual favor, my dearly-beloved, how much more should it be so to you? To you He has not only given to believe, but also to come into the cause of suffering for his sake, and that is not merely by common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolk, as you told me. By this I see Christ’s words are true, how he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide. And therefore he stirs up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than have it continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him, how for your conscience to Him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you will hear him speak in your heart, that He has received you. And by this He would have you see that here he makes you like Christ, do that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like him. You ought to be most assured of this, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you will be like him. For he will make your body — which now you defile not with idolatrous service in going to mass — like his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power by which he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, for you do not deny His truth in word or deed, before your Father. He will make you reign with him, who now suffer for Him and with Him. He will not leave you comfortless, who seek no comfort but at his hand. Though for a little time you are afflicted, yet in this He will comfort and strengthen you, and at length make you rejoice with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe away all tears from your eyes. He will embrace you as your dear husband; he will, after he has proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man will never be able to conceive in such a way as the thing is. He now beholds your steadfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly he will show you how steadfast He is, and will be ready to do your will, after you have fully resigned it to His will.

“Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you will pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it comes to the dregs, of which the wicked shall drink, and all those who for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, walk with the wicked in betraying in act and deed that which their heart embraces for truth. If you were to do this thing (which God forbid), then my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you will not only lose all that I have spoken before, and much more of eternal joy and glory, but also be a cast-away, and a partaker of God’s heaviest displeasure in hellfire eternally. And so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, you would lose forever and ever all ease and comfort. ‘For whoever does not gather with me,’ says Christ, as no mass-gospeller does, ‘scatters abroad.’ We will receive according to what we do in this body, whether good or bad. If by our words we will be judged to condemnation or salvation, then much more by our acts and deeds. You cannot be a partaker of God’s religion and antichrist’s service, of which the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ’s church, and a member of the pope’s church. You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requires less of you, who are now his wife, than your husband required of you. If your husband would have both heart and body, do you think Christ will have less, who has so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband would not have allowed an excuse that your heart was his, if he had found you faithless to him, do you think Christ will allow your body at mass, even if your heart does not consent to it?

“God esteems his children, not only by their hearts, but by their pure hands and works. And therefore in Elijah’s time, He counted none to be his servants and people, except those who

had not bowed their knees to Baal. So now in England, he does not account any to be His servants who know the truth in heart, yet deny it in their deeds, as do our mass gospellers.

"We should desire above all things the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom. And shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at mass, by making it a propitiatory sacrifice, and setting forth a false Christ of the priest's and baker's making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews tore their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing anything blasphemously done or spoken against God. And shall we yet come to a church where mass is conducted, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas tore their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia offering sacrifice to them. And shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to an inanimate creature, and be silent? What thing helps antichrist's kingdom more, or so much, as the mass? And what destroys preaching and the kingdom of Christ on earth more than it does? How then can we say, 'Let your kingdom come,' and go to mass? How can we pray before God, 'Your will be done on earth,' when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friend? How can we pray, 'Deliver us from evil,' who knowing the mass to be evil, come to it?

"But what go I about to light a candle in the noonday, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, unless it is to reprove it, in that all men in so doing, only dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will men still halt on both knees? Asks God. Halting, says St. Paul, brings us out of the way, that is to say, out of Christ, who is the Way. So that whoever is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hellfire. For Christ will be ashamed of those before his Father, who are now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

"Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed. For it would have been better for you never to have known the truth, and through it to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than to now return to it, thereby making your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness, as you do if you but go to the church where there is a mass. Be pure, therefore, and keep yourself from all filthiness of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

"And so the God of peace will be with you, the glory of God will govern you, the Spirit of God will sanctify you, and be with you forever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble — which is but short if you consider the eternity you will enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord. Undoubtedly you shall not fail to inherit this forever, if as the elect child of God, you put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and do not yield yourself to the wicked world, but fight against it until the end.

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God for his holy name's sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father forever, and help you always, as I myself would be helped at his bauds in all things, and especially in this, His own cause. Amen, Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

The History of William Minge, James Trevisam, and John Bland

William Minge.

The next day after Master Bradford and John Leaf suffered in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone. He was there in bonds for religion, and also likely to have suffered if his life had continued. For he yielded up his life in prison with as great a constancy and boldness, as if it had pleased God to call him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake.

James Trevisam buried in the Fields.

On Sunday, the third of July A.D. 1555, one James Trevisam died in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury. Being weak and lame, he kept to his bed, for he could not rise out of it a long time. Trevisam had a servant, one John Small, who read in the Bible. And as he was reading, Berd the promoter (or landlord) came to the house, and insisted on going upstairs. There he found four persons besides Trevisam and his wife — to wit, the young man who was reading, and two men and a woman. Berd apprehended all these folks and carried them to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight. Moreover, Berd would also have taken Trevisam, the lame man, to Newgate in a cart (and brought the cart to the door), for the neighbors. Nevertheless, the poor man was made to provide two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, not being only weak, but also very sick. So within a few days, as James was lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named Master Farthing, came to him, had communication with him, and agreed well; and so he departed. It happened after the priest had come down into the street, one Toller met him there, saying, "Yes, are you agreed? Then I will accuse you, for he denies the sacrament of the altar." Upon that. the parson went back to Trevisam, and then the priest and he could *not* agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered that Trevisam should be burnt; and if he was dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so when he died, the parson opposed his wife as much as he could, nor would he let her have a coffin to put him in, nor anything else; but she was glad to bear him upon a table to Moorfields, and there he was buried. The same night the body was thrown up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, leaving him naked. After this, the owner of the field, seeing him there, buried him again. A fortnight later, the summoner came to the grave, and summoned the owner to appear at St. Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as would be laid against him. But what more befell him, I cannot say with certainty.

The History of John Bland.

On the 12th of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton, were all burned together at Canterbury for one cause. Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God; the one was parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvendon.

Mr. Bland was at first employed in bringing up children in learning and virtue. After this, coming to the ministry in the church of God, he was filled with earnest desire to profit the congregation, which may appear by this: that when he was cast into Canterbury prison for preaching the gospel, and was delivered once or twice at the suit of his friends, he would preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Upon this, being apprehended the third time, when his friends would again have found means to deliver him if he would promise to abstain from preaching, he would permit no such condition. This showed well to us the example which we read in the Apostle Paul; "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" etc. But as to the life and doings of this godly martyr, it will be best to refer the reader to his own account, which he sent to his father about his troubles.

A Discourse of the whole Process and doings of John Bland,
written and reported by himself to his Father
in his own Letter, as follows:

"Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And to satisfy your mind concerning the troubles of which you have beard, these will both declare to you

all my vexations that have befallen me since you were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

"Your son, JOHN BLAND."

"First, on Sunday, the 3rd of September, after service ended, before I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table (commonly called the Lord's Table) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, 'Who set this here again?' Now, they say that they took the table down the Sunday before, which I did not know, nor do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered that he did not know. Then Austen said, 'He is a knave who set it here.' I was then going down the church, marvelling at what he meant, and said, 'Goodman Austen, the queen's highness has set forth a proclamation that you may promote no sedition.' And before I could say any more, he said, 'You are a knave.' And I said, 'Well, goodman Austen, what I have said, I have said.' — 'By God's soul,' he said, 'you are a very knave.' Then my clerk spoke to him, but what I am not sure. But he said, 'Both of you are heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if you say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face.' And in that rage, he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it. Therefore I rode by and bye to Master Isaac, and showed him how seditiously he had spoken and acted. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable, which was immediately observed, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties to appear if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for. The table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

"On the 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the table after the communion was done, and as I was going past them, Richard said to me, 'Master Parson, we have to speak to you.' And I said, 'What is your will?' And he said, 'You know that you took down the tabernacle, in which the rood (crucifix) hung, and such other things. We would know what recompense you will make to us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such things must be put up again.'

"I answered 'I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.'

"' No,' said Thomas Austen, 'would you not know the queen's proceedings?'"

"' Yes,' I said, 'I do not refuse to know them.'

"Then Richard said, 'You are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.'

"' Goodman Austen,' I said, 'if I said so, I will say it again, and God willing, stand to the proof of it.'

"' Masters all,' exclaimed Richard Austen, 'bear record of these words,' and he went his way.

"Thomas Austen said. 'you would as soon eat this book as stand to them.' — 'No,' I said, 'not so soon.' — 'Tell us,' he said, 'what that devilishness is, that is in the mass.'

"' I often preached it to you,' I said, 'and you have not believed it, nor borne it away; nor will now either, even if I were to tell you.'

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"He replied, 'You are a heretic, and have taught us nothing but heresy: for you can say nothing that is true.'

"' Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven, and you will say, that is true, and so have I taught you truly.'

"' You have taught us like a heretic,' he answered, 'and have said that there is no devil in hell.'

"He gave many other taunts, too long to write. And at the last he said, 'You pulled down the altar; will you build it again?' — 'No,' I said, 'unless I am commanded; for I was commanded to do what I did.'

"' Well, if you will not,' he said, 'then I will; for I am churchwarden.'

"' I charge you,' I said, 'that you do not, unless you have authority.' — 'I will not,' he said, 'refrain for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher who will prove you a heretic, if you dare abide his coming.'

"' Yes,' I said, 'God willing, 'I will abide and hear him; for I am sure that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.'

"When the Sunday came, I looked for the preacher, but he never came, so I preached in his absence.

"On Innocents' day, the 28th of December, they procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say mass. He had nearly made an end of matins before I came; and when he did make an end of matins, he said to me, 'Master Parson, your neighbor has desired me to say matins and mass; I trust you will not be against the queen's proceedings.' — 'No,' I said, 'I will offend none of the queen's majesty's laws, God willing.' — 'What did you say?' he asked; and made as though he had not heard. And I spoke the same words to him again with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried out the third time (so that all the church heard) that I would not offend the queen's laws; and then he went to mass.

"The priest came down into the stall where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spoke to the people of the great goodness of God, always shown to his people, to the time of Christ's coming. And in Him and his coming, what benefit those past, we present, and our successors have. Among other benefits, I spoke of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. After I had briefly declared the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spoke of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration. So that as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eats Christ's flesh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I spoke of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it, in that form, to be no sacrament, and showed how Christ bade us all to eat and drink. Whereas only one in the mass eats and drinks, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship. After these things, as briefly as I could, I spoke of the originators of the mass, and I began to declare who made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the addition that he made to the mass. Before I had recited them all, the churchwarden and the constable, his son-in-law, violently came and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, 'you heretic;' some, 'you traitor;' some, 'you rebel;' and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was somewhat past, I said, 'Be quiet, good neighbors, and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will answer before those who are in authority to correct me.' But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again.

"Then Richard Austen said, 'Peace, masters, no more till mass is done;' and they ceased. Then said I to the churchwarden and the constable, holding me by the arm, 'Masters, let me

go into the churchyard till your mass is done.' — 'No,' said the churchwarden, 'you will tarry here till mass is done.' — 'I will not,' I said; 'except against my will.' And they said, 'You will tarry, for if you go out, you will run away.' Then I said to the constable, 'Lay me in the stocks, and then you will be sure of me;' and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me. He bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door, and there they made me tarry till mass was ended. When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me. Then Thomas Austen said, 'You keep a wife here among us, against God's law and the queen's.' — 'Goodman Austen,' I said, 'it is not against God's law, nor, I suppose, against the queen's.'

"Now, the 23rd or 24th of February, Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Master Finch's place. They took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by commandment of Sir Thomas Moyles, where I lay for ten weeks. Then I was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions to be held at Canterbury. But after that, they changed it to be at Ashford, on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, on the 19th of May. In the meantime, the matter was exhibited to the spiritual court.

"On the 18th day of May, Master IIarpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, had me brought before him, and the commissary, into Christ's church. Then the archdeacon asked, 'Are you a priest?' And I said, 'I was.' And he said, 'Are you a graduate of any university?' And I said, 'Yes.' 'What degree,' he asked, 'have you taken?' 'The degree,' I said, 'of a master of art.' 'You have been a licensed preacher?' And I said, 'I have.'

"' What have you preached?'

"And I said, 'God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.'

"' No, no,' he replied, 'to the destroying of their souls and yours too, unless the mercy of God is all the greater. I pray you, what have you preached? Tell me.'

"' I told you what I have preached,' I answered.

"' No, but tell me,' he said, 'what one matter have you preached to the edifying of the people, as you say?'

"I replied, 'I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.'

"' For you have preached,' he said, 'that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ, after the consecration. Tell me, have you not preached this? and is this not your opinion?'

"I answered, 'Sir, I perceive that you seek matter against me, and therefore, I think I am not bound to give you an answer.'

"Collins. — 'Do you not remember, that St. Peter bids you give an answer to every man that asks you a reason for the faith that is in you?'

"Bland. — 'I know that, and am content to answer as that text directs: but I know that Master Archdeacon does not ask me in that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble.' They said, 'No, you shall not be troubled for anything that you say here.'

"Bland. — 'I am content for knowledge' sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise.' And so they commenced reasoning for more than an hour, about the sacrament.

"On the 21st of May, I again appeared in the Chapter-house, where a great multitude of people had assembled. The Archdeacon said to me, 'You have come here as you were

appointed: and the cause is that it has pleased the queen's highness to place me here to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those here who have fallen into great and grievous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church. You are notably known to be one who is poisoned with error, and you have infected and deceived many with your evil preaching. If you will renounce this, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others would be very glad; and I for my part will be right glad to show you the favor that lies in me.'

"Bland. — 'I protest before God and you all, that my conscience is neither guilty of any error or heresy, nor did I ever willingly teach any error or heresy.'

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"Harpsfield. — 'Do you hear what he says? His conscience is clear! I pray you, on what do you ground your conscience? Let me hear what your faith is.'

"Bland. — 'I do not know why you would ask me a reason for my faith, more than any other man in this open audience."

"Harpsfield. — 'Why, you heretic, are you ashamed of your faith? If it were a Christian belief, you need not be ashamed of it.'

"Bland. — 'I am not ashamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, etc. with all the other articles of the creed; and I believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true.'

"Harpsfield. — 'Will you declare no more than this? '

"Bland. — 'No.'

"Harpsfield, — 'Well, I will tell you on what I ground my faith: I believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that were ever held since the apostles' time. Lo, upon this I ground my faith.'

"When he could get no other answer from me, than I had given before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. I asked, 'By what law and authority will you proceed against me?'

"Collins said, 'By the canon law.'

"Bland. — 'I doubt whether it is valid or not. Yet I pray you, let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will answer according to the law.'

"Harpsfield. — 'Why, you heretic, you will not confess your faith to me — I who have authority to demand it of you, and yet I have confessed my faith to you before this entire audience. Concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, you have taught that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ. What do you say? Have you not taught this?'

"Bland. — 'Sir, concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Master Collins, you said then it was for other matters that I should come here — and further, that you would be content at my desire, to confer out of the Scriptures with me, to see if you could win me. And you said you would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I might have whatever book I wished. And now you require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, before any conference is had, and seek to bring me into trouble, rather than to win me.'"

[Then they entered upon some arguments on transubstantiation, and Bland was bound in sureties to appear again.]

“About the 28th of June I came to Master Commissary, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me. But Master Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me. And so he appointed me to appear before him on Friday, seven nights later. In the meantime, the sessions were held at Cranbroke, where I was bound to appear.

“Sir Thomas Moyle said, ‘Ah, Bland, you are a stiff-necked fellow. You will not obey the law, nor answer when you are called.’

“So the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. And so we remained in the jail of Maidstone till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts. Then we were carried to Rochester, to the assizes, where we were among the prisoners for two days. When we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, the clerk of the peace said that I was an excommunicated person.’

“Then the judges of assize said, ‘Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that will be held next at the town of Maldon.’

“We tarried at Maidstone till the sessions were held at Greenwich on the 18th and 19th of February. I and Others being within the bar among the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out by the jailor and bailiffs, eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town, to Sir John Baker, Master Petit, Master Webb, and two others whom I do not know.”

Another Examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker.

“Baker. — ‘Bland, why were you cast into prison?’

“Bland. — ‘I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in.’

“Baker. — ‘Yes, but why were you in before that time?’

“Bland. — ‘For an unjust complaint laid against me.’

“Baker. — ‘What was the complaint?’

“I then told him as truly and briefly as I could.

“Baker. — ‘Let me see your book;’ and I showed him a Latin Testament.

“Baker. — ‘Will you go to church, and obey and follow the queen’s proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?’

“Bland. — ‘I trust in God not to do otherwise than as an honest man should do.’

“Baker. — ‘Will you do as I said?’

“Bland. — ‘Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?’

“Baker. — ‘Yes.’

“Bland. — ‘Sir, may a man do anything that his conscience is not satisfied is good?’

“Baker. — ‘Away, away!’ And throwing down the book, he said: ‘It is no Testament.’ And I said: ‘Yes it is.’ And Master Webb took it up, and said to me marvellously gently; ‘I knew you when you were out of this opinion. I would to God you would reform yourself’ — with better words than I will write. And I said: ‘If you have known me to be of another opinion than I am now, it was for lack of knowledge.’

“Baker. — ‘Indeed, do you say so? By St. Mary, I would sooner give six faggots to burn you with, than you should be unburned. Away from here, knave, away!’

"At night, when judgment was passed on the felons, and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailor: 'Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary. If they will not be reformed, let them be delivered back to us, and they will have judgment and execution.' One of our company said: 'My Lord, if we were killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we will live with Him forever.'

"Then we came to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second day of March, when we were brought into the chapter-house of Cree-church, where we were set with the suffragan of Canterbury, Master Collins, Master Mills, and others. Then Master Oxenden, Master Petit, Master Webb and Master Hardes, justices, went to them. And when I was called, Master Webb said: 'Here we present this man to you, as one strongly suspected of heresy.'

"Bland. — 'You have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and nothing was proved against me. I pray you, why have I been kept so long in prison?'

"Webb. — 'Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to what is laid to your charge.'

"Bland. — 'I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy.'

"Webb. — 'Yes we do. To Sir John Baker you refused to be conformable to the queen's proceedings.'

"Bland. — 'Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy, for asking a question with leave?' So we had more words there than I well remember.

"Then Master Petit stood up and said: 'You were cast into prison, because you fled from your ordinary.'

"Bland. — 'Then I have suffered wrongfully; for I never fled nor disobeyed my ordinary, nor did anything contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did.' But they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I asked, 'Master commissary, have you been the cause of my imprisonment?' 'No,' he said; 'You know that when you left me, you were appointed to appear on the Friday after the sessions.'

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"Here I was not allowed to speak anymore, but was shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented. Then we were sent to Westgate to prison, and were put in several close holds, so that not one of us could speak to another, nor was any man permitted to come to us."

And thus passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now will follow the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen, before whom he was examined. The chief doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover, or suffragan of Canterbury, called Doctor Richard Thornton. —

"Collins. — 'You know that you are presented to us as one suspected of heresy. What do you say? Are you content to conform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?'

"Bland. — 'I deny that I am justly suspected of heresy.'

"Dover — 'Only that I am one of the judges, I would rise and accuse you to be a sacramentary, and bring witnesses to prove it. Yes, and further, that you have called the mass an abominable idol.'

“Bland. — ‘You, my lord, never heard me say so; but I once heard you say that in your conscience you had abhorred the mass for three years.’

“Dover. — ‘You lie! I never said so.’

“Bland. — ‘My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witnesses to prove it, with the day, time, and place.’

“Collins. — ‘You had better answer now, or you will go back to prison, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you. And if you then will not answer directly, you will be condemned *pro confesso*,[29] and that will be worse for you.’

“Bland. — ‘I will not refuse to answer to anything that you can lay to my charge by the law; and therefore I trust you will let me have the benefit of the law.’

“Collins. — ‘This is the law: that if you are required by the ordinary, *Reddere rationem fidei* (to give an account of your faith), you must not refuse.’

“Bland. — ‘Then I will answer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the creed. And I believe all the articles contained both in the creed, called the Nicene Creed, and in the creed of Athanasius. And I believe that all the holy Scriptures, and all things contained in them, are most true.’

“Collins. — ‘This will not serve you. You must answer to all articles in all of these, that will be laid to you, or asked of you.’

“Bland. — ‘Let me know the law and I will answer.’

“Collins. — ‘What do you say? Will you answer?’

“Bland. — ‘Sir, I have answered you.’

“Dover. — ‘Take him away; he would better have answered.’

“Bland. — ‘My lord, I am ready to answer, if you have anything against me by the law.’

“Dover. — ‘You have preached many heresies in Adesham, where I am parson now; and therefore you must answer for them.’

“Bland. — ‘Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them.’

“Collins. — ‘All this will not serve you; you must answer, and it would be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will you conform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and be obedient to all the queen’s laws? ‘

“Bland. — ‘I pray you, why have I been brought here?’

“Collins. — ‘To answer to those things which are demanded of you.’

“Bland. — ‘Sir, I thought you had some matters against me by the law.’

“Collins. — ‘Well, on Monday at nine o’clock you will see the law, and have articles laid to you. Do you not believe that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, no substance of bread remains, except the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and man?’

[29] *Pro confesso*: admitted as true without dispute.

"Bland. — 'I do not know by any law, why you would ask me that question more than any other man here.'

"Dover. — 'Do you not believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ?'

"Bland. — 'No. I do not believe so; for the Scriptures do not teach me that the flesh of Christ remains, to eat as a man might eat man's flesh.'

"Faucet. — 'As you and I were both brought up in one house, and both born in one parish, I would be glad to do you good; but you may not thus stand against the church. For Christ says, You must humble yourself, and take up his cross and follow him. And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not adhere to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which has determined that after the consecration no bread remains, except the natural body and blood of Christ.'

"Bland. — 'Master Doctor, if you take humbling ourselves in that place, to allow the determination of the church, then we must know by the Scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but what is according to the Scriptures. I do not believe there is any transubstantiation, and never will.'

"Faucet. — 'Then I am done with you; I would no more pray for you than I would for a dog.'

"Glasier. — 'What do you think? When St. Paul said, 'The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' Did he mean baker's bread?'

"Bland. — 'Though he did not mean baker's bread, that does not prove that he broke natural and real flesh.'

"Glasier. — 'No, by St. Mary, we do not say so; but we say it is the natural body *glorified*, under the forms of bread and wine.'

"Bland. — 'Then the apostles did not have it in the same state as we have; or else his *glorified* body was crucified for us.'

"Glasier. — 'Tush, you do not understand the Scriptures. For Christ's body was always glorified, because it was so marvellously united to the Godhead. Yes, and he showed his glorified body many times, as on Mount Thabor. And when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was that not then a glorified body?'

"Bland. — 'Then Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the act of a glorified body! And also the iron that Elisha made to swim on the water!'

"Dover. — 'Tush, that was done by prayer.'

"Here they made such a noise with laughing, that I no longer heard what my lord said.

"Glasier. — 'I was glad, when I heard you say you believed the catholic church, and now you go from it?'

"Bland. — 'No, that I do not do.'

"Glasier. — 'You know that Christ says, Mat 18.15-17. 'If your brother trespasses against you, go and tell him his fault between you and him alone; if he will hear you, you have gained your brother. But if he will not hear you, then take one or two more with you, so that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he neglects to hear them, tell it to the church. But if he neglects to hear the church, let him be to you like a heathen man and a publican.' I pray you, where could you have found this church of yours fifty years ago?"

"Bland. — 'You know that the true church did not flourish at all times, but was shockingly persecuted.'

"Dover. — 'No more! I command you to hold your peace. Take him away and bring in another.'

"The Monday after we were brought back to the same place; and then Master Collins began to speak to me, that I should conform myself. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law which they said before I might see.

"Dover. — 'What need is there for that? We have enough against you. For you denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament.'"

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Being again dismissed, Bland had a conference as follows, with Milles:

"Milles. — 'We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporeally, which are the forms of bread and wine; and that there his body is contained invisibly; and the qualities which we see, such as whiteness and roundness, are there without substance by God's power, just as quantity and weight are also there by invisible measure.'

"Bland. — 'This is your own divinity, to make *accidents* [30] the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so destroy the sacrament. And yet you say the matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, and trifle with God's work.'

"Milles. — 'To Christ is given all power in heaven and on earth, so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is, wherever he chooses; and he is in the sacrament really and corporeally without occupying a place; for a glorified body occupies no place.'

"Bland. — 'Mark your own reasoning. All power is given to Christ both in heaven and on earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be wherever he chooses; therefore he is in the sacrament really and corporeally, without occupying a place! I deny your argument, for I would learn from you, how you know that Christ chooses to be present at every priest's bidding? For if the priest chooses not to say your mass, then Christ chooses not to be there.'

"Milles. — 'We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually when we receive it with faith and charity. And we also eat it corporeally in the sacrament; and the body that we so receive has life. For the Godhead is annexed to it; which although it is received together with the body of Christ, it is not visible. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it has the Spirit of God joined to it. If a man is drunken, it is not by receiving the blood of Christ; for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he is drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities of the wine, without the substance of blood.'

"Bland. — 'I am glad that you say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament; it may in time bring you to the truth. I think it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix,[31] or else you must grant that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And you speak the truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that makes a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that does it, which you do not deny. You confessed a greater truth than you thought, when you said, 'If a man is drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities without the

[30] *Accident*: the incidental quality of a substance. Whiteness and roundness are two *accidents* of bread.

[31] *Pix*: Any receptacle in which the wafers (bread) for the Eucharist is kept.

substance of blood; for indeed blood has no such qualities with it. By this it is evident that there is no natural blood.' If a man is drunken with consecrated wine, it must be a miracle, as you will have it, that the accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents. And so it follows, that a man may be drunken by a miracle! The body that you receive, you say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead; and the flesh that you receive is lively, because it has the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your own invention, to divide the body and the flesh — the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit; and yet both are one sacrament. You make of it something that is so fantastical, that you imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, just as you do in imagining qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.'

"Milles. — 'If the case so requires, and there is a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, then after the consecration, to a true believer, the body and blood of Christ is present, and no other substance, only accidents without substance.'

"Bland. — 'You grant three absurdities, that in a consecrated cask of wine there is nothing but accidents; and to increase it, you have brought in two inconveniences: first, that it is not the word of God that consecrates, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that is lacking, you seem to grant no consecration, even though the priest speaks the word. Yet your doctors say that the wickedness of the priest does not hinder the sacrament. And to an unbeliever, you seem to say that it is not the same as it is to the true believer; but then the believer must have something to do in the consecration.'

"Milles. — 'The substance of Christ's body does not fill the mouse's belly. For although it receives the outward forms of bread and wine, it does not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse does not eat the *body* of Christ, to speak properly; for the body does not feed the mouse spiritually or corporeally, as it does a man, because the mouse does not receive it for any inducement of immortality to the flesh.'

"Bland. — 'You do not make your doctrine plainly understood. We must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly *and* outwardly. You say it does not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation; therefore, *with* violation it receives the substance inwardly. You say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violates the substance that he eats. And your speech imports this much: that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great an effect, and does the same thing, as the unworthy receiver. For if that is the reason that the mouse does not properly eat the body of Christ, because it does not feed upon it spiritually or corporeally, nor does it receive it as an inducement for immortality, as you say. If so, it follows that both the unbeliever and the mouse receive one thing. And yet it cannot be denied that the mouse will live by consecrated bread. Then you must grant this absurdity: that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents!'

"Milles. — 'Men's bodies are fed with Christ's body, as with immortal food, to eternal life, because of the Godhead annexed; but men's bodies are corporeally nourished with *qualities* and *forms* of bread and wine. We deny that by sacramental eating, any gross humor [32] turned into blood, is made miraculously in the body.'

"Bland. — 'Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body with the consecrated sacramental bread and wine; you cannot avoid that. But then you turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead

[32] *Gross humor*: conspicuous liquid.

annexed, which does not put away the absurdity that either a man's natural body would be fed naturally with accidents, or else they are changed into gross humors. But you say, men's bodies are corporeally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; then you must grant that qualities and quantities must be made a *substance* in man. For otherwise, all that is the nutriment in man is mere accidents and not substance.'

"Milles. — 'If the forms of bread and wine are burned, or infested with worms, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceases to be there.'

"Bland. — 'You grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, such as ashes or worms; but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a greater absurdity than the other — that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again. For no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of His presence, even if we granted to you (which we do not), that it was ever there. God Almighty open your heart, if it is His will and pleasure, to see the truth.'"

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Up to here you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tossed to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, on the 13th of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton. The commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal had appointed by his letters patent before his coming over to England. The archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these, a great number of innocent servants of Christ were cruelly treated and slain at Canterbury. Among them, John Bland was one of the first. Being brought before the said bishop, with his colleagues — John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphrey Middleton, and William Cocker — he was examined from the following articles:

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Articles administered by Richard, Bishop of Dover, to John Bland, and likewise to the others after him.

"First, that you are of the diocese of Canterbury, and so you are subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

"2. That you are a Christian man, and profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

"3. That all persons who teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church says, are excommunicate persons, and heretics; and as excommunicate and heretics, they ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

"4. That contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, you have openly spoken, maintained, held, affirmed and believed, and still hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ in substance; but only a token, sign, and remembrance of Him, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and nowhere else.

"5. That contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, you have within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, held, affirmed, and believed, and still hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man

safely and with a good conscience, or without peril of sin, receives any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he does not understand.

"6. That contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, you have, and still hold the opinion, and say that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may so receive it with a safe conscience.

"7. That these premises are true, and that there is a common reputation upon them within the diocese of Canterbury."

To all these articles Bland gave his consent and admission. So on the 25th of the month of June he appeared again in the chapter-house, and there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope, upon which his sentence was read, and he was immediately condemned and committed to the secular power.

The Prayer of John Bland before his Death.

"O! Lord Jesus, for whose love I willingly leave this life, and desire the bitter death of your cross, with the loss of all earthly things, rather than to abide the blasphemy of your holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of your commandments. You see, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honor your enemy, I choose rather the torments of this body, and loss of my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win you. This death is more dear to me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, you have laid up in my breast, so that I hunger for you, as the deer that is wounded desires the soil. Send your holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. You remember, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do anything that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as you of your accustomed goodness have bid me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of your own cup among your elect, give me strength against this element, that as it is most irksome and terrible to my sight, so to my mind it may be sweet and pleasant at your commandment, as an obedient servant. And through the strength of your Holy Spirit, I may pass through the flame of this fire into your bosom, according to your promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for your dear Son's sake, my Savior, for whose testimony I offer this freewill-offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Savior, spread your wings over me. O God, grant me your Holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration I have come here. Conduct me to everlasting life. Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit; Lord Jesus receive my soul. So be it."

The History of J. Frankesh, H. Middleton, and N. Sheterden.

Having now given the examinations of John Bland, we will further proceed to give an account of the rest of his fellow captives who were joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction; namely, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom only Thacker fell away. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were condemned together by the suffragan of Canterbury, on the 25th of June, 1555. Regarding their examinations, it will not be necessary to enlarge, because the articles ministered against them were all one; so to in their answers, they disagreed little or nothing. In the meantime, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will begin with him first:

The Examination of Nicholas Sheterden by Master Harpsfield, archdeacon, and Master Collins, the commissary, for which they sent him to prison.

"Archdeacon. — 'The very words of Christ, when he said, 'This is my body,' changed the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.'

"Sheterden. — 'Then in the same way, when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine.'

"Archdeacon. — 'Not so; for when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' he did no mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.'

"Sheterden. — 'If Christ spoke one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought of the bread, as well as of the cup.'

"Archdeacon. — 'There must be a meaning sought of the cup other than the words stand. But of the bread it must be understood only as it stands, without any other meaning.'

"Sheterden. — 'Then you make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech, and so you divide Christ's supper.'

"Archdeacon. — 'Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, 'This cup is my blood.'

"Sheterden. — 'Then show me whether the words, which the priest speaks over the cup, change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest does it?'

"Archdeacon. — 'The mind of the priest does it, and not the words.'

"Sheterden. — 'If the mind of the priest does it, and not the words, then none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter stands in the mind of the priest. For no man can tell what the priest means but himself; and so they are ever in danger of committing idolatry.'

"Archdeacon — (somewhat moved, and sitting down) 'I pray you. Master Commissary, speak to him, for they are as unreasonable and perverse answers as ever I heard of.'

"Commissary. — 'Your argument is much against yourself, for you grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body; but the cup cannot be a figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.'

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"Sheterden. — 'My argument is not against me at all; for I do not say it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words do not change the substance of the bread, any more than they change the cup into blood.'

"Commissary. — 'It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, 'This cup is my blood;' but he meant the wine in the cup.'

"Sheterden. — 'Then it remains for you to answer my question to the archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the priest when he speaks over the cup, changes it into blood, or is it the bare words?'

“Commissary. — ‘Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; indeed, the intent and the words together do it.’

“Sheterden. — ‘If the words and intention together change the substance, the cup must yet be his blood, and not the wine, for the words are, ‘This cup is my blood,’ and the intention, you say, was the wine, or else the words have no effect, but only the intention.’

“Commissary. — ‘It was the intention of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for the priest intended to do as holy church had ordained; and then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.’

“Sheterden. — ‘If the sacraments take effect by the intent of the priest, and not by God’s word, then many parishes having a priest who does not intend, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that to be God, which is but bread. Because for lack of the priest’s intention, the words take no effect in it, so that by this it is doubtful whether they worship Christ or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests intend!’

After some further conference the Commissary departed. Afterwards he was examined before the bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor, of which he gives the following account:

“I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. The lord chancellor stood at the table, who called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

“Then he said, ‘I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted for heresy; and being called before the commissioners, you will not answer nor submit yourself.’

“I said, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer that I had been in prison a long time, and it was reasonable that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined from articles to cover my wrong imprisonment, nor did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made.

“Winchester. — He said, ‘if you will declare yourself to the church to be a Christian, you shall go, and then you shall have a writ of wrong imprisonment,’ etc.

“Sheterden. — I said ‘I was not minded to sue now, but required to have justice. It might be that my conscience was not persuaded, nor would I be in prison, seeing that these things which I have learned were openly taught by God’s law and received by authority of the realm.’

“Winchester. — He said, ‘It was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament.’

“Sheterden. — I said ‘against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught, and that when they preached to us, they took pains to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we might read and judge whether they said true or not; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so, which is to me a strong argument.’

“Winchester. — ‘It was not a few who could be your guide, but the doctors and the whole church; now whom would you believe? Either the few or the many?’

“Sheterden. — ‘I did not believe for the few, nor for the many, but only for he that brings the word, and shows it to me to be so according to it.’

“Winchester. — ‘Well then, if an Arian comes to you with Scripture, you will believe him, if he shows this text, ‘My Father is greater than I?’

"Sheterden. — I answered 'No, my lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he says, 'I and my Father are one.'

"Winchester. — 'Yes, that is in love, as we are one with Him.'

"Sheterden. — I said 'that gloss would not stand with the rest of the Scripture.'

"So after many words he came to the church's faith and ceremonies and images. And then I joined issue with him about the commandment against images.'

"Winchester. — He said, 'that was done so that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice.'

"Sheterden. — I said 'that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness.'

"Winchester. — 'Where do you find you that?'

"Sheterden. – 'In the law where God gave them the commandments. For he said, 'You saw no similitude, but heard a voice only;' and added a reason why: lest they make images. So that God would not show his shape, because they should have no image of him who was the true God,' etc.

"Winchester. — He said, 'I made a goodly interpretation. '

"Sheterden. — I said 'No, it was the *text*."

"Then the English bible was brought. He made me find it; and so I read it aloud; and then he said, 'Look, here you may see, this is no more to forbid the image of God than of any other beast, fowl, or fish' (the place was Deu 4.15-18). 'I said it did plainly forbid us to make any of these as an image of God, because no man could know of what shape he was. Therefore, no man might say of any image, this is an image of God.'

"Winchester. — 'Well; yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may represent, that is, of Christ and the Holy Spirit. The Father appeared to Daniel like an old man,' etc.

"Sheterden. — 'That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment, For though the Holy Spirit appeared like a dove, yet he was not like it in shape, but in certain qualities; and therefore when I saw the dove which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving,' etc.

"Winchester, somewhat moved, said I had learned my lesson, and asked who taught me, with many words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, etc."

And thus much touching the examinations of Nicholas Sheterden and John Bland. Now to regard something also of the other martyrs, who were examined at the same time, and suffered with them together; to wit, Humphrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent.

To the articles propounded to these persons, John Frankesh answered somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite of fourteen days to deliberate, which was granted; John Bland answered firmly and distinctly, as you have heard before; Nicholas Sheterden and Humphrey Middleton also answered well. Middleton added that he believed in his own God. saying, "My living God, and no dead God." Thacker alone recanted, and was content to perform penance. Thus the four were condemned by the bishop of Dover, on the 25th of June A.D. 1555.

And so being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury, on the 12th of July, at two stakes, but all in one fire. There, in the sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, they gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

The Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

"O Lord my God and Savior, who are Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of your hands; Lord God look upon me, and others of your people, who at this time are oppressed by the worldly-minded for your law's sake.

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Indeed, Lord, your law itself is now trodden underfoot, and men's inventions exalted above it. And for that cause I, and many your creatures, refuse the glory, praise and commodities of this life, and choose to suffer adversity and to be banished; even to be burnt with the books of your word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For Lord, you know if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to your word, we might by their permission enjoy those commodities that others do, such as wife, children, goods and friends, all which I acknowledge to be your gifts, given to the end that I should serve you. And now, Lord, that the world will not permit me to enjoin them unless I offend your laws, behold I give you my whole spirit, soul, and body, and behold! I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them who fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whenever the world and the devil persecute the same.

"O, Father! I do not presume to come to you in my own righteousness — no, but only in the merits of your dear Son my Savior. For this excellent gift of salvation, I cannot worthily praise you, nor is my sacrifice worthy to be accepted by you, in comparison to our bodies mortified and obedient to your will. And now. Lord, whatever rebellion has been or is found in my members, against your will, yet I hereby give you my body to the death, rather than I use any strange worshipping — which I beseech you, accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace. And when the time of resurrection comes, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now are spoiled and consumed by the fire. O, Lord Jesus! receive my spirit into your hands. Amen."

A Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.

"After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this will be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, so that you may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan, our mortal enemy, which, as I have diverse times declared to you, does not openly show himself in his own likeness, but under color of devotion deceives those who do not keep a diligent eye upon him. But having confidence in men's traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and the testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, they grow more into superstition and hypocrisy than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true: that Satan, the enemy of souls, makes many believe by his ministers, that those things which they compel us to, for their stomach's sake, have many godly significations, even though they are most contrary to God's will, as doubtless they are, even as the serpent did in Paradise to our first mother, Eve. What? (he asked) has God commanded you shall not eat of all the trees in the garden? The woman said, We may eat of the fruits of the trees in the garden; but of the tree in the midst of the garden, God said, see that you do not eat of it, lest you die. Even so our ministers now-a-days, say, has God commanded you shall not make yourself any image or likeness of any thing? Yes, truly. Tush, they say, what harm can they do?

May we not remember God better when we see his image or picture? For they are good books for the laymen; but indeed they are better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

"And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve; even so, the persuasion of our priests is found true to us. For as Adam and Eve became like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were so open, that he lost both innocence and righteousness, and he became the most miserable of all creatures. Even so, we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments; and we consider his testament, confirmed in his blood, as stark madness or heresy. We have so miserably remembered him, that of all people, we are most blind. This follows upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking His law. And therefore surely, unless we repent, God will shortly remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues. As sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

"But I know (I thank God) the craftiness of those in this who will say; Where did he go to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors who studied all their life? And behold, they say it is good hay, even though we smell that it is musty; yet we must believe it is sweet, and then pay them well for so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir, are you wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Spirit? What, are you wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where did you get your high learning? Is it higher than God (in heaven) is able to reach, or have you set it lower in hell than Christ ever dared to venture? For it is some strange learning, assuredly, that Christ and his apostles could never attain the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift: for perhaps they would not be ashamed to say that Christ, coming on his Father's message, forgot half his errand on the way. For I dare say that the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ. Indeed, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it — so Romishly has antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre's sake.

"Beloved mother, as I have often said to you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart in Christ, to consider that your own soul's health is offered you; do not cast it off. We do not have a long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world's treasure? I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers who lived this way? God forbid that we should condemn anyone who did according to their knowledge. But let us take heed that they do not condemn us, for if they had heard the word as we have heard it, and had been warned as we have been, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do. Indeed, they were more faithful in what they knew, than many now are. Therefore they will be our condemnation if we do not embrace this grace offered to us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those we will never see, nor have any part among them. For our disobedience is greater than their ignorance. Therefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse His mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christ's promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek Him from country to country, and not find Him, 'Yet the gospel,' he says, 'shall be preached in all the world, and then the end shall come.'

"And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered. For surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. O remember Lot's wife. God must punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they will persecute his church and his true servants; or else He will reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this simple letter of mine, as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would to God we might be so knit in faith, and trust in God's word and promises here in this life, that we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as you partly know. If I were to seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make

some of them my friends, who now perhaps are jealous [33] over me amiss. But I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their conscience, and they have no just cause to do so. Nevertheless I pray they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Spirit, expressed to us by the holy patriarchs and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Savior and mediator, and by his holy apostles. And then I do not doubt that our matter shall be ended with peace, and joyfulness of heart. God grant us this for his mercy sake. Amen,"

"Your own child, Nicholas Sheterden,
prisoner for the truth, in Westgate, 1555."

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A Letter to his Brother, Walter Sheterden.

"I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart to the same. It has shown me, my brother, that you wished me by a letter to a friend of yours, to persuade me that I should be ruled by my uncle, who says he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I would not stand too high in my own conceit. But my good brother, I trust you do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet I thank my Lord God, I judge it but a heap of dung in respect to the treasure hidden within; yet I esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it comes with good will. And to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not refuse, nor have I refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongs to mortal men. But if they require anything of me which duly pertains to God, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe (I trust in God) who will get it from me; nor even the angels in heaven.

"For though I am not learned (as the vain men of the world call *learning*), yet I thank my Lord God, that I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to differentiate between the merits of Christ's passion and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism, and the Holy Spirit, and not to mix and mingle all things together confusedly. So that if someone asks me a question or a reason for my faith, I must not be so ignorant as to say, 'I believe as the holy church believes.' If he asks me what is the order of that faith, I would not be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments. If I were to so monstrously utter my faith, that I was not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which was first, his mortification or his glorification, who would believe that my faith was sound?

"For some affirm that Christ did not give his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal land glorified body, so that he had a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism. And then they may as well say he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised. And that would be even right antichrist to turn all things backward, and then say, 'Oh, you must believe, for God is Almighty, he can do all things,' etc. It is true that God is Almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died For God's omnipotence does not stand in things that are contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time. Nor does he require of us to judge or believe about his Almighty power, that he has made the end of the world to come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the blossom — and yet He is nevertheless Almighty.

[33] Here, *jealous* means protective and suspiciously watchful.

"But if perhaps you think to yourself, 'Why, they are learned; it would be a marvel if they were not to know what the truth is, as well as others who never kept any such study,' etc. To that I answer that if they had studied God's word, the author of truth, as they have studied logic, and Duns, with the legend of lies, they would have been as expert in the truth as they are now weak in reasons. But thus has God fulfilled his promise that those would be deluded with lies, who would not believe or walk in His truth.

"And again, this is a good cause to make us think surely this was the reason God gave them over little by little to error at first, after the apostles' time, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth among us only a few years, because we did not obey it, we see what a sudden change God has brought upon us for our sins' sake. Why should we not think that this and such like disobedience was the reason that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon those who would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings are to Christ's and his apostles' and that being seen, either we must judge Christ's doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they are the very antichrists which would come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust will not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

"Your brother, Nicholas Sheterden,
prisoner for the truth, in Westgate."

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.

"Oh! my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favorable blessing, and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you, Oh! my good mother, in a few words, I wish you the same salvation which I hope myself to feel and partly taste of before this comes to you to read. And in the resurrection, I truly believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together forever; and in that day, God grant you to see my face with joy. But dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry and blasphemous mass. Oh! let not that be your God, which mice and worms can devour. Behold, I call heaven and earth to record that it is no God which the fire consumes, and the moistness causes it to mold. And I take Christ's testament to witness that it is none of His ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and a snare to catch innocents' blood; and now that God has shown it to you, be warned in time. Oh! give up old customs, and become new in the truth. Whatever state your father is in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection, read it with obedience, let it be your pastime; but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things. So we will meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore: Oh! farewell my friends and lovers all, God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.

"From Westgate, the 11th of July 1555.
Your Child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood,
NICHOLAS SHETERDEN, being appointed to be slain."

The day after the condemnation of these godly men, which was the 26th of July, there were also condemned for the same articles, W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, and W. Stere of Ashford. But because the *execution* of these martyrs does not pertain to this month, more will be said of them, the Lord willing, when we come to the month of August.

In the same month followed the death and martyrdom of **Nicholas Hall**, and **Christopher Waid** of Dartford, who were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs specified earlier. And the sentence of condemnation was pronounced by Maurice the bishop against them, according to the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19th of July.

The Martyrdom of Margery Polley and others.

With Hall and Waid, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, the aforenamed bishop. Their names were **Joan Beach**, widow; **John Harpol** of Rochester; and **Margery Polley**. Here follows the account of the examination and condemnation of Margery Polley.

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Margery Polley, widow, was accused and brought before Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of June. The bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair, in a high swelling style to dash the poor woman, began with these words:

"We, Maurice, bishop of Rochester by the sufferance of God, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy against you, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepingbery, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, lay and object against you all and singular of these ensuing articles. To which, and to every parcel of them, we require from you a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of your oath thereupon to be given," etc.

Thus the oath being administered, and the articles commenced against her — which were the same articles that were ministered to others before — she so framed her answers, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For which the sentence was read against her about the beginning of June. But because her death did not follow in the same month, we will defer treating it to the due place and time.

The Martyrdom of Christopher Waid.

Christopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, he was carried out of the town early in the morning in a cart, with a stake and many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimth, into a gravel pit — the common place of the execution of felons. A load of broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood was also brought there. The people of the country resorted to this place in great numbers, and there they awaited his coming. About ten o'clock, the sheriff, with a number of other gentlemen who were appointed to assist him, came riding to the place. And with them Waid, at whose side was riding, pinioned, Margery Policy of Tunbridge; they were both singing a psalm. Margery, as soon as she saw afar off the multitude gathered about the place where Waid was to suffer, said to him very loud and cheeifully, "You may rejoice, Waid, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day." And so passing by the place, they were carried to the town, where Margery was kept until the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. Waid was being made ready, and stripped of his clothes in an inn. He had brought to him a long white shirt from his wife, which he put on. He was then pinioned, and led to the Brimth. Coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embraced it, set his back to it, and

stepped into a pitch-barrel. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples he made Waid fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus fixed, he repeated, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of the 86th Psalm, "Show me a token for good; that those who hate me may see it, and be ashamed; because you, Lord, have helped me, and comforted me." Near the stake was a little hill, and on top of it were erected four stayes, with a covering round about like a pulpit. Into this place, as Waid was thus praying at the stake, a friar entered with a book in his hand. When Waid saw him, he cried earnestly to the people, to beware the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days. But the sheriff interrupted him, saying, "Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently." "I am," he said. "I thank God, quiet, master sheriff, and so I trust to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered something. But Waid very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine. When the friar perceived this, whether he was amazed, or could gain no audience from the people, he immediately withdrew out of the place without speaking a word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being placed about him, Waid pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making an opening about his face, so that his voice might be heard. Then the fire being put to him, he cried to God often, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul," without any token or sign of impatience in the fire — till at length, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was not heard to speak, but continued to hold up his hands over his head towards heaven.

The burning of Dirick Carver and John Launder.

On the 22nd of July, one Dirick Carver was burned at Lewes, in the county of Sussex,; and on the next day another man named John Launder was also burned, at Stening. These two men, with others, had been apprehended near the end of October 1554, while they were at prayer in the dwelling-house of Dirick; and they were sent up to the queen's council. After examination, they were sent as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, bishop of London. They were brought out by the keeper of the prison on the 8th of June, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London. And there being examined upon many points of religion, they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. These being read, the bishop objected to them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer to them. They confessed these articles to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, it was demanded of them whether they would stand to their answers. Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory of St. Paul's, on the 10th of the month.

The Confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner.

> "Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmston, in the county of Sussex, where he has dwelt for eight or nine years; born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke, forty years of age or thereabout, and now prisoner in Newgate, where he has remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallows day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, says that he has and does believe that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"Also, being examined concerning the mass in Latin, now used in the popish church of England, he believes that there is no sacrifice in the mass, and that there is no salvation in it for a Christian man, unless it were said in the mother tongue, so that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he says and believes that they are not profitable to a Christian man.

"Also, being examined concerning auricular confession, he answers that he has and does believe that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is not at all profitable to a Christian man's salvation. And further, he says that he has not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the current queen.

"Also, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the said church of England, he answers and believes that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore, he says that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, who were recently burned, were good Christian men, and preached the true doctrine of Christ as he believes; and says that they shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he says and believes.

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"And further being examined, he says that since the queen's coronation, he has had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brighthelmston diverse times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate. But the keeper, hearing of this, took them away. He also says that about a twelvemonth past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers. And further, he says that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examinate in his house at Brighthelmston, as they were hearing the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallows day last past, and brought into the court. And being examined thereupon by the council, they were committed by them to prison in Newgate."

The Confession of John Launder, before Bonner.

"John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, twenty-five years of age, born at Godstone, being examined, does confess and say that about two days before Allhallows-eve last past, this examinate and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with twelve other persons (being altogether in their prayers, saying the service in English, set forth in the time of King Edward VI, in the house of the said Dirick, situated at Brighthelmston in Sussex) were apprehended by one Master Edward Gage, and sent by him up here to London, to the king and queen's council, and (upon his examination) committed to Newgate by them, where he, with his other said companions, has ever since remained in prison.

"And being further examined, he does confess and say that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmston was upon certain business to be done there for his father. And so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man who much favored the gospel, this examinate resorted to his house and company, whom before that time he never saw or knew, and because of that resort, he was apprehended as said before. Further, he does confess and believe that there is here on earth one whole and universal catholic church, of which the members are dispersed throughout the world, and he also believes that the same church sets forth and teaches only two sacraments: the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord. And whoever teaches or uses any more sacraments, or yet any more ceremonies, he does not believe that they are of the catholic church, but abhors them from the bottom of his heart. And he further says and believes that all the service, sacrifices, and

ceremonies now used in this realm of England (yes, and in all other parts of the world, which have been used in the same manner) are erroneous and naught,[34] and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, of which he believes that he himself is a member.

"Also, he does confess and believe that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance. But his belief and faith in this, is that when he receives the material bread and wine, he receives the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and so receiving it, he eats and drinks Christ's body and blood by faith, and in no other way, as he believes.

"And, moreover, he does confess, say, and believe that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere, in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it that is good and profitable. For he says that although the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass are of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used among other things that are naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things become naught also, as he believes.

"Also, he does believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature; but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person has any authority to absolve any man from his sins. And he also believes that (according to the Scriptures), the right and true way to arise to Christ again after a man has fallen from grace to sin, is to be sorry for his offenses, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, not to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All of his said opinions he has believed for these seven or eight years past, and in that time he has diverse and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he says," etc.

On the 10th of June these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper to the bishop's consistory, where the bishop, beginning with Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be read to him, asking him whether he would stand to them. Dirick answered, that he would: "For your doctrine," he said, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here, you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say that you can make a god; you can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church are beggary and poison. And further, I say that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and is very poison," with diverse other such words.

'The bishop, seeing his constancy, and that neither his usual flatteries nor his cruel threatenings could move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing (*i.e.*, his sentence of condemnation to be burned), both on Dirick Carver and John Launder, who remained in the same constancy. And therefore they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and afterwards conveyed to the places above-named, and there they most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who has assured them of a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed with temporal riches, as well as with his spiritual treasures. At his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them,

[34] *Naught*, or naughty: evil, immoral, wicked; also, empty and worthless.

and prayed to God, that of His mercy He would strengthen them in the faith. As he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the pitch-barrel; and when he had stripped himself as a joyful member of God, he went into the barrel himself. As soon as he came in, he took up the book and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw the book back in; and immediately Dirick spoke with a joyful voice, saying:

> "Dear brethren and sisters, I witness to you all, that I have come to seal with my blood, Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true. It is not unknown to all of you, that it has been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and that now it is not. And because I will not deny God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, unto everlasting life, see that you do the works pertaining to such belief. And as many of you as believe in the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you believe to your utter condemnation; and unless the great mercy of God prevents you, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Immediately the sheriff spoke to him, and said, "If you do not believe in the pope, you are damned body and soul." And further the sheriff said to him, "Speak to your God, that He may deliver you now, or else strike me down for an example to this people." But this faithful martyr said, "The Lord forgive you your sayings."

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And then he spoke again to all the people with a loud voice, saying, "Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lord's sake to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you who have offended me in thought, word, or deed." And he said further in his prayer, "Oh Lord, my God, you have written, 'He that loves father or mother more thin me is not worthy of me; and he that loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that does not take his cross and follow after me is not worthy of me.' (Mat 10.7-8) But you, Lord, know that I have forsaken all to come to you. Lord, have mercy upon me, for to you I commend my spirit, and my soul rejoices in you." These were the last words of this faithful martyr of Christ, before the fire was put to him. After the fire came to him, he cried, "Oh Lord, have mercy upon me," and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and died.

An Account of Thomas Iveson.

At Chichester, about the same month, one Thomas Iveson of Godstone was burned in the county of Surrey. He was a carpenter, whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation I omit here, as it was at the same time and of the same form with Dirick Carver and John Launder; I refer the reader to their history.

Iveson being earnestly pressed to recant, said, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to it. And what I have said, I will say again. And if an angel came from heaven to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." This answer being thus made, he was condemned as a heretic, and was committed to the secular power, as they term it; at the place mentioned above, he was burned, persevering still in his constant faith to the end.

John Aleworth.

In the latter end of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being in bonds there for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel. Although the prelates (according to their usual solemnity) excluded him from Christian burial, yet we see no cause to exclude him from the number of Christ's holy martyrs and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbeys, a Martyr, for the true cause of Christ's Gospel.

Among many who labored in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbeys, a young man who, through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was forced to take part with his brethren in wandering and going from place to place to avoid the peril of arrest. But when the time came that the Lord had another work for him to do, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Doctor Hopton. Examining him about his religion, and charging James both with threats and fair speech, at last poor James yielded to their persuasions, even though his conscience did not consent.

When he was dismissed, and was about to go from the bishop, the bishop called him back and gave him a piece of money which, when James had received it, and departed from the bishop, his conscience inwardly began to accuse his act, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their persuasions. In this combat with himself, he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him the money which he had received from his hand, and said he repented that ever he gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and also that he gave his consent in taking his money.

Now, this being done, the bishop with his chaplains labored afresh to win him back, but in vain, for James Abbeys would not yield. Even though he had played Peter before through infirmity, yet he stood manfully in his master's cause to the end, and abode the trial of the fire, in consuming his body into ashes. This burning took place at Bury, on the 2nd of August 1555.

The Martyrdom of John Denley, Patrick Packingham, John Newman, et al.

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, there were many who, though they were not clergymen, yet they thought to aid this furious flame of persecution. Among them was one Edmund Tyrel. esq., at that time a justice of peace in the county of Essex. As Tyrel came from the burning of certain godly martyrs, he met with John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman, both of Maidstone in Kent, travelling on the way, and going to visit some of their godly friends. Upon suspicion, he apprehended and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, he sent them up to the queen's commissioners.

The following is from the confession of faith found on the person of John Denley:

> "The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament, is that the papists say that Christ is corporeally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say that Christ is not there, neither corporeally nor spiritually; but in those who worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is there spiritually, but not corporeally.
>
> "For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in those who worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporeally, he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
>
> "As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, my belief is this: that the bread and wine are appointed for a sacrament; and that after thanks are given to

God the Father, then it represents to me the very body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ; not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that in faith I see that blessed body of our Savior broken on the cross, and his precious blood plenteously shed for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us to himself, saying, 'Come to me all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' In faith I come to him, and I am refreshed. So that, I believe that all who come to the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offenses, intending earnestly to lead a godly life in this vale of misery, receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

"I understand spiritually that as the outward man eats the material bread which comforts the body, so the inward man, through faith, eats the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; this comforts our souls unto life everlasting, and thereby signifies that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and the fruit of his passion be distributed to as many as believed His words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, admonishes and puts us in remembrance of his death, and so it excites us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

"And thus we have Christ present there. In the inward eye and sight of our faith, we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

"JOHN DENLEY."

The commissioners receiving these prisoners, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them to Bishop Bonner to be handled according to his discretion. On the 28th of June he had Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, brought into his chamber within his palace, and there he examined them upon their confessions, also objecting to them certain other articles of his own.

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To which they all answered one thing, in effect, although Denley answered more largely than the others. The following were the articles objected. —

1. That he is of the diocese of London.

2. That he does not believe that there is any catholic church of Christ on earth.

3. That he does not believe that this church of England is any part of the catholic church.

4. That he believes that the mass is full of idolatry and evil, and plainly against God's word.

5. That he believes that auricular confession is not good, but contrary to God's word.

6. That he believes that the absolution given by the priest hearing confession is not good, nor allowable by God's word.

7. That he believes that christening children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it; likewise, confirming children, giving orders, saying matins and evensong, anointing or absolving sick persons, making holy bread, and holy water.

8. That he believes that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

9. That he believes that as Christ has ascended up into heaven; therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar,

10. (Objected only to one.) That you, Patrick Packingham, now being at least twenty-one years of age, being within the house of the bishop of London at St. Paul's, and brought by him to the great chapel to hear mass there, on the said 23rd of June in the year 1555, irreverently stood in the said chapel, having your cap on your head all the time of mass; and also refused to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread.

The Answer of John Denley and the others.

"To the first article, I answer it is very true.

"To the second article, I answer that it is not true; for I believe in the holy catholic church which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed throughout the world, which church preaches God's holy word truly, and also administers the two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to His blessed word.

"To the third article, I answer, that I do believe that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head of it. For it is plain that they have altered the Testament of God, and set up a Testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies. For Christ's Testament is that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appears when he taught them to pray, Matthew 6. And it also appears by St. Paul, 1Cor 14.3-4, 'But he who prophesies speaks edification, and exhortation, and comfort to men. He who speaks in an unknown tongue edifies himself; but he who prophesies edifies the church.'

"Also he says, 1Cor 14.9, 'So likewise you, unless you utter by the tongue words easy to understand, how will it be known what is spoken? For you will speak into the air,' that is to say, in vain. Also he says, verses 17-19. 'For truly you give thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all: yet in the church I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.'

"Also it is written in Psa 47.7, 'For God is the King of all the earth: sing praises with understanding,' etc. So it appears that this church of England, now used, is not built upon Christ, not if St. Paul's words are true and also the Psalms. Therefore this church is not built upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

"To the fourth article I answer and I believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and abominable idolatry, and blasphemy against God's holy word. For Christ in his holy supper instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he comes, and not to have them worshipped and made an idol of them. For God will not be worshipped in his creatures; but we ought to give him praise for his creatures which he has created for us. For he says in the second commandment, 'You shall not make for yourself any graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: You shall not bow down yourself to them, nor serve them.' (Exo 20.4-5) So it appears by this commandment, that we should not worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he says, 'No similitude.' Therefore, 'You shall not bow down yourself to them, nor serve them.' I pray you, what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, beating on the breast, putting off the cap, and curtseying, with other similar superstitions? You would make men so blind as to believe that this is not worshipping.

"Perhaps you will object and say, you do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words are true, as undoubtedly they are. For he says in Heb 10.12-13, 'But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, forever sat down at the right hand of God; from then on expecting till his enemies are made his footstool.'

"Also in Heb 9.24, 'For Christ has not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.' Also, Phi 3.20, 'For our citizenship is in heaven; from which we also look for the Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.' 1The 1.9-10, 'For they themselves show of us what manner of entry we had to you; and how you turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, who delivered us from the wrath to come.' Also Joh 16.28, 'I came forth from the Father, and have come into the world:' again, 'I leave the world, and go to the Father.' Joh 17.11, 'And now I am no longer in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to You.' All these places of the Scriptures, with others, prove plainly to those who have ears to hear, that Christ's body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, etc.

"To this fifth article, I answer that I do believe that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. As to my sins, in which I have offended God, I must seek Him for remission of them; for our Savior Christ says (Mat 11.28), 'Come to me, all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' The prodigal son (Luk 15.18-19), says, 'I will arise, and go to my father, and will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before you, and I am no longer worthy to be called your son. Make me like one of your hired servants.' Psa 32.5, 'I acknowledged my sin to you, and my iniquity I have not hidden. I said I will confess my transgressions to the Lord; and you forgave the iniquity of my sin.' Job 13.15-16, 'But I will maintain my own ways before him. He also shall be my salvation. For a hypocrite shall not come before him.' Wisdom 34.4 (Ecclesiasticus) says, 'Who can be cleansed of the unclean?' And there was but one of the ten lepers who were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks; he asked about the other nine. Luk 17.12-17 But if I have offended my *neighbor*, I must reconcile myself to my neighbor. Mat 5.23-24 And if I am a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation. Mat 18.16-17

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"And the minister of the congregation has power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as a heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but till such time as I openly in the congregation acknowledge my fault. Then the minister has power by the word to preach to me or to them, the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the 13th of the Acts of the Apostles, and in Mat 18.17. I know of no other confession.

"To the sixth article I have answered in the fifth.

"To the seventh article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed. For John the Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it appears when Christ requested to be baptized by him, and others also who came to John to be baptized, as it appears Mat 3.5-6; 3.13; Mar 1.5-9; and Luk 3.7, 21. In Act 8.36, the eunuch said, 'See, here is water; what keeps me from being baptized?' It appears here that Philip had preached to him; for he said, 'Here is *water*.' We do not read that he asked for any cream or oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor chrism, nor salt — for it seems that Philip had preached no such things to him. For he might have asked for them as well as for water; and the water was not conjured, but even as it

was before. Also Act 10.46-47, 'Then Peter answered, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit as well as we?' Act 16.32-33, Paul and Silas 'Spoke to him' (the Philippian jailer) 'the word of the Lord, and to all whose who were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes, and he was baptized, he and all his, immediately.' There you see nothing but preaching the word, and the water. The like is also said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

"To the eighth article I answer in brief, that there are no more than two sacraments; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, unless you would make the rainbow a sacrament. For there is no sacrament that does not have a promise annexed to it.

"To the ninth article I answer you, that you have my mind already written. For it was found about me when I was taken; and you also know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence. For Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And just as the words which Christ spoke are true indeed, so they must also be understood by other places of the Scriptures, which Christ spoke himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, etc.

"By me, JOHN DENLEY."

On the first of July, the above three prisoners were brought into the consistory in St. Paul's church, where the bishop proceeded against them in the usual forma. And then he tempted them, sometimes with fair promises, other times with threatenings, which were always his chief arguments and reasons to persuade with. In the end, seeing their immoveable constancy, on the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and gave them to the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners. They kept them until by writ they were commanded to send them to their several places of suffering. John Denley was sent to Uxbridge where, on the 8th of August, he was burned. When set in the fire, and the flames were about him, he sang a psalm with a joyful heart.

Then Doctor Story, who was present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, upon which, being hurt upon the face so that he bled, he ceased his singing, and clapped both his hands on his face. 'Truly,' said Doctor Story to the one who hurled the faggot, 'you have spoiled a good old song.'

Shortly, however, Denley put his hands abroad, and sang again, at last yielding his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

Not long after the martyrdom of John Denley at Uxbridge, **Patrick Packingham** also suffered at Uxbridge, about the 28th of August. This Packingham was charged by Bonner (as you heard in the tenth article earlier), for the behavior he showed in the bishop's chapel. He would not take off his cap at the time of mass; this was taken for a heinous offense. Packingham, much entreated by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that he believed the popish church was no catholic church, but it was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, etc.

John Newman was burned on the 31st of August, at Saffron Walden, in the county of Essex. His and confession of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly persecuted and burnt, was written by himself. It follows here. First, we will give his answer in writing to the suffragan after his apprehension, as follows:

"It may please you to understand that for all the time of King Edward's reign we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended to all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us

by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation, nor corporeal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed by us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer to God, that we might never be deceived — but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts to it; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed what they preached with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends; nor could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we learned, that the king's grace and his council, and most of the realm believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach such doctrine to us, as was agreeable to the authority of God's word, and no other. And by their diligent setting forth of it by the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as infallible truth, taught to us for seven years. Therefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot take it with the safeguard of our consciences, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful highness, nor yet her most honorable council, will in a matter of faith, use compulsion or violence. Because faith is the gift of God, and does not come from man, nor by man's laws, nor at such time as men require it, but at such time as God gives it."

The Examination and Answers of John Newman, before Doctor Thornton and others.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench — either the archdeacon, or Fawcet, or some other (John Newman does not give his name) — began asking in this way:

Doctor. — "What do you say to this: 'This is my body which is given for you?"

Newman. — "It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ says, 'I am a vine. I am a door, I am a stone,' etc. Is he therefore a material stone, vine, or door?"

Doctor. — "This is no figurative speech. For he says, 'This is my body, which is given for you,' and he does not say so of the stone, vine, or door; *that* is a figurative speech."

Newman. — "Christ says, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood.' If you will have it meant literally, then let them take and eat the cup." _

Doctor. — "No, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves: We say to our friend, drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman. — "If you will have the one understood literally, then you must understand the other literally."

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Doctor. — "No, it is a common use of speech, to say drink a cup of ale or beer. And therefore it is not figurative speech."

Newman. — "The often use of a thing does not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wherever one thing is spoken, and another is meant, it is figurative speech."

Doctor. — "Well, we will not keep to this. What do you say about the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman. — "No, I do not believe so, neither can I believe so; for the soul of man does not feed upon natural things as the body does."

Doctor. — "Why, how then does it feed?"

Newman. — “I think the soul of man feeds like the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delight that they have in God: and so the soul of man feeds and eats, through faith, the body of Christ.”

Collins. — “Yes, but if the body does not feed on natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must feed upon natural things, so that both may live together.

Newman. — “I grant it to be true; yet the soul lives otherwise than the body, which perishes: therefore natural things feed the body only. I pray you, what did Judas receive at the supper?”

Collins. — “Judas received the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

Newman. — Why! was the devil entered into him before? Then he did not have the devil and Christ in him at one time.

Collins. — “No, the devil entered into him afterward.”

Newman. — Yes, and before too: what do you think? Did he have but one devil? No, I think he rather had a legion of devils at the latter end. ‘

Collins. — “Well, suppose it is so: what do you say to that?”

Newman. — “If Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did the two agree together?”

Collins. — “We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, unless it pleases Christ.”

Newman. — “Christ will not be in an unclean person who has the devil.”

Thornton. — “Why, will you not believe that Christ was in hell? And you will grant that the devil is there; and so he might be in Judas, if it pleased him.”

Newman. — “Christ would not permit Mary Maglalen to touch him, who sought him at his grave, and loved him entirely; much less will he permit an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.”

Thornton. — “Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he pleases, and be where will. And does the Psalm not say, He is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt his being there?”

Newman. — “Though his *godhead* is in all places, that is not sufficient to prove that his *humanity* is in all places.”

Thornton. — “No! Do you not believe that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?

Newman. — “I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he chooses to do.”

Thornton. — “No, but if he is omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do.”

Newman. — “I know God is Almighty, and can do all that he chooses: but he cannot make his Son a liar; he cannot deny himself.”

Thornton. — “What is that to your purpose?”

Newman. — “Will you have the *humanity* of Christ in all places, as the *deity* is?”

Thornton. — “Yes, he is in all places as the deity is. If it pleases him.”

Newman. — “That seems to me a very great heresy, or heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, here as in every place. And yet you say that wherever the deity is, there the humanity is also; and so you will make him no body but a fantastical body, and not a real body.”

Thornton. — “No, we do not say he is in all places as the deity is, but if it please him he may be in all places with the deity.”

Newman. — “That seems to me as great a heresy as I ever heard, and I dare not grant it lest I deny Christ to be a true man, and that would be against all the Scriptures.”

Thornton. — “Tush, why should we keep reasoning with him? I dare say that he does not believe that Christ was born of his mother. Do you believe that Christ rose from the dead, and came through the stone?”

Newman. — “I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, nor does the Scripture so say.”

Thornton. — “Look, what are you saying? He does not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he does not believe this, how will he believe the other? If he could believe this, it would be easy for him to believe the other.”

Newman. — “The Scripture does not say that he went through the stone, but it says the angel of God came down, and rolled away the stone; and for fear of him, the keepers shook and became like dead men.”

Thornton. — “Ah fool, fool; that was because the woman would see that he had risen again from death.”

Newman. — “Well, the Scripture makes as much for me, as it does for you, and more too.”

Thornton. — “Well, let us not keep any longer about this. Back again to the real presence. What do you say, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or not?”

Newman. — “I have answered you already.”

Thornton. — “Well, do you not believe that it is there really?”

Newman. — “No, I do not believe it.”

Thornton. — “Well, will you stand to that? “

Newman. — “I must stand to it, till I am persuaded by a further truth.”

Thornton. — “No, you will not be persuaded, but you stand to your own opinion.”

Newman. — “No, I do not stand to my own opinion, I take God to witness, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that all those who stand here can witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures. And I take God to witness, that I do nothing from presumption, but what I do is only my conscience,. And if there is a further truth than I see, unless it appears a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and does not come of man — for it is not you who can give me faith — I therefore trust you will bear further with me, seeing it must be wrought by God. And when it pleases God to open a further truth to me, I will receive it with all my heart, and embrace it.”

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Richard Hook, about the same time, and for the same matter, gave up his life at Chichester.

The Examinations, Answers, and Condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Stere, before the Bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Mention was made in the histories of John Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish men who, being with them at the same time, were called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover, and by Harpsfield, Fawcet. and Collins. Yet, because their condemnation and execution was deferred till August, we will now briefly give some part of their examinations and answers, as we find them in the registers. The names of these were Coker, Hopper, Laurence, Collier, Wright, and Stere. You heard before what articles were objected to Master Bland and the others. They answered for themselves severally, and with great firmness.

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William Coker being offered a respite of six days, refused to take it; and so sentence of condemnation was read against him on the 11th of July.

William Hopper at first seemed to yield to the solicitation of the popish church, but afterwards expressed his determination to abide by the truth, and was condemned on the 16th of July.

Henry Lawrence answered boldly, denying auricular confession, and said that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament of the popish church, because the order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament.

Concerning the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said he was a door, adding that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and not a remembrance of Christ's passion. At last, being required to subscribe to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations: "You are all of antichrist, and him you fol — " Here his hand was stopped, or he would have written out "follow," etc. Sentence was given against him on the 2nd of August.

Richard Collier replied by saying, that he did not believe that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise, etc. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he was condemned on the 16th of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm. Therefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying he was out of his senses.

Richard Wright being required by the judge to say what he believed about the real presence in the sacrament, answered that as to the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he did not allow it, as it was used in the church of Rome. the sentence was also read against him on the 16th of August.

William Stere, being required to answer to the charges laid to him by the judge, declared that Dover had no authority to sit against him in judgment, alleging that the bishop of Canterbury (who was then in prison) was his diocesan.

The judge, speaking of the sacrament of the altar with reverence, and taking off his cap, Stere said that he did not need to reverence that matter so highly. And thus the sentence was pronounced against him. After sentence was read, he said that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that was ever invented, etc.

And thus these six godly martyrs and witnesses to the truth being condemned by the suffragan and archdeacon of Canterbury, Collins, and Fawcet were all burned together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes, but in one fire, about the latter part of August.

The Persecution of Ten Other True Saints

After this follows the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord. These are not such saints as the pope makes, or are mentioned in "The Legend of the Saints," or in "The Lives of the Fathers," or in other such fabulous books; but such saints as are spoken of in the book of Revelation (Rev 7.14) of whom it is written: "These are those who follow the Lamb wherever he goes, and who have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," etc. Thus these saints are not of the pope's making — or rather to say the truth, they *are* of the pope's making — of the pope's making, I say, in this respect: not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the pope. For just as Job's patience was proved by the inflictions of Satan, and God's power was declared by Pharaoh, so in like manner, if good men had not been destroyed by antichrist, they would not have been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these were —

> Elizabeth Warne, George Tankervil, Robert Smith. Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hall, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be full with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make dispatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten to be sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be examined, and at once rid out of the way.

We will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, the wife of John Warne who was burned, as recorded before. Elizabeth had been apprehended among others, on the 1st of January, in a house in Bow church-yard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer. She was carried to the Compter, where she lay as prisoner until the 11th of June. She was then brought to Newgate, and remained there till the 2nd of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners to Bonner, bishop of London, who on the 6th of that month had her brought before him into his palace, with others, such as Robert Smith, George Tankervil, etc. There he examined her upon such articles as were administered to the poor saints and martyrs of God.

The chief objection that he used both towards her and most of the others, touched the real and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and foundation for their dignity. He objected many other matters against them, such as not coming to the church; speaking against the mass; despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with other foolish and trifling toys not worth mentioning.

In the end, when she had been brought before him and his adherents several times, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said: "Do what you will. For if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon this answer she was adjudged and condemned as a

heretic on the 12th of July, and so delivered to the secular power, as they term it, to be put to death by them, which was accomplished in August, at Stratford-le-Bow, near London.

George Tankervil, of London, was born in the city of York, and in King Edward's days, was a papist till the time Queen Mary came to the throne. And then, perceiving the great cruelty of the pope's side, was brought to doubt their doings, and began to abhor them in his heart. As concerning the mass, he had but a doubtful opinion of it before, and much striving with himself. At length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open the truth to him, so that he might be thoroughly persuaded whether it was of God or not. If not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it. According to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard it, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor it. And so he was moved to read the Testament by which, as was said, the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and to utterly detest all papistry. And so he no longer came to their practices; and not only that, but also this lively faith enkindled such a flame in him, that it would not be kept in, but uttered itself, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to be converted and turn to the truth with him. And thus he began to be suspected among them, till at last he was sent for.

Tankervil being brought to prison, underwent the usual examination before Bonner. He answered unhesitatingly to the articles, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, etc.; that he had not confessed to any priest for five years past, nor to any other, but only to God, because that he did not find it in Christ's book.

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Concerning the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar here in England, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ, because the body has ascended into heaven, and there He sits at the right hand of God the Father. Moreover, he said that the mass now used in the church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God. He also affirmed that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ: baptism and the supper of the Lord, etc. And he said he would stand to these assertions; and so he did to the end.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, first exhorting him with many words to revoke his professed opinion, which he called damnable and heretical, he resisted all persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form, "I will not," he said, "forsake my opinions, unless you, my lord, can refute them by the Scriptures. And I do not care for your divinity: for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." After many fair words of exhortation which Bonner used to convert, or rather pervert him, Tankervil boldly answered that, "The church of which the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church." And pointing to the bishop, he spoke to the people saying, "Good people beware of him, and such as he is, for these are the people who deceive you," etc. The bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power. And so this blessed servant of God was sent to St. Alban's. And there, with much patience and constancy, he ended his life on the 26th of August, for the defense of the truth.

On his way to St. Alban's, there was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner. Some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. There were, however, some who said it was a pity he stood in such opinions; and others, both old women and men, cried out against him. One

called him “heretic,” and said it was a pity that he lived. But George Tankervil spoke to them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and protesting to them his unspotted conscience, that God softened their hardened hearts, so that some of them departed with weeping eyes.

A certain schoolmaster also came to him, who communicated with him touching the sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion. But as he urged Tankervil with the authority of the doctors, wresting them according to his own will, so on the other side, Tankervil answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested according to the mind of any man, but being interpreted according to the will of the Lord Jesus, etc. As he would not allow such allegations as Tankervil brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors. so in reply Tankervil would not credit his doctrine to be true, unless he could confirm it by the Scriptures.

When the hour drew near when he was to suffer, Tankervil desired the wine-drawer to give him a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, so that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ’s death and passion, because he could not have it administered to him by others in such manner as Christ commanded. And then he kneeled down, making his confession to the Lord with all those who were in the chamber with him. After he had prayed earnestly to God, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus, out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, “O Lord, you know it, I do not do this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those who are your ministers; but only because I cannot have it administered according to your word,” etc. And when he had spoken these and similar words, he received it with thanksgiving.

He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had so; and then sitting on a form before the fire, he put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh persuaded him one way, and the Spirit another way.

The flesh said, O, you fool! will you burn and need not? The Spirit said. Do not be afraid, for this is nothing in respect to fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of your friends and acquaintances, who love you and will let you lack nothing. The Spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence exceeds all fleshly friends. The flesh said, Do not shorten your time, for you may live much longer, if you will. The Spirit said, This life is nothing to the life in heaven which lasts forever, etc. All this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman’s house at dinner, not far from the town, to which knights and many gentlemen out of the country also resorted, because his son was married that day. And until they returned from dinner, the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked to. George Tankervil all that time was kindly and lovingly treated by his host. Considering that his time was short, his saying was that, although the day was ever so long, yet at the last it rings to evening song.

About two o’clock, when the sheriffs had returned from dinner, they brought George Tankervil out of his inn to the place where he would suffer, which is called Romeland, a green place near to the west end of the Abby church. When he had come there, he kneeled down by the stake. After he ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

While the faggots were arranged about him, a priest came to him, to persuade him to believe in the sacrament of the altar, and then he would be saved. But George Tankervil cried out vehemently, and said, “I defy the whore of Babylon, I defy the whore of Babylon. Fie upon

that abominable idol; good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him!" And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, saying, "If he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him." There was a certain knight nearby who went to Tankervil and took him by the hand, and said, "Good brother, be strong in Christ." This he spoke softly; and Tankervil said, "O sir, I thank you, I am so, I thank God." Then fire was set to him, and he desired of the sheriff and all the people, that they would pray for him; most of them did so. And so embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it; and calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain, etc.

The Martyrdom of Robert Smith

Robert Smith was brought to Newgate on the 5th of November. He was tall and slender of stature, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which he practiced many times for his mind's sake rather than for any living or lucre. He was fervent in religion, once he had tasted the truth; he was much confirmed by the preaching and reading of one Master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon, at the coming of Queen Mary, he was deprived of his clerkship in Windsor college, by her visitors. And not long after, he was apprehended and brought to examination before Bonner, as follows here, written and testified with his own hand.

"About nine o'clock in the morning, I was brought to the bishop's house among the rest of my brethren. I was first of all brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as follows, after he had asked my name:

"Bonner. — 'How long is it since you were confessed to any priest?'

"Smith. — 'Never since I came to years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, nor commanded by God, to come show my faults to any of that sinful number whom you call priests.'

"Bonner. — 'You show yourself even at the first chop to be a rank heretic who, being weary of painting, have entered into divinity, and so fallen through your departing from your vocation, into heresy.'

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"Smith. — 'Although I have understanding in the occupation, yet I praise God I have had little need all my life to live by the same; but I have lived without the same in my own house as honestly in my vocation, as you have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than you ever used the pulpit.'

"Bonner. — 'How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion of the same?'

"Smith. — 'I never received the same since I arrived to years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; nor do I esteem the same in any point, because it does not have God's ordinance, either in name or in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God.'

"Bonner. — 'Do you not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?'

"Smith. — 'I showed you before it was none of God's ordinances, *as you use it*; then much less can it be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine appointed to that use. Yet, nevertheless, if you can prove it to be the body that you spoke of by the word, I will

believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol — not God, but contrary to God and his truth.'

"Bonner. — (After many raging words and vain objections, he said) 'There is no remedy but you must be burned.'

"Smith. — 'You shall do no more to me, than you have done to better men than either of us. But do not think to quench the Spirit of God, nor to make your matter good. For your sore is too well seen to be healed so secretly with blood. For even the children hold all your deeds in derision; so that although you patch up one place with authority, yet it will break out in forty places to your shame.'

"Bonner. — (After many railing sentences, throwing away the paper of my examination) 'Well, even now, by my pledge, even in good earnest, if you will go and be shriven (confessed by a priest), I will tear this paper in pieces.'

"Smith. — 'It would be too much to your shame to show it to men of discretion.'

"After this answer, I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined. Then being brought back up before Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon the following articles; —

"Bonner. — 'What do you say to the catholic church? Do you not confess there is one in earth?'

"Smith. — 'Yes, truly, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which as the apostle says, 'is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone.' This church, in all her words and works, maintains the word, and brings the same for her authority, and without it, it does nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am made a member by grace.'

"Bonner. — 'You will understand that I am bound, when my brother offends, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the church. Now if your church is the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before it?'

"Smith. — 'It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of men was so great against the church, they were obliged to congregate in houses and private places, as they now do; and yet they were nevertheless the church of God; and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may we not do likewise now-a-days?'

"Bonner. — 'Yes, their church was known full well. For St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, directing them to be punished and excommunicated, who had committed evil; by this we may well perceive it was a known church; but yours is not known.'

"Smith. — 'Then you could not persecute it as you do. But as you say, the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul. Even so, this church of God in England, whom you persecute, is both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, even though they do not know, nor will not know their truth nor conversation. You and your own sinful number have professed their truth, and maintained the same a long time.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, you say that the church of God was only at Corinth when St. Paul wrote to them, and I will put it so in writing. Shall I?'

"Smith. — 'I marvel greatly, my lord, that you are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren in this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not

known. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. This is not the office of a bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.'

"Harpsfield. — 'Well, you are no innocent, as it appears.'

"Smith. — 'By the grace of God, I am what I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.'

"Bonner. — 'Well (laughing), tell me, what do you say of the church?'

"Smith. — 'I told you what the true church is built upon, and I affirm that in England there is the congregation of God, and also in all the earth. As it is written, 'Their sound has gone forth into all the earth;' and this is the afflicted and persecuted church which you do not cease to imprison, slay, and kill. In Corinth there was not the entire congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither St. Paul nor St. Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet they were of the church of God, as many thousands more who also communicate in that Holy Spirit.'

"Bonner. — 'What do you call *catholic*, and what do you call *church*?'

"Smith. — 'Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity.'

"Then after much similar vain talk, it was laid to my charge that my fellow and I spoke false things. For this I praised God, and was sent away.

"On Saturday I was brought to his chamber again, and there I was examined as follows:

"Bonner. — 'You, Robert Smith, etc., say, that there is no catholic church here on earth.'

"Smith. — 'You have both heard me speak and seen me write the contrary.'

"Bonner. — 'Yes, but I must ask you this question. What you say?'

"Smith. — 'If you will be answered, ask my articles that were written yesterday, and they will tell you that I have confessed a church of God on earth as well as in heaven, and yet it is all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, what do you say to auricular confession? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and will you not be absolved by the priest?'

"Smith. — 'It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it is needful for anything for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters are the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all that you maintain is but money matters.'

"Bonner. — 'Why, how are you able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Are you not ashamed to say so?'

"Smith. — 'I speak from experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of it. For first it has been, we see, a betrayer of kings' secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences. Being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, they have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their soul's health.'

"I began to say how when I was a child waiting on a gentlemen of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and gave to Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest for his part had a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him. When his brother heard this, he came down to London, and after a declaration was made to the council, how by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part, to the value of two

or three hundred pounds; but what he gave to the house could not be recovered. This tale I began to tell. But when my lord saw that it did not savor to his purpose, he began to revile me.

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"Bonner. — 'By the mass, if the queen's majesty were of my mind, you would not come to talk before any man, but would be put into a sack and a dog tied to it, and so be thrown into the water.

"Smith. — 'I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation; for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly.'

"Bonner. — 'What do you say to the seven sacraments? Do you not believe that they are God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of,' etc.

"Smith. — 'I believe that in God's church there are but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. As for the sacraments of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God's church has nothing to do with them, nor do I have anything to do to answer them, nor you to examine me about them.'

"Bonner. — 'Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?'

"Smith. — 'In hallowing your water; in conjuring it; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other foolish ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.'

"Bonner. — 'By the mass, this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard.'

Smith. — 'Well sworn, my lord.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, you catch me at my words, but I will watch you as well, I warrant you.'

"Mordant. — 'By my pledge, my lord, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disallows holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no Christian man will deny.'

"Smith. — 'It is a shameful blasphemy against Christ to use any mingle-mangle [35] in baptizing young infants.'

"Bonner. — 'I believe, I tell you, that if they die before they are baptized, they are damned.'

"Smith. — 'You will never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, show me, are we saved by water or by Christ?'

"Bonner. — 'By both.'

"Smith. — 'Then the water died for our sins! And so you must say that the water has life, and being our servant, and created for us, it is our savior! This, my lord, is a strange doctrine, is it not?'

"Mordant. — 'By our Lady, sir, I believe that if my child dies without water, he is damned.'

"Bonner. — 'Yes, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Master Mordant.'

[35] *Mingle-mangle*: A motley assortment of things.

“Smith. — ‘Such catholic! Such salvation!’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, sir, what do you say to the sacrament of orders?’

“Smith. — ‘You may call it the sacrament of *misorders*: for all orders are appointed by God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, poling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God’s word; and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my lord, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not disfigure yourself as you do.’

“Bonner. — ‘Do you say so? Now, by my faith, I will go shave myself to vex you.’

“And so Bonner sent for his barber, who immediately came; and before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went, to answer to these articles:

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?’

“Smith. — ‘I say, they are baubles for fools to play with, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse.’

“Then Master Mordant went away, and my lord went to shaving, leaving certain doctors there, as he called them, to try what they could do. I was baited by them for half an hour. I also asked this question of them: ‘Where were all you in the days of King Edward, that you did not speak that which you speak now?’

“Doctor. — ‘We were in England.’

“Smith. — ‘Yes, but then you had the faces of men; now you have put on lions’ faces. You have a vizor for every time; yes, and if another King Edward were to arise, you would then say, ‘Down with the pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels.’

“Then I was reviled, and sent away, and brought in again before these men; and one of them who baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession?

“Smith. — ‘Look in my articles, and they will show you what I allow.’

“Doctor. — ‘Your articles confess that you do not allow auricular confession.’

“Smith. — ‘I do not allow it, because the word does not allow it, nor command it.’

“Doctor. — ‘Why, it is written, you shall not hide your sins and offenses.’

“Smith. — ‘No more do I hide them when I confess them to Almighty God.’

“Doctor. — ‘Why, you cannot say that you can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to those who do not know them.’

“Smith. — ‘You have made a good answer. Then the priest must confess himself to me, as I do to him. For I know his faults and secrets no more than he knows mine. But if you confess to the priest, and not to God, you will have the reward which Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet he went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them.’

“Bonner. — (Returning.) — ‘How does it stand, master doctors, have you done any good?’

“Doctor. — ‘No, by my faith, my lord, we can do no good.’

“Smith. — ‘Then it is fulfilled which is written, ‘How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?’ ‘

“Bonner. — ‘No, naughty fellow, I set these gentlemen to bring you home to Christ.’

“Smith. — ‘Such gentlemen! Such Christs! As truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly they teach Christ.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, will you neither hear them nor me?’

“Smith. — ‘Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you shall be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if you will not turn.’

“Smith. — ‘And you shall burn in hell, if you do not repent. But my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you. I perceive you will not come to me, with your doctors, and I am determined not to come to you, by God’s grace. For I have hardened my face against you, as hard as brass.’

“Then after many railing sentences I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of my answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it, so that you may see how the Lord has, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not being heard.

“On the 12th of July I was, with my brethren, brought into the consistory, and my articles read before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants.

“Bonner. — ‘By my faith, my lord mayor, I have shown him as much favor as any man living could do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company.’

“Smith. — ‘My lord, it is written, ‘Swear not at all.’

“Bonner. — ‘Ah, have you come? By my pledge, master speaker, we will preach at a stake.’

“Smith. — ‘Well sworn, my lord.’

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“Bonner. — ‘Well, I am no saint.’

“Smith. — ‘No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, says St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated to God. And are you not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you are faultless.’

“Smith. — ‘My lord mayor, I request you in God’s name, that I may have justice. We are here today, a great number of innocent men, who are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I request of you, if you will not seem to be partial, to let me have no more favor at your hands than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, who being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This I request at your hands, who being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right which the heathen have allowed. If you do, then all this audience, yea, and the heathen will speak shame of your fact. ‘For a city,’ says our Savior, ‘that is built on a hill cannot be hidden.’ If they, therefore, have the truth, let it come to light. For all who do well come to the light, and those who do evil hate the light.’

“Then my lord mayor hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I would preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried out with the bishop, ‘Away with him!’

“Thus I came before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none. At length, my friends requesting the same with one voice, and could not have it, we had the sentence read.

Then being carried out, we were brought in again, and had it read for every man severally. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my brother Tankervil, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To this I answered, 'My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood. But if you were a true bishop, you would leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, that my chancellor should instruct him here, but he has disdained it. What do you say, will you have him instruct you, and lead you in the right way? You cannot say that I have not offered you fair, to have instruction. And now, I pray you, call me bloody bishop, and say, I seek your blood, if you will.'

"Smith. — 'Well, my lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation report the truth of your act, yet these stones shall cry out, rather than that it be hidden.'

"Bonner. — 'Away with him! Away with him!'

"Woodrofe. — 'Away with him! Take him away!'

"Smith. — 'Well, good friends, you have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it has not been granted; rather, we are condemned, and our cause is not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, because here you have exercised God's sword without cause, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who shall judge all men according to right, before whom we shall both stand without authority. And there I will stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, unless you repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it is His will.'

"Then, with the rest of my brethren, I was carried away to Newgate.

"Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the truth of my unjust condemnation for the truth, requesting God that it may not be laid to the charge of you, O England. Requiring your hearty prayers to God for his grace and spirit of boldness; with hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the 8th of August, by God's grace. Pray that it may be to His honor, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you.

"ROBERT SMITH."

Thus, good reader, you have not only to note, but also to follow in this man. a singular example of Christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly stood in the defense of his Master's cause. And as you see him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so he was no less comfortable in the prison among his fellows; which is also to be observed in his other fellow-prisoners. Being there together, they had godly conference with themselves, with daily praying and reading, which they all engaged in to their great comfort; among whom Robert Smith was the chief doer. This said man was always solicitous, not only for those of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners whom he did not cease to exhort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted to his religion. He wrote several letters while in prison to sundry of his friends, the following is one of them:

A Godly Letter of Robert Smith, Martyr.

"To all who love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his gospel, and to persevere in his truth to the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Do not be afraid, most dearly beloved in our Savior Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, in which, by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness has broken loose, and rages in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist. Against him, see that you are strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatever will be laid to your charge for the truth's sake, knowing that you are called to this, not only to believe in [Christ], but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are you who, in the sight of God, are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet yourselves therefore, oh! my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom you suffer. For to you remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye has seen, nor the ear has heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any way. Do not be afraid of bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets record that precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Watch therefore, and pray that you are not prevented in the day of temptation. Now comes the day of your trial, from which the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now it will appear whether you have built upon the fleeting sand, or upon the immovable Rock, Christ, which is the foundation of the apostles and prophets; on which every house that is built, grows into a holy temple in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit. Now approaches the day of your battle, in which it is required that you show yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armor of God, that you may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your captain, and you are his soldiers, whose cognizance is the cross, to which he willingly humbled himself even unto death, and thereby spoiled his enemies. And now he triumphs over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for those who here remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body. It behooves, therefore, everyone who will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as you have him for an example. And I assure you that He being on your side, nothing will be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you, even to the world's end, you have his promise in Matthew 28. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man who sits on the white horse, crowned with immortality; and you, brethren, are his fellowship, of which he is the head. He has your heart in his hand, as a bow bent according to his godly will. He will direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful and will not permit you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the utmost danger he will make a way, that you may be able to bear it.

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"Do not shrink back, therefore, dear hearts, when you are called to answer for the hope that is in you; for we have the comforter, even the Spirit of truth who was sent from the heavens to teach us. He shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us. Who is he then that will be able to confound us? No indeed, what tyrant is there who now boasts of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell fire? Yes, suddenly the Lord will bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord who made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defense. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the counsels of the ungodly to naught. He shall take them in their own net. He shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner they shall know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. However craftily they work, however strongly they build; yet their rabble shall fall down, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God. The just shall see this and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord,

who has dealt so marvellously with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then the fearful seed of Cain shall tremble and quake. Then the mocking Ishmaelites shall be cast out of the door. Then the proud Nimrod shall see his labor lost. Then the beast of Babylon shall be trodden underfoot. Then the scribes and Pharisees shall fret and rage from madness. Then their painted wisdom shall be known as extreme folly. Then the bloody dragon shall be void of his prey. Then the whore of Babylon shall receive double vengeance. Then they will scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot whom they now serve for filthy lucre — when no man will buy their wares any more. Then the popish priesthood shall cry away with care, even when the Lord will help his servants. This day is not far off, the day in which the kingdom of antichrist will have an end, and never rise any more. In the meantime, abide in certain and sure hope, clinging to the promises of God, which shall be fulfilled in their own time.

"Acquit yourselves like men against the enemies of God in all humbleness of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one only Savior Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus, once offered for all and for ever. He now sits at the right hand of God, and from there he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day. And until that time, that blessed body occupies no other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be enclosed in, except in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from there till the last day. And as he never ceases to be man, so he never loses the similitude of man. His body there has his lineaments; he does not leave them. So his body there has his highness, and does not shrink, and he does not alter his manly shape at anytime. He is, in what he took from the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions except sin.

"And what he took of his blessed mother, by the working of the Holy Spirit, he took it forever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There the two were united together by the Holy Spirit, never to be divided asunder. He retains the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin's womb, being an incidental to his manhood, and join to the same a wafer-cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven a true man, the one and only Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, it is He that is the propitiation for our sins. Be bold, therefore, to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favor, mercy, and forgiveness comes only by him. He alone of God the Father, was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given to us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men. They are gifts, I say, freely given to us of favor, without our desert — by believing, and not by deserving. To this the law and the prophets bear witness.

"All the blessed martyrs of Christ's church have witnessed with their blood that this doctrine is true. The consciences of all true believers have subscribed to this truth ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel can you then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man who gives his life for the truth, takes the readiest way to life. He that has the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what will now hinder you, but that you go forward as you have begun? No, rather run with the runners, so that you may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way; do not look back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and so run, that you may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly wealth, and worldly respects, such as the favor of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honor, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the

love of your own selves. And in respect to that heavenly treasure you look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused by you, so that in no condition will they abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case, take no account of them, but rather repute them as vile in comparison to everlasting life. Away with them, as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel where they are suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Does he not gain, who finds heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Does that man lose anything, who is forsaken by his carnal father and mother, when he is therefore received by God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, mortal for immortal; transitory things for permanent, is great gains to a Christian conscience.

"Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Do not shrink back, my brethren; do not mistrust God; be of good comfort; rejoice in the Lord; hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow Him who is your captain, and has gone before. If you suffer with him, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle it will be to the world to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments at the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?

"Be strong, therefore, in your battle. The Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you are none but the enemies of the cross of Christ, such as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the malignant congregation, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil has been from the beginning.

"To conclude, they are such as the Lord God has always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hidden, knows what they are. He that searches the hearts of men, has revealed them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison — proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless. And therefore the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apostles, calls them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine, beasts.

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"Thereby he teaches us to understand what their natural inclination is; to deceive, poison, and destroy the faithful and elect of God, as much as it lies in them to do so. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, who have conspired against him. He has numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his fatherly will. He keeps the sparrows; much more will he preserve those whom He has purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them until the hour appointed, in which the name of God shall be glorified in his saints. In the meantime, let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme, let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn. For by these means, God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by these fruits, they shall also bring themselves to be known what they are, for all their sheep's skins. For as the one who, in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist.

"Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a means to sooner provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy those who so tyrannously treat his people. We may learn this by

the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, and also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon. Where and when the people of God were in the most extreme thralldom, then the Lord stretched forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffers [his enemies] to be exalted in their own pride, yet they shall not escape his vengeance. They are his rods; and when he has worn them to the stumps, then he will cast them into the fire. This shall be their final reward. Our duty, in the meanwhile, is to patiently abide the will of God, which works all things for the best.

"Thus he deals with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed to the great slander of his gospel — whereby the name of God was evilly spoken of among his enemies. For this He now punishes us with his fatherly correction in this world, so that we might not be damned with the world. By this means he seeks his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way he seeks to reform us, that we may be like him according to the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, His godly wisdom uses this way to make us know him thereby, and ourselves in him, who previously had in a manner forgotten him, praised be His name therefore. And as for those Balaamites who now molest us, commit them to the hands of God. Give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate. For He is in heaven, and does not sleep, who keeps Israel. He is in heaven, who made the seas calm when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry to the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come to him, we will find him turned to us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then he will take away the plague that he has devised against us.

"Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be His. Then we will not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, who with their pretended holiness deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify to their ambitious prelacy, and to erect their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's highness to espy what they are, and to so weed them out, that they no longer are suffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poison the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's highness and this her church and realm, from these proud prelates who are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of rabbits.

"To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word, which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work always so that you may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose you are both body and soul. See that you love, serve, dread, and obey Him above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Do not dissemble with his word; God will not be mocked. Indeed, those who dissemble with him, deceive themselves. Such the Lord shall deny, and cast out at the last day. Such, I say, who bear two faces in one hood; such who deny the known truth; such who obstinately rebel against Him — all such, with their partakers, the Lord shall destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned into joy."

"ROBERT SMITH."

This valiant and constant martyr of Christ, Robert Smith, was condemned at London by Bishop Bonner, on the 12th of July, and suffered at Uxbridge, on the 8th of August. As he had been an instrument of God before, to comfort all those who were in prison with him, so now at the stake he no less comforted the people standing about him, desiring them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to

life. And, he said, I do not doubt that God will show you some token of this. At length, being nearly half burned, and black with the fire, all men thinking him dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping them together, he declared a rejoicing heart to them. And so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, he slept in the Lord, and ended his mortal life.

The Martyrdom of Other Saints about this time

About this time, Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust were also burned. Their death took place about the same time as Robert Smith and George Tankeril; they were also examined and openly condemned together with them. Because the process was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and the others, I thought it superfluous to repeat it. They were condemned together by Bishop Bonner as heretics, for their faithful perseverance in the truth, and were sentenced to be burned, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, which occurred in the month of August 1555.

Of the same company as the ten recorded above, who were sent up to Bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, was William Hale of Thorp, in the county of Essex. Being examined with the rest, on the 12th of July he received sentence of condemnation. He gave this exhortation to the onlookers: "Ah I good people," he said, "beware of this idolater, and this antichrist," pointing to the bishop of London. He was delivered to the sheriffs as a heretic to be burned, and sent to Barnet, where he most constantly sealed his faith in the midst of the fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

Of the ten persons sent to Bonner, six were executed in several places, as has been shown. Three others, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into houses within the city of London, and died there. Their bodies were cast out into the fields, and buried by night by the faithful brethren, when none in the day dared to do it. The last that remained of this company was Joan Laysh or Layshford. But as she was reprieved to another time, we will defer her history and martyrdom till the month of January in the following year.

[811] A D. 1555.

William Andrew.

The like popish charity was also shown to William Andrew of Horsley, in the county of Essex, a carpenter. He was brought to Newgate on the 1st of April 1555. Being twice brought before Bonner for examination, he manfully stood in the defense of his religion. At length, through too severe treatment in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life, which his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so, in the popish manner, his body was cast out into the fields, and was secretly buried at night by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Preacher.

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock, in the county of Suffolk, and a little distance from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and its professors, not only did not cease day or night to study how to bring those into captivity who were inclined to religion; but also whoever they were who, once coming into his power, did not escape without clog of conscience, or loss of life, so greedy was he for blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Robert Samuel. In King Edward's days, he was a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and constant behavior in his sermons, seems worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge.

At last, being removed from the ministry, and put out of his benefice (as many other good pastors were), when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, he yet would not give up his care that he had for his flock. He would teach them secretly and by stealth, when he could not do so openly. When order was given by the queen, that all priests who had married in King Edward's days should put their wives from them, and be compelled to return to their celibacy and single life, Samuel would not submit to this decree, for he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable. But determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife at Ipswich, and gave diligence in the meantime to instruct others who were about him. At last Master Foster having intelligence of this, slackened no time or diligence, but soon sent his spies abroad, laying in wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any 'time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

Accordingly, when those who sought to betray him, spied him at home with his wife, they immediately flocked about his house, and beset it with a great company, and took him in the night. They dared not do it in the day-time, for fear of trouble and tumult; even though good Samuel did not withstand them, but meekly yielded himself into their hands of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after, he was carried to Norwich where Bishop Hopton exercised great cruelty against him. Indeed, I never yet heard of any who so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this Hopton did.

The bishop, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might prevail with Samuel, kept him in a very close prison at his first coming. There he was chained bolt upright to a great post, so that standing only on tiptoe, he was thereby obliged to hold up the whole weight of his body. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain which he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without food and drink, by which he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst — save that every day he was allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, so that he might be reserved for further torment, rather than to preserve his life. O, worthy constancy of the martyr! O, pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O, the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose heart — even if it had been made of adamant stone — would not have relented at the intolerable vexations and extreme pains above nature?

At last Samuel was brought out to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison to those pains that he had undergone in prison.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, a certain maiden came to him, who took him about the neck and kissed him. Being marked by those who were present, she was sought for the next day to be taken to prison and burned, as the party herself informed me. However, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But though this maiden, called Rose Nottingham, was preserved by the providence of God, there were two other women who fell into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife; the other was a shoemaker's wife; but both together were now espoused to a new husband, even Christ.

Rose Nottingham was very familiar and well acquainted with these two. One time, giving counsel to one of them, that she should convey herself away while she still had time and space (seeing that she could not escape the queen's unjust proceedings), received this answer from her: — "I know well that it is lawful enough to fly away, which remedy you may

use if you like. But my case stands otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have some young children at home. And then, I do not know how my husband, being a worldly man, will take my departure from him. Therefore, I am minded for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly women, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and taken to prison. As they were somewhat tender, both by sex and nature, so they were at first less able to endure the prison — especially the brewer's wife, who was cast into shockingly great agonies and trouble of mind. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity. At length they both suffered after Samuel, February 19, 1556, as will be declared later.

A Letter or Exhortation to the patient suffering of Afflictions for Christ's Cause, by Robert Samuel.

"A man does not know his time. But as the fish is taken with the hook, and as the birds are caught with the snare, even so men are caught and taken in the perilous time when it comes upon them. The time comes; the day draws near, Ezekiel 7. It would be better to die (as the preacher says) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun — such sudden and strange mutation, such woeful, heinous, and lamentable divisions approach so fast; and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord; they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and have gone backward. Who does not now live in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean past? Who now does not blind and buffet Christ, who sees me, and does not see me? Luk 22.64 Indeed, who does not now live in such felicity, worldly pleasures, and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesenes, we are now more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messiah, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and the disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than we are of a legion of devils, seducing and driving us to vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world, and away from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his holy word, the power to save our souls.

"Oh! perilous abundance of goods, too much abundance of foods, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, with so many souls! Jeroboam, so long as he was but a poor man, and not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God without reprehension. But once he was brought to wealth and a prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater.

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"And what made the covetous young man so loath to follow Christ when he was bid to forsake the worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be to these false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path to the Lord, into the highways of confusion and perpetual perdition.

"Dear Christians, we might now worthily, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance. Yes I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that God has in all ages reserved a remnant, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world, exercised, whetted, and polished with diverse afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and

dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth. And yet they will in no way halt between God and Baal. For God truly abhors two men in one. He cannot [ignore] those who are between both, but He casts them away as a filthy thing. Christ will not divide the spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all. He will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, while he stands contented with the heart and mind: 'For you are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are his,' as St. Paul says, 1Cor 6.20. For he has made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter says, 'Who himself bore our sins in his own body on the tree, so that we, being dead to sins, might live unto righteousness — by whose stripes you were healed.' (1Pet 2.24)

"Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss do you sustain by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Savior, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions, utterly to destroy you both bodies and souls? Do you think you to be more sure than under your captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be quieter in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Do you more esteem these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God and all his heavenly treasures? Oh, palpable darkness! horrible madness! and willful blindness! without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yes, we smart and will not feel — and our conscience well knows that. Oh, miserable and brainless souls! who would for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he has prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth. And the devil, who is their God and prince of this world, keeps their wealth which is proper for them, and lets them enjoy it. But let us who are of Christ, seek and inquire after heavenly things which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, will be peculiar to us. I say, let the Cretians, Epicures, and other such earthly Belials and carnal people, pass for things that are pleasant for the body, and pertain to this transitory life. Yet once will they (as the kingly prophet says) run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect, but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

"Let us, therefore, pass for those things that pertain to the Spirit, and are celestial. Here we must not be (says St. Paul) as inhibiters and home dwellers, but as strangers; not as strangers only, but according to the mind of St. Paul, as painful soldiers appointed by our King to fight against the ruler of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things. The time has come; we must get to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Did they not first begin with the green and sappy tree? And what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremiah 25.29, speaking in the person of God, says, "Behold, I begin to bring evil on the city which is called by my name:' but as for you (meaning the wicked) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? No, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved for them in the end. But God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us, like Hezekiah, play the men, and not shrink back. Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord our helper is with us, and fights for us. 'The Lord is (he says) with you, when you are with Him; and when you seek Him, he will be found by you. And again, when you forsake him, he will forsake you.' (2Chr 15.2)

"Therefore we should not be dismayed, nor discourage ourselves, but rather be of good comfort; not be sad but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will grant to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, to His glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this habitation of ours (says St. Paul, meaning the body) is destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, with such joys as faith does not take, hope does not touch, and charity does not apprehend. They surpass all desires and wishes. They may be gotten by Christ; they cannot be

esteemed. Therefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God brings, the more felicity and greater joy abides in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure for themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn to their own trouble, and at last, to horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries — and *after* this life, if they do not repent, to their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they would rather, with Nabal and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with Christ and his bodily troubles, ascend to the kingdom of God his Father. But an unwise man (says the Psalmist) does not comprehend them, nor does the foolish understand them: that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But to this end they so flourish: that they might be cut down, and cast into the fire forever. For as Job says, 'Their joy lasts but for a moment,' and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as the flock does upon the pasture; yes, the cruel worm, late repentance (as St. Mark says), shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

"Let us, therefore (good Christians), be constant in obeying God rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (indeed, rather our deadly enemies) for God's truth, they cannot do it except by God's sufferance and good will, to His praise and honor, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the Gospel will preach it with more fruit and greater furtherance than our mouths, lives, and writings did, as the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others did. So what if they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, those who sit in the chair of perverse and pestilent scorners? To them, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone; whereas, now having fallen, they have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon themselves.

"These are the days of vengeance, says St. Luke, so that all things written may be fulfilled. And surely it will be no less than a huge storm of evils that come upon us, because a long and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us has gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of Hosts who, so many times and in so many ways, has been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience, and long suffering, to relent. And we have nevertheless despised the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's majesty to anger. "Now, therefore, says God, by the mouth of his prophet, 'I will come to you, and I will send my wrath upon you' — upon *you*, I say, O England, and punish you according to your ways, and reward you according to all your abominations.

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"You have kindled the fire of God's wrath, and stirred up the coals. For you were once enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly gift, and become partaker of the Holy Spirit, and had tasted of the good word of God. Indeed, it is still in your mouth, says the prophet. Alas, O England, you knew your Lord and Master's will, but did not obey it. 'You must, therefore,' he says, 'suffer many stripes,' and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of your own fire, and on the coals that you have kindled. This comes to you from my hand, says the Lord; namely, 'That you shall sleep in sorrow,' yes, even so you shall. The plain truth tells the tale; the immutable justice of the everlasting God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirms the same. The joy of our heart, says Jeremiah, has gone, our glory has fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas! alas! that ever we sinned so sorely. Woe to all abominations and wickedness; woe to cloaked hypocrisy; woe to our carnal liberty; woe to our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, says the Lord, you shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

"Therefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all plagues, and be entirely without hope of God's accounting day, who do not

know God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and sole Savior, nor believe in him. They must, says St. John, abide and perish with their sins in death and in eternal damnation. But we are the children of saints, as the early Tobias answered, and look for another life, which God will give to all those who do not change their faith, nor shrink back from him. Rejoice, therefore, you Christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, we who are kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father. And if we abide fast in Christ, and do not turn away like weathercocks, surely we shall live forever. Christ affirms the same, saying, 'I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd gives his life for the sheep. I am the good shepherd, and I know my sheep, and am known by mine. As the Father knows me, even so I know the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep.' No, nor yet this flattering world, with all its vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and valiant boasts, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have that is more pleasant and effectual than this? God is on our side, and fights for us; he suffers, he smarts, and is afflicted with us. Just as the world can do nothing against his might, nor take away or diminish his glory, nor put him from his celestial throne; so it cannot harm nor hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

"Let us therefore, with an earnest faith, take fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be turned from it by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the truth of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us, his faithful soldiers, life eternal. It is he alone who has deserved it for us; it is his benefit alone, and of his mere mercy; and to him alone must we render thanks. Therefore, do not let not the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and the foolish baubles and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. Oh that happy and joyful last day! I mean to the *faithful*, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give to those who overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit with him, as he has ascended and sits on the throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now afflicted with Christ, shall then be glorified with Christ; now in the butchers' hands, as sheep appointed to die, but then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honorable and dear children. There we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, the enjoyment of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. Oh happy souls! Oh precious death, and evermore blessed, right dear in the eyes of God! To you the spring of the Lord shall be ever flourishing. 'Therefore,' as Isaiah says, 'the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion, and everlasting joy shall be upon their head: they shall obtain gladness and joy; and sorrow and mourning shall flee away.' Isa 51.11 Yes, I am He, says the Lord, who in all things gives you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory and praise forever, Amen. — ROBERT SAMUEL."

The Martyrdom of William Allen.

After the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, William Allen, a laboring man, was burned in Walsingham. Being brought before the bishop, and asked why he was imprisoned, he answered that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying that he would never go on a procession.

Then being commanded by the bishop to return to the catholic church, he answered that he would turn to the *catholic* church, but not to the *Romish* church. And he said that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For which the sentence of condemnation was given against him on the 12th of August, to be

burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September. He manifested such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices because of his upright and well-tried conversation among them, that he was allowed to go untied to his suffering. And there being fastened with a chain, he stood quietly without shrinking, until he died.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo.

Roger Coo, when brought before the bishop, was first asked why he was imprisoned.

Coo. — "At the justice's commandment."

Bishop. — "There was some reason why."

Coo. — "Here is my accuser, let him declare it." His accuser said that he would not receive the sacrament.

Bishop. — "Why will you not receive?"

Coo. — "Because the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the belief of the same."

The bishop asked him if he could state his belief? Coo answered, "Yes," and repeated part of the creed, and then said he believed more. For he believed the ten commandments, that it was appropriate for all those who look to be saved, to be obedient to them.

Bishop. — "Is the holy church not to be believed also?"

Coo. — "Yes, if it is built upon the word of God."

The bishop said to Coo, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo. — "Have you so, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what will become of me?"

Bishop. — "Do you not believe as your father did? Was he not an honest man?"

Coo. — "It is written, that after Christ has suffered, 'There would come a people with the prince, who shall destroy both city and sanctuary.' I pray you, show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the queen's laws.

Coo. — "As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them."

Bishop. — "Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, even if the king were an infidel."

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Coo. — "If Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego had done so, Nebuchadnezzar would not have confessed the living God."

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, was at length committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A.D. 1555.

Thomas Cob, Martyr.

Over and besides these martyrs, Thomas Cob of Haverhill, a butcher, was also condemned, on the 12th of August in the same year. He was brought before and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich: first, whether he believed that Christ is really

and substantially in the sacrament of the altar. He answered that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise he would not answer, because he had read in the Scriptures that Christ ascended, and never descended since. And therefore he said that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament. Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, he answered that his body should be at the King and Queen's commandment so far as the law of God would allow, etc. He was burned in the town of Thetford, in September 1555.

The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

Having given an account of the martyrs in Norfolk and Suffolk, we return again to the diocese of Canterbury; and first we have to treat five worthy martyrs whose blood, in the same year and month of September, was shed for the true testimony of Christ, and his gospel's cause. The names of the five martyrs were these: — George Catmer, of Hythe; Robert Streater, of Hythe; Anthony Burward, of Calete; George Brodbridge, of Bromfield; and James Tutty, of Brenchley.

On the 3rd of August they were brought before Thornton, the bishop of Dover, and there they were jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, regarding the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, and other like articles.

To which Catmer (being first examined) gave an answer in this way: — "Christ," he said, "sits in heaven at the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar: but he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament as you use it, is an abominable idol."

Next to him Robert Streater was called forth, who also being asked whether he believed in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said that he did not so believe; for "You maintain heresy and idolatry," he said, "in that you teach people to worship a false God in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you who are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God."

The same objection was made against Anthony Burward, who also said, that "Their sacrament was made an idol."

After him George Brodbridge was demanded what he said to those articles. He answered that "He would not be confessed by a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins." And he further said that, "In the sacrament of the altar, there is not the real body of our Savior Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I utterly reject them."

And last of all, James Tutty made and confirmed their answers.

And therefore they all five were condemned to be burned as heretics, and so they were consumed in one fire at Canterbury, about the 6th of September.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, Martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemence of this terrible persecution in Queen Mary's days chiefly existed in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as has been partly declared already, yet notwithstanding, besides these we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm. And first to begin with the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, there we find two godly

men condemned and also burned about the middle of September at the town of Lichfield. Their names were Thomas Hayward, and John Goreway.

The Persecution of Robert Glover and John Glover. [36]

To this month of September also pertains the memorable martyrdom of Robert Glover, gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. I must intermix with his history some mention of his brother, John Glover. For this commission was chiefly sent down for John, and not for Robert Glover; although it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert was apprehended instead. I therefore thought to comprehend them both in one history, in describing some part of their virtuous lives.

To begin with, John, the eldest brother, being a gentleman and heir to his father, in the town of Manchester, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods. Yet he was much more enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues. This grace of God so worked in him, that he with his other brothers, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently followed the same in their living and conversation.

It so pleased God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that he did not suffer the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did. Even so, if we consider what this man felt and suffered inwardly in spirit and mind, he may well be counted with his brother Robert as a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom.

For as Robert was speedily dispatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time, so this no less blessed saint of God inwardly felt and sustained. What and how much more grievous these pangs were, and what sorrowful torments he felt in his spirit, no language is able to express. I remember that, when I was young, I was with him once or twice. I perceived, and by my own eyes I saw him so worn and consumed for five years, that he had no enjoyment of food, quiet of sleep, or pleasure of life. And yet the occasion was not of great moment. But then, we often see among holy and blessed men, that the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves.

The occasion of this was that, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind after that, falling a little to some of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, he began by and by to doubt himself. This was on account of the words written in the seventh chapter of the Hebrews; "For it is impossible that those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift," etc. Upon the consideration of these words, he fully persuaded himself that he had truly sinned against the Holy Spirit — even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost not have despaired more of his salvation. Here every good man may readily judge for himself, what terrors and convulsions filled his breast.

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I recount this about him, so that by his example we all may with him glorify the Son of God, who allows none to be tempted above their strength, but so tempers the asperity of evils, that what seems intolerable to us, he not only removes or so lightens that we may bear it,

[36] A detailed and interesting account of the sufferings of the martyrs Glover and Lewis, has been written by the Rev. Mr. Kitchin, incumbent of Manchester, to which the inquirer is referred, who desires more copious details. — Ed.

but also turns it to our further advantage, above what we can think. Such well-appeared in this good servant of God. Though for many years he suffered sharp temptations and buffetings of Satan, the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last rid him of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, that his conversation was in heaven. And being dead to this world in word and meditation, he led a life altogether heavenly, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Nor was his talk different from his life, never using any idle or vain language. Most of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the management of his servants and officers. By this, he might more quietly give himself to his godly study, as to a continual sabbath rest. This was about the end of King Henry VIII's reign, and it continued a great part of King Edward VI's time.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John, he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry, to apprehend him. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things according to his own secret pleasure. Seeing his old and trusty servant broken with many torments for so many years, He would in no way heap too many sorrows upon one poor sheep. Nor would He commit him to the flames of fire, who had already been scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan. God, therefore, of his divine providence, graciously provided that Robert, his brother, should sustain that conflict, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries (being a master of art in Cambridge).

As soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letter for the apprehending of John Glover, he immediately sent private word to John to convey himself away. With his brother William, he had no sooner departed out of his house, than in the sight of the sheriff, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's command.

But when John could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, sick of a severe disease. He was immediately brought before the sheriff. The sheriff would gladly have dismissed him, and he did what he could, saying that he was not the man for whom they were sent. Nevertheless, the officer, contending with him to have him held till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry Robert away against his will.

We will now give an account of the history of Robert Glover. As the whole narration, in his own handwriting, was sent to his wife, we will therefore provide his own letter as follows:

A Letter of Master Robert Glover to his Wife.

"To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

"The peace of conscience which passes all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Spirit, be continually increased in our heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Savior Jesus Christ. Amen.

"I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears, more than once or twice; with tears, I say, for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, a humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. When I read these in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

"These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and will be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, who set more by their own pleasure and money in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (it appears) the everlasting health of their own souls or others. My prayer will be, while I am in this world, that God, who of his great mercy has begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name, and by the mighty power and inspiration of his holy Spirit, so strengthen, establish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together show forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen.

"So long as God will lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul says, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he says also) if you have anything against any man, as Christ forgives us. And that we may be better willing to forgive, it is good to often call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins which Christ daily and hourly pardons and forgives us. And then we will, as St. Peter affirms, be ready to cover and hide the offenses of our brethren, however many they are. This is because God's word teaches us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do, or not to do, in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleases or displeases God; and because, as Christ says, 'The word that I have spoken, the same will judge him in the last day.' Let your prayer be to this end especially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits of it.

"And because it is, as the Holy Spirit calls it, the word of affliction — that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods — whatever seems pleasant in this world, as experience teaches you in this time, call upon God continually for his assistance always. As Christ teaches, cast (calculate) your accounts, what it is likely to cost you, endeavoring through the help of the Holy Spirit, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest will be able to overthrow or cast it down, Remember always Lot's wife, as Christ says; that is, beware of looking back to that thing that displeases God. And because nothing displeases God so much as idolatry, that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commands, do not look back, I say, nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous masses, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ. It is most manifest to all who have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remains nothing in the church of England at this present time, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord. All things are being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Spirit.

"They object that they are the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, 'The church of God knows and acknowledges no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom you have refused, and have instead chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, the enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.'

"Christ's church hears, teaches, and is ruled by his word. As he says, 'My sheep hear my voice.' 'If you abide in me, and my word abides in you, you are my disciples.' Their church rejects God's word, and forces all men to follow their traditions.

"Christ's church dares not add nor diminish, alter or change his blessed testament. But they are not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture says) with their own inventions; to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

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"The church of Christ is, has been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted, the world ever hating them, because they are not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill those who profess the true doctrine of Christ, however excellent they are in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues.

"Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge it by the same word, 'Search the Scriptures.' But this church takes away the word from the people, and allows neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

"The true church of God labors by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil. These, for the most part, give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, as St. Paul says, of which it is a shame to speak.

"By these, and similar manifest proofs, they declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It will be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God teaches to have been true members of the church of God, and it will work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them, therefore, to Nimrod, whom the Scripture calls a mighty hunter, or a stout champion; telling them that what they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church whether men will so or not. And I called them, with good conscience as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) stands by lying and murdering.

"Have no fellowship with them, therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrines and traditions, lest you be a partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of those who will tell you to bear with something of the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters. 'It is a fearful thing,' as St. Paul says, 'to fall into the hands of the living God.' Remember the words of the prophet Elijah, 'Why do you halt between two opinions?' Also what Christ says, 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' And seeing God has up to now allowed you as a good soldier in the front, do not play the coward, nor draw back to the rear. St. John numbers among those who will dwell in the fiery lake, those who are 'fearful' in God's cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of those who have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, such as Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, St. Stephen, St. Peter, St. Paul, and in your days, Ann Askew, Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. 'And in nothing be terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that is from God.' (Phi 1.28) Christ commanded the same, saying, 'Do not fear them.' Let us not follow the example of him who asked for time to first take leave of his friends. If we do so, we will find few of them who will encourage us to go forward in our business, however much it pleases God. We do not read that St. James and St. John, St. Andrew and St. Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasure. But the Scripture says, 'They forsook all, and followed Christ.' Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl which, whoever finds it, sells all that he has to buy it. Indeed, whoever has but a little taste or glimmering of how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods to obtain it. But most, now-a-days, are like Aesop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, rather wished to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant are they of how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they rather choose the things of this world, which being compared to it, are less in value than a barley-corn.

"If I would have given way to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, foregoing you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, still being of tender age, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and because of my sickness, fear of death in imprisonment before I might come to my answer, and so my death be unprofitable.

"But these, and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (who of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Spirit, for his Son's sake, my only Savior and Redeemer) did not prevail in me. But when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, by nature I was a little abashed. Yet before I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff, at his coming to me, 'What matter do you have, master sheriff, to charge me with?' He answered, 'You will know when you come before the masters.' And so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me with. But contrary to my expectation, I was immediately committed to the jail, not being called to give my answer, little justice being shown in this. But the less justice a man finds at their hands, the more consolation in conscience he will find from God; for whoever is of the world, the world will love him.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, musing much about the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself in this way: O Lord, who am I, on whom you should bestow this your great mercy, to be numbered among the saints who suffer for the gospel sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, inability, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high a promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness. I concluded thus with myself in my heart: 'O Lord, you show power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder you to choose where and whom you will? As I have zealously loved the confession of your word, so I ever thought myself to be most unworthy to be a partaker of the affliction for the same.'

"Not long after, W. Brasbridgc, C. Phineas, and N. Hopkins came to me, endeavoring to prevail with me to be dismissed upon bonds. My answer to them was (to my remembrance) in this sort: Because the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me with, if I were to enter into bonds, I would in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass *without* bonds, as *with* bonds.

"Secondly, if I will enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I will do nothing but excuse, color, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I broke my promise. I said to them, that I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

"And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing. And then I took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please Him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart, I thouglit, was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

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"Afterwards, debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head. I have from time to time, with good conscience (I take God to record) moved all those whom I had conference with to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to show themselves, after so great a

light and knowledge, to be hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give way one jot contrary to the same. Now, I thought, if I withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I will give great offense to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, he has been a great emboldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

"Therefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being as it were, marvellously called and appointed to this by the great goodness of God, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations. For up till then, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, and from the bottom of my heart, I had unfeignedly moved, exhorted and persuaded all who professed God's word, to manfully persist in the defense of the same — not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life — rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist. So the hour having come, with my act and example, I would ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers. And to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, to willingly sustain whatever the Romish antichrist might do against me. And this was rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and I considered that poor men's consciences would then be sharply assaulted. So I remained a prisoner in Coventry for ten or eleven days, never being called to answer the masters, contrary to the laws of the realms. For they had neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the summoner. Being examined, he denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, saying that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God, do not lay their extreme doings against me, to their charge at the great day!

"The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Master Warren came to the Guildhall, and commanded the chief jailer to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Master Warren's charge, the cruel seeking of my death. And when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so easily; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

"And so he departed from me, saying that I need not fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it is His will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination will find, I fear, too true (for their parts; that is, that all those who cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience' sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered, without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they will wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as did their right companion, the rich man) to be refreshed by those whom in this world they scorned, despised, and disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

"When I came before the bishop, in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself.

"I said to him, 'I have not come to accuse myself; what do you have to lay to my charge?'

"He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, 'Smally learned.'

"Master chancellor standing by, said I was a master of arts.

"Then my lord laid to my charge, my not coming to the church.

"Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, because I had not been in his diocese for a long season, nor were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against

me. Notwithstanding, I answered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come to their church as long as their mass was used there, to save, if I had them, five hundred lives. I desired him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defense of the mass.

"He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

"I was content, I told him, to learn from him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

"Bishop. — 'Who shall judge the word?'

"Glover. — 'Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was St. Paul; I think you should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had.' "

[Thus spoke Robert Glover, offering further, that he was content that the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge between the bishop and him. But the bishop also refused to be judged by that. Then he said he was his bishop, and therefore Glover must believe him.]

"Glover. — 'If you say black is white, my lord, must I also say as you say; and believe the same, because you say it is so?'

"The chancellor here said I was arrogant, because I would not give way to my bishop.

"Glover. — 'If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why do you find fault with the people who believed Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and the residue of those who were bishops?'

"Bishop. — 'Because they were heretics '

"Glover. — 'And may not you err, as well as they?'

"I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward VI's time?

"I desired him to show me where their church was in Elijah's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time.

"Bishop. — 'Elijah's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.'

"Glover. — 'You are not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that time.'

"My lord making no answer to that. Master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, comes in, taking it upon himself as though he would answer the text. But immediately my lord commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common jail, saying that he would at the end of his visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers desired him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleases you, I said to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common jail from where I came.

"On the Friday morning, being the next day, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow-prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure. These tidings at first somewhat discouraged me. fearing lest by means of my great sickness, and through extreme handling (which I looked for), I might have died in the prison before I would come to give my answer. But immediately I rebuked this infidelity in myself, with God's word. And by the same means, I corrected my own mistrust and fantasy in this manner: — 'What do I make of God? Is his power not as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Does his promise not extend to Lichfield as well as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk,

Daniel, Micah, and Jeremiah, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knows what things we need. He has numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow does not fall on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will He care for us if we are not faithless, whom he has made worthy to be witnesses of his truth.

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"So long as we put our trust in Him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor shall the devil himself, much less one of his ministers, be able to prevail against us.' With such meditations I grew cheerful, of good consolation and comfort. So that, hearing someone say that they could not provide enough horses for us, I said, 'Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they please, I am well content for my part.'

"Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, were appointed to convey us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man. We were commanded to mount on horseback about eleven or twelve o'clock on Friday, being market-day, so that we might be more gazed and wondered at. And to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they proclaimed a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and disannulling all such books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves till our supper-time. We stopped at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained in a friendly manner.

"Jephcot put me into a prison that night, where I continued till I was condemned. It was in a place next to the dungeon, in a narrow strong building, and very cold, with little light. I was allowed only a bundle of straw, instead of a bed, without a chair, form, or convenience. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been content to end my life: But Jephcot, and one Percy, the bishop's man, who for the most part was afterwards my continual keeper, came to me in the morning. I said to him, 'This is a great extremity; God send us patience;' and no more.

"Then they were content that I should have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help night nor day, nor the company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness — nor yet paper, pen, ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a prayer-book which I privately procured.

"Within two days, Master Chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me in my prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own, perhaps because I had laid to his charge at Coventry unjustly and wrongfully seeking my blood.

"A second time I answered Master Chancellor to his exhortation, that I did not refuse to be ruled by that church which was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

"He asked me how I knew the word of God, if not by the church.

"Glover. — 'The church shows what is the word of God; therefore the church is above the word of God? — 'This is not good reason in learning,' I said to Master Chancellor. 'For it is like this: John showed the people who was Christ; therefore John was above Christ. Or, I have a man who does not know the king, and I tell him who the king is — am I therefore above the king?'

"Master Chancellor said he did not come to reason with me, and so he departed. Thus I remained without any further conference with any man for eight [days], till the bishop's coming. All this time I gave myself continually to prayer and meditation of the merciful promises of God made to all, without exception of person, who call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit. And sometimes it was, as it

were, a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake. To him be all praise for ever and ever.

"The enemy did not cease to assault me many times in sundry ways, often objecting to my conscience my own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of those who might suffer for Christ, for his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this way: 'What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, such as Paul and Barnabas said, as subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections as other men? Act 14.15 Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest. As St. Paul says 'Who gave first to him?' And also speaking to every man, 'What do you have that you did not receive?' Likewise John, 'All have received of his fulness.' They were not bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They did not choose God first, but he chose them. They did not love God first, but he loved them first. Yes, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all those who call upon him. God is near, he is at hand, he is with all — with *all*, I say, and he refuses none, and excepts none who faithfully call upon him in true repentance, in whatever hour, whatever place, or whatever time it may be. It is not arrogance or presumption in any man, to burden God, as it were, with his promise, and out of duty to claim and challenge His aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon Him not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whoever boldly approaches the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample, and larger manner, than he can well wish, or dare desire. His word cannot lie: 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear you, and you shall praise me.'

"I also answered the enemy in this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth. What then? Must I deny His word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What do I bring to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is a greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? As Christ himself bears witness, 'He that is ashamed of me or of my words, I will also be ashamed of him before my Father and all his angels.' I might also by like reason forbear to do any of God's commandments.

"When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray; therefore I will not pray. And so in like manner with all the commandments, I will not forbear swearing, stealing, or murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These are the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

"At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after my imprisonment, I was called to my lord in a chamber next to my prison,. Before him, when I came and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, unless it were an old priest, I was partly amazed. I lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

"My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment. I gave him no answer regarding that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued for so many years. 'As for our church,' as he called it, 'it was not known, until recently in king Edward's time.'

"'I profess myself to be a member of that church,' I said, 'that is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head cornerstone;' and so I alleged the place

of St. Paul to the Ephesians. 'And this church has been from the beginning,' I said, 'though it bears no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction — scorned, despised, and persecuted.' My lord on the other side, contended that they *were* the church.

"Glover. — 'So cried all the clergy against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, — The temple of the Lord!— the temple of the Lord!'

"And always when I was about to say anything, my lord cried, 'Hold your peace; I command you by the virtue of obedience to hold your peace,' calling me a proud, arrogant heretic.

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"I desired my lord to charge me with some specifics, and then to convince me with some Scriptures and good learning.

"Then my lord began to propose certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requesting that I might make my answer openly. He said that I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said I would be sent to prison again, and there have neither food nor drink till I answered him.

"Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

"The first question was this: 'How many sacraments has Christ instituted to be used in the church?'

"Glover, 'The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.'

"Bishop. — 'No more?'

"Glover. — 'To all those who declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ, to those, I grant, ministers have authority to pronounce the remission of sins by the power of God's word.'

"Interrupting me here, he would have me call this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although in so doing he did me wrong, for I did not call it a sacrament.

"He asked me further, whether I allowed their confession.' I answered, 'No.'

"Then he would know my mind as to what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

"I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament; because, I said, 'You have taken away the true institution, which when you restore it, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.'"

Thus much this worthy martyr of God left behind him in writing, by his own hand, concerning his treatment in prison, and also his contentions with the bishop and his chancellor. He had more examinations, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory when he was brought forth to be condemned. This he would also have left to us, if the hurry of his execution had permitted him to finish what he intended. But because the writ for his burning arrived from London, I could not obtain even the records of his last examinations, wherever they are.

Other Coventry and Lichfield Martyrs

Cornelius Bungey, Martyr.

In the same fire with Glover, Cornelius Bungey was also burned, a capper of Coventry.[37] He was condemned by Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The articles which were objected against him, in effect were as follows:

1. It was articled against him, that these years past, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he held, maintained, argued and taught, that the priest has no power on earth to absolve any sinner from his sins.

2. That sins are not washed away by baptism, because he said that the washing of the flesh purges the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

3. That there are two sacraments in the church, that is, baptism and the Lord's Supper.

4. That in the sacrament of the popish altar, there was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine remained there still, because St. Paul calls it bread and wine, etc.

5. That within the compass of the said years and time, he held, maintained, and defended, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, etc.

6. That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, etc.

7. That the premises are true, manifest and notorious, and that there has been and is a public voice and fame upon the same, as well in the places above recited, as in other quarters also about, etc.

Upon these articles, Radulph the bishop read the sentence, and so he committed Bungey to the secular power, after the condemnation of Master Robert Glover.

Thus Cornelius Bungey, falsely condemned by the bishop, suffered at the same stake with the Christian martyr, Master Robert Glover, at Coventry, about the 20th of September.

Account of John Glover and William Glover.

Now that we have given the history of Master Robert Glover, something may also be said of his other two brothers, John and William Glover. Although they were not called to finish their course by martyrdom in the fire, as the other did, yet for their constant profession of God's gospel to the end, they were cut off after their death, and cast out of the same church, just as the other was. I therefore thought them not unworthy to be associated in history, who were not divided in one cause, and in the same profession with him.

And first concerning John Glover, the eldest brother, it was described before, what agonies he sustained by the spiritual enemy. What his bodily enemies wrought against him, remains to be declared.

After the martyrdom of Robert Glover, John Glover, seeing his brother apprehended for him, had little joy in his life for the sorrow of heart with which he was oppressed. He would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not persuaded him otherwise. They showed him that in so doing he might entangle himself, but would do his brother no good. He endured great care and vexation; yet notwithstanding, he persevered till at length, about the latter part of the reign of Queen Mary, a new search was made for him.

[37] *Capper*: a person by trade who made hats, specifically woolen caps.

The sheriffs, with their under officers and servants, being sent to seek John Glover, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced, as he was in the chamber by himself, the officers burst into the house. Searching other rooms, they came to the chamber door where he, holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door. Among them, one of the officers, having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the door.

In the meantime, another came by (whose voice John heard and knew) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Upon which they went to search other corners of the house where they found Agnes Glover, his wife. She was taken to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop. At length, after much ado, she was constrained to give way to their tyranny. John Glover in the meantime, partly for care of his wife, partly through taking cold in the woods where he lay hidden, had an ague (shivering fever). Not long after he gave up his life, which the cruel papists had sought for so long.

Thus by the protection of Almighty God, John Glover was delivered and defended from the hand of his persecuting enemies all during the time of his life. Now what befell after his death both to him and William his brother, is not unworthy to be remembered. After he was dead, he was buried in the church-yard without priest or cleric. Six weeks later, Doctor Dracot, then chancellor, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was buried there. The parson answered that he was then sick, and did not know of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home and have the body of John Glover taken up, and cast over the wall into the highway. The parson replied that Glover had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled that none was able to abide the stench of him. "Well," Doctor Dracot said, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul. A twelve-month later, take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed) and cast them over the wall, so that carts and horses may tread upon them. And then I will come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried.'"

Similar usage was practiced by these children of the mother church, upon the body of William, the third brother, whom it had pleased Almighty God, to call out of this vale of misery, about the same season. The good-disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where William died, brought the body to the parish church, intending to have it buried there.

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But one Bernard, then curate of the church, to stop the burial, rode to the bishop, named Ralph Baine, to notify him of the matter, and to have his advice. The body in the meantime lay there a whole day. In the night, one Richard Maurice, a tailor, would have interred William. But then John Thorlyne, of Wem, came with others, who would not allow the body to be buried. They showed us the contrary examples of good Tobias. Tob 14.12 For just as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man [upholds] religion in not burying the dead. So that, after William had lain there two days and one night, Bernard, the curate, came with the bishop's letter. The contents of that letter, copied word for word, follows here:

> "Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead, in the parish of Wem, and this Glover has for all the time of my being in this country been known as a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a despiser of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and has separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and was never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did he call for his spiritual father, but died without all those rites belonging to a Christian man — I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that Glover should not be buried with a

Christian man's burial, but I also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, or speak to have him buried in holy ground. Rather, I charge and command the churchwardens of Wem especially, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending and rendering, and procuring that he be not buried either in the church, or within the limits of the church-yard. And likewise I charge those who brought the body to that place, to carry it away again, at their charge, as they will answer at their peril. At Ecclesch, this 6th of September, A.D. 1555.

"By your ordinary, RADULPH, COVENTRY and LICHFIELD."

It so fell out, that those who brought the corpse there, were at their own charges to carry it away again. But as the body was corrupted, and smelled so strongly that no man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there he was buried.

A similar example of charitable affection in these popish churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Edward Burton, Esq. In the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, he requested of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church (which was St. Chads, in Shrewsbury), but that no mass-monger should be present there. This being declared to the curate of that parish, named John Marshall, and the body being brought to the burial on the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate was offended. He said plainly that Burton might not be buried in the church there. One of his friends, named George Torpelley, replied, "God will judge you in the last day," etc. The priest said, "Whether God or devil judge, the body shall not come there." And so they buried Burton in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Haverford-west. Sir John Ygone was sheriff at the time, which seems to be about the latter year of King Henry VIII. Because his name was not mentioned before, I thought to notice him here, having it in hand to now speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. [38]

The Martyrdom of William Wolsey and Robert Pygot.

After the suffering of Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey at Coventry, next follows the condemnation of two other blessed martyrs, who were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor of Ely; Doctor Shaxton, his suffragan; Robert Steward, dean of Ely; and John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9, 1555. The names of these martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, both dwelling in the town of Wisbeach. William Wolsey was a constable in the town of Wells, and was brought to death there by Richard Everard, a justice, who had him post sureties upon his good behavior, until the next general sessions to be held within the Isle of Ely. Afterwards he was commanded to the jail.

In the Easter week following, Doctor Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Doctor Young, repaired to confer with him. They laid earnestly to his charge that he was outside of the catholic faith, desiring him to meddle no further with the Scriptures than it

[38] Coventry is in the West Midlands of England, about 19 miles from Birmingham in Warwickshire. Lichfield is a cathedral city located in Staffordshire, England, about 14 miles north of Birmingham.

became such a layman as he was. William Wolsey, standing still a great while, allowing them to say what they pleased, at last answered in this way:

"Good Doctor, what did our Savior Christ mean when he spoke these words, written in Matthew's gospel, chapter 23.13. 'Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for you neither go in yourselves, nor allow those who are entering to go in.'"

"'Yes," says Dr. Fuller, "you must understand, that Christ spoke to the scribes and Pharisees."

"No, Master Doctor," Wolsey said, "Christ spoke even to you, and your fellows present here, and to all others such as you."

"Away, Master Doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man."

"Yet," said Doctor Fuller, "I will leave you a book to read; I promise you of a learned man's doing, that is to say, of Doctor Watson's doing," who was then bishop of Lincoln. [39]

Wolsey, receiving the book, diligently read it over. In many places it manifestly appears contrary to the known truth of God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks after, Doctor Fuller resorted again to the prison to confer with Wolsey. He asked him how he liked the book. Wolsey answered and said: "Sir, I like the book not otherwise than I thought before I might find it." Whereupon the doctor took his book and departed home.

At night, when Doctor Fuller came to his chamber to look at it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book was marked with a pen by Wolsey. Seeing this, and being vexed, he said: "Oh, this is an obstinate heretic, and he has quite marred my book."

With the assizes held at Wisbeach drawing near, Doctor Fuller came back to Wolsey, and spoke to him in this manner: " You greatly trouble my conscience, for which I pray you depart, and rule your tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of you. And whenever you come to the church, if you are complained of, so far as I may, I promise you I will not hear of it."

"Master Doctor," said Wolsey; "I was brought here by a law, and by a law I will be delivered."

Then being brought to the sessions, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, where he and his friends thought he would have suffered, but it proved not to be so.

Then **Robert Pygot**, the painter, being at liberty, was exposed by some evil-disposed persons for not coming to the church.

Pygot, being called before the sessions, would not absent himself, but appeared before Sir Clement Hygham, judge, who said to him; "Ah! are you the holy father, the painter? Why did you not come to the church?" "Sir," said the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

"No, sir," said the judge. "This is no church, this is a hall." "Indeed sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall; but the one who is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God."

[39] Thomas Watson (1515-1584) served as Catholic Bishop of Lincoln from 1557 to 1559. This was *not* the Puritan preacher and author, also named Thomas Watson (c. 1620–1686).

"Ah, sirrah," [40] said the judge, "you are too highly learned for me to talk with. Therefore I will send you to those who are better learned than I." Straightway he commanded him to the jail, where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being ended, Wolsey and Pygot were carried back to prison at Ely, where they remained till the day of their death.

[821] A.D. 1555.

In the meantime, some of their neighbors came to see how they did.

There also came a chaplain of Bishop Goodrikes, a Frenchman, one Peter Valentius. He said to Wolsey and Pygot: "My brethren, according to my office I have come to talk with you, for I have been almoner [41] here these twenty years and more. Therefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I have come to talk with you. I promise you, not to pull you from your faith. But I both request and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word. And I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in this to the end. For I do not know myself, my brethren, how soon I will be at the same point that you are now." Thus, with many other similar words, he made an end, causing all who were present there to shed tears, contrary to the hope they all had in him, God be praised therefore.

Then, within a short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the 9th of October, before Doctor Fuller, then chancellor, with old Doctor Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in the articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. To which their answer was that the sacrament of the aitar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ was not really present in the said sacrament. And they said they would stick to this opinion, perfectly believing the same to be no heresy, but the very truth.

After the sentence of condemnation was read, and a sermon preached, Pygot and Wolsey were brought to the place of execution, and bound to the stake with a chaiu. Then Richard Collinson, a priest, said to Wolsey: "Brother Wolsey, the preacher has openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite outside of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you err in the holy Scripture. Therefore I beseech you for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you err or find fault."

Wolsey. — "I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I err in no part or point of God's book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in it, to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians to the end of the world. Whatever my adversaries report about me, God forgive them for it." With that, someone comes to the fire with a great sheet full of books to burn, that looked as if they had been New Testaments. "O," said Wolsey, "give me one of them." And Pygot desired another, both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying the 106th Psalm, desiring all the people to say Amen, and so they received the fire most thankfully.

[40] Sirrah: a contemptuous term of address to an inferior, often used in anger.

[41] *Almoner*: an official who collects and/or distributes charity or welfare to the poor.

Doctor Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer,
both Bishops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Christ,
with their doings, conferences, and sufferings described.

The History and Martyrdom of Nicholas Ridley

In the same year, month, and day on which the two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely (which was October 16th, A.D. 1555), the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church also followed at Oxford: Master Ridley, bishop of London, and Master Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester. Their famous doings and memorable learning, their incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, were joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can sufficiently witness. So there is no great need to pause at this time to set forth a full description, but only to briefly comprehend, in a few words, touching the order of their lives — so much as necessarily serves to the due instruction of the reader, and the use of this present history. We will first declare their beginning and bringing up; then their studies and acts in the university; also their preferments to higher dignity by their studies; and at last, their trouble and labor in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. To begin with the life of Doctor Ridley, his history here ensues.

Among many other worthy histories and notable acts of those who have been murdered and martyred for the true gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, I thought it good to leave the history and life of Doctor Ridley to perpetual memory. I beseech you, gentle reader, to peruse it with care, and study it well, to diligently consider and to deeply imprint it in your breast. See him to be a man endowed with such excellent qualities, so spiritually inspired and godly learned, and now doubtless written in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned among the glorious company of martyrs.

First, he was born in Northumberland, descending from a right worshipful stock. While a child, he learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from there to the university of Cambridge. There in a short time he became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university. At length he became head of Pembroke Hall, and was made doctor of divinity there. After this, departing from there, he travelled to Paris. At his return he was made chaplain to King Henry VIII, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and from there he transferred to the bishopric of London in King Edward's days.

In his calling and offices, he so labored and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never was child more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he was loved by his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in some one place or other, unless he was otherwise hindered. The people travelled to his sermons, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine which he not only preached, but exemplified by his life. He was as a lantern to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and holiness of life, that even his very enemies could not reprove him. [42]

Besides this, he was well learned, his memory was great, and of such reading, that he deserved to be compared to the best of our age, as his learned works, pithy sermons, and

[42] Note that Ridley had himself sought the death of anyone who opposed infant baptism — e.g., Joan of Kent, who was burned at the stake in 1550. Joan answered her accusers with this: "'Indeed,' she said, 'it is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It is not long ago since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread; and yet soon after, you yourselves came to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her." Beware excessive praise.

disputations in both the universities, and also his very adversaries can testify, all of whom will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, he was wise of counsel, deep of knowledge, and very judicious in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and to win them to the truth by gentleness. His gentle ordering and courteous handling of Doctor Heath, late archbishop of York, sufficiently declares this, being a prisoner with him in his house for one year in King Edward's time. In brief, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and spiritual a man, that England may justly lament the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus up to here concerning these *public* matters.

Now I will say something further of his *person* and condition. He was a right handsome man and well-proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancor from his heart, but straightway forgetting all injuries and offenses done against him. He was very kind and affectionate to his kinsfolk, and yet he did not bear with them in anything other than right would require. He always gave them for a general rule, even to his own brother and sister, that doing evil they should seek or look for nothing from his hand, but would be as strangers and aliens to him; and that those were his brother and sister, who lived honestly, and a godly life.

Using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, he was given to much prayer and contemplation. For every morning, as toon as his apparel was put on, he went to his bedchamber, and there upon his knees he prayed for half an hour. This being done, he went to his study, where he continued till ten o'clock.

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Then he came to "the common prayer," which was used daily in his house. The prayers being over, he went to dinner. There he used little talk, and even then it was sober, discreet and wise, and sometimes cheerful, as cause required.

That done, he returned to his study, and there generally continued until five o'clock, and then came to "common-prayer," as in the forenoon. This being finished, he went to supper, conducting himself there as at his dinner before. He would then return to his study, continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed. At his manor of Fulham, he daily read a lecture to his family, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles. And so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving a New Testament to every man who could read, being scrupulously careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Savior Jesus Christ.

It now remains that a word or two should be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London. I thought it proper to allude to this, for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as well as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition of Dr. Bonner. When Bishop Ridley was at his manor of Fulham, he always sent for Mrs. Bonner to come to dinner and supper. She dwelt in a house adjoining his, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister. She was always placed in the chair at the end of the table, being so gently treated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, never being displaced of her seat, even if the king's council had been present. When any of them were there, he said, "By your lordships' favor, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." Our readers are well

acquainted with how he was afterwards recompensed for this singular gentleness and kindness, at the hands of her son, Dr. Bonner.

Dr. Ridley was first called to the favoring of Christ and his gospel, by reading Bertram's book about the sacrament.[43] And he was not a little confirmed by his conference with Bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr. After the coming in of Queen Mary, Ridley was soon laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as sufficiently expressed before. First he was in the Tower, and then he was sent to Oxford with the archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer. There he was confined with them in the common jail. Afterwards he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his martyrdom. This was from the year 1554 till the 16th of October 1555.

Enough has been said in a former part of this book (p. 691 ff.), as to his disputations at Oxford, his determination at Cambridge; his labor in persuading and instructing the lady Mary before she was queen; and his reasons and conference had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board. Besides this, he had other conferences in prison, both with Doctor Cranmer and Master Latimer, as follows here:

A Conference between Ridley and Latimer in Prison, upon the Objection of Antonian, meaning by that name, some Popish Persecutor, such as Winchester. [44]

Ridley. — "In writing again, you have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words. Yet I am not so filled with it, that I do not thirst much more now than before, to drink more of the cup of yours, in which you mingle for me profitable instruction with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my heart. For surely, unless the Lord assists me with his gracious aid in the time of His service, I know I will play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly, my trust is in him, that in my infirmity he will prove himself strong, and make the coward in his cause, fight like a man.

"Sir, now I daily look for when Diotrephes with his warriors will assault me. Therefore I pray you, good father, for you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knows I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you think that these darts are cast at my head by some one of Diotrephes or Antonius' soldiers."

Objection.

"All men greatly marvel why you, after the liberty granted to you — more than the rest — do not go to mass, which is a thing, as you know, now much esteemed by all men, indeed by the queen herself."

Answer.

Ridley. — "Because no man who lays his hand on the plough, and looks back, is fit for the kingdom of God. And also for the self-same reason why St. Paul would not allow Titus to be circumcised, which is that the truth of the gospel might remain uncorrupt with us, Gal 2.1-5. Again, 'If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.' This is also

[43] The Book of Bertram the Priest, *Concerning the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament*, was written by Ratramnus, a Frankish monk of the monastery of Corbie. It was originally composed in Latin around the 9th century. The first English translation was completed in 1549.

[44] Ridley and Latimer use the pseudonyms Antonian and Diotrophes for their persecutors. They were working out how best to respond to expected objections made by their future inquisitors, regarding their beliefs. What follows is their preparation, their "legal briefs" for the trials that lay ahead.

another reason: lest I seem by outward act to allow the thing which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so prove a stumbling-block to the weak. But woe to him by whom offense comes. It would be better for him to have a mill-stone hung about his neck, and be cast into the midst of the sea."

Latimer. — "Unless the Lord helps me, you say. It is truth. 'For without me,' he says, 'you can do nothing,' much less suffer death by our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it follows, 'If you abide in me, and my word abides in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you.' What can be more comfortable? Sir, you answer so well yourself, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by laboring thus with me; you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me. He pretended as though he would be taught by me; he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you, therefore, most heartily. For, indeed, you minister armor to me, whereas before I was unarmed and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge."

Objection.

"What is it, then, that offends you so greatly in the mass, that you will not once grant either to hear it or see it? And from where does this new religion come upon you? Did you not used to say mass yourself in times past?"

Answer.

Ridley. — "I confess to you my fault, and ignorance; but know that I have done penance for these matters long ago, both at St. Paul's cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, [*i.e.*, he had openly confessed his former error, and renounced popery in the pulpit at Cambridge,] and I trust God has forgiven me my offense: for I did it from ignorance. But if you desire to know, and you will grant to hear what things offend me in the mass, I will recite to you those things which are most clear, and seem to most manifestly contend against God's word. And they are these: the strange tongue; the lack of showing the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing that it signifies; Christ's passion is injured, because this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins — to be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the mass."

Latimer. — "Better a few things well-pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much. You will prevail more with praying than with studying, though mixture is best, for so the one will alleviate the tediousness of the other.

[823] A.D. 1555.

"I do not intend to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given, for it will be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said when they have no more to say: We have a law, and by our law you ought to die. 'Be steadfast and unmovable,' says St. Paul: and again, 'Stand fast:' And how often this is repeated, 'If you abide,' 'if you abide,' etc. But we will be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not; so that a man needs much patience, having to deal with such men."

Objection.

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

Answer.

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

Latimer. — "I remember that Calvin begins to confute the interim in this way, with this saying of Hilary: 'The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair: but who doubts that Christ is the true and only peace of the church." I wish you had that little book. There you would see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requires unity, adds with it, 'according to Jesus Christ,' and no further. Diotrephes now of late ever harped upon unity, unity. 'Indeed, Sir,' I said, 'but in truth, *not* in popery. Better is diversity, than unity in popery.' I had nothing in reply but scornful taunts, with a commandment to the Tower."

Objection.

"But admit there is in the mass, that which perhaps might be amended, or at least made better. Indeed, seeing you will have it so, admit there is a fault. If you do not consent to it, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that the communion of sacraments does not defile a man, but the consent of deeds?"

Answer.

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

Latimer. — "The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore it is by no means to be borne with. So that, of necessity, mending it is to abolish it forever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the greatest papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they do not esteem, except for the gain that follows from it. For if the English communion, which was used of late, were as gainful to them as the mass had been previously, they would strive no more for their mass. From *there* grows the grief."

Objection.

"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity; without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter's ship. You know this saying well

enough: he shall not have God to be his father, who does not acknowledge the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church, says St. Augustine, however well spent the life, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."

Answer.

Ridley. — "The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth — *this* church I believe, according to the creed. *This* church I reverence, and honor in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon the whole Israel of God. The guide of this church is the Holy Spirit. The marks by which this church is known to me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: The sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem which consists of those who are born from above. *This* is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Outside of this church (I grant) there is no salvation. And I suppose the remainder of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. In times past, says Chrysostom, there were many ways to know the church of Christ — that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from the time that heresies took hold of the church, the true church is only known by the Scriptures. They have all things in *outward show*, which the true church has *in truth*. They have temples like ours. Therefore, only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church. As to what they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's *mystical body*. For we being many, are one bread and one body, in that we are all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass, the Lord's institution is not observed. For we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devours all, etc. So that, as the mass is used, it may seem a sacrament of *singularity*, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, by which they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of *unity*, in which our knitting together in one is represented."

Latimer. — "Indeed, what fellowship does Christ have with antichrist? Therefore, it is not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, says the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed; and another thing to counterfeit the church. Would to God that it were well known what is the forsaking of the church!

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In the king's days (who is dead) who was the church of England? The king and his favorers, or mass-mongers in corners? If it was the king and the favorers of his proceedings, the why are we not now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may we not as well be of the church, even if contrary to the queen's proceedings? Not all who are covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate yourself from those who are such, says St. Paul; from whom? The context answers the question: 'If any man teaches otherwise, and does not consent to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc., he is proud, knowing nothing,' etc. Weigh the whole text, so that you may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations. But why are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses,

‘Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:
Si Christum bene seis, satis est, si caetera nescis.’

That is, “This is to be ignorant: to know many things without Christ. If you know Christ well, you know enough, even if you know no more.’ Therefore St. Paul would know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified, etc. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they do not know Christ, because in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.”

Objection.

“That church which you have described to me is invisible, but Christ’s church is visible and known. For why else would Christ have said, ‘Tell it to the church?’ For he would have commanded in vain to go to the church, if a man cannot tell which it is.”

Answer.

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

Objection.

“The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world. This church is the great house of God, and in this house good men and evil are mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff. It is the net which gathers all kinds of fish. This church cannot err, because Christ has promised it his Spirit, which will lead it into all truth, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. He will be with it to the end of the world. Whatever it looses or hinds on earth, shall be ratified in heaven, etc. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for which St. Augustine says, he believes the gospel. But this universal church allows the mass, because the greater part of it allows it. Therefore, etc.”

Answer.

Ridley. — “I grant that the name of the church is taken in three different manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of those who profess the name of Christ, for which they are also named Christians. But as St. Paul says of the Jews, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, etc.; nor are all who are of Israel, counted the seed. Even so, not everyone who is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For if any man does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, stands only in living stones and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But because this church (which is the second meaning of the church) as regards the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and with the same outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken about *that* universal church (which St. Augustine calls the *mingled* church) which cannot truly be understood, except of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church, may well apply here.[45] Where there is attributed to the whole church, that

[45] The rule of Ticonius regarding the church is his second rule, which addresses the "twofold body of the Lord" or the "true and simulated body of the Lord. This rule emphasizes that the church, as the body of Christ, is a "mixed body" (corpus permixtum) composed of both righteous individuals and sinners. This directly challenged the Donatist belief that the true church could only contain the righteous and be visibly manifest in their own community. Ticonius argued

which cannot agree to the same, but only to one part of it, that part is either the multitude of good men, which is the true church indeed; or the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. There is also a third meaning of the church, though in that signification it is the most seldom mentioned in the Scriptures, yet in the world this church has borne the greatest sway: even the most famous assemblies of Christendom,.

"This distinction being presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a synecdoche, [46] to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood except of one part of it. But if any man will stiffly affirm that *universal* so pertains to the church, that whatever Christ has promised to "the church," it must be understood of *that* church, then I would gladly know from that man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and of Moses at such time as the people would have stoned him; of Elijah, of Jeremiah; in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius.

"It is worthy to be noted that Lyra [47] writes upon St. Matthew, 'The church does not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it is ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consists in those persons in whom there is true knowledge, and confession of the faith and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloss on the decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deed.' And St. Augustine says: 'Whoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it, which church Scripture points out without any doubtfulness.' All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read on this matter and such like, have come into the hands of those who will not let me have the least of all my written books. In this, I am forced to complain about them to God. For they spoil me of all my labors which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good. For the help of it, I used to mostly gather notes from my reading, and to so place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knows whether this is God's will, that I should thus be ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had in store (I thought), to the intent that now, destitute of that, I should from now on learn with St. Paul, to know only Christ and him crucified? The Lord grant me in this to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, etc., will make me ever forget that. Amen, Amen."

Latimer. — "I have no more to say in this matter, for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine, 'I would not believe the gospel,' etc., used to trouble many men.[48] As I remember, I have read it well qualified by Philip Melancthon; but my memory is altogether slippery. In effect, it is this: the church is not a judge, but a witness. There were in his time those who lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency.

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that the church, in the time before the End, necessarily comprises both the good and the bad. This principle profoundly influenced Augustine's ecclesiology.

[46] *Synecdoche*: a figure of speech in which one part stands for the whole; e.g. "counting heads."

[47] *Lyra*: Nicholas of Lyra, Franciscan monk (c. 1270-1349), theologian and bible commentator.

[48] Augustine said, "For my part, I would not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the catholic Church." This quote, from his work *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus*, reflects his view that the authority of the Church plays a crucial role in moving an individual to believe the Gospel.

"In his statement, according to the bare sound of the words, he might seem to those who do not grasp his meaning, that he preferred the church far above the gospel, and that the church has free authority over it; but that godly man never thought so.

"It would be a saying worthy to be brought against the Anabaptists, who think the open ministry is unnecessary, if they esteemed such testimonies at all. I would not hesitate to affirm that most of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not hesitate to affirm that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Spirit going before. For in the first, Christ rules; in the latter, the devil bears the swing. How then can anything be good that they go about? From the latter, our Six Articles will again come into the light, they themselves being very darkness.[49] But it is demanded whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen by men, or not? St. Paul says, 'The Lord knows those who are his.' What manner of speaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he does, who are his? Well, this is the text: 'The foundation of God stands sure, having this seal, the Lord knows those who are his; and let every man who names the name of Christ depart from iniquity.' Now how many are there of the whole popish church of England, who depart from iniquity? How many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy, how many of the rich men, or merchants, how many of the queen's councilors, indeed, how many of the whole realm? In how small a room then, I ask you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a well-grounded conceit of my own, as they say, when I began; but now it has fallen by the way."

Objection.

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

Answer.

Ridley. — "Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, I think thus: Whenever those who are chief in it, who rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ obeys, are the lively members of Christ, and walk according to the guidance and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church. And being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guidance of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council has at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, conducted in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions — *that* I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For just as there is no agreement between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial, so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God — such as God requires of his own, that is, worshipping in spirit and in truth — can never agree together. But you will say, where so great a company is gathered together, is it not credible that there will be two or three gathered in the name of Christ? I answer — if there are one hundred good, and two hundred bad (since the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices), what can the lesser number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, that oftentimes the *greater* part overcomes the *better*."

[49] "Six Articles" refers to the 1539 Act of Parliament affirming traditional Roman Catholic beliefs (see p. 569).

Latimer. — "Regarding general councils, at present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what you have seen and heard. The greater part in my time brought forth the Six Articles; for then the king would have it so, being seduced by certain men. Afterward, the greater part repelled the same, our good Josiah being willing to have it so. The same articles now again, alas! Another great, but worse part, has been restored. Oh! what an uncertainty is this? But man's proceedings are most commonly in this way, God be merciful to us! Who will deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore death is the best physician to the faithful, whom she together and at once delivers from all griefs. You must think this is written on this occasion, because you would need to have your paper blotted."

Objection.

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

Answer.

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

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Latimer. — "There is diversity between things pertaining to God or faith, and to political and civil matters. For in the first, we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they are well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to those who have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Nor are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the second, that is, in civil or political matters, the magistrates oftentimes tolerate a lesser evil, to avoid a greater, such as those who often have this saying in their mouths: 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And it is the property of a wise man, says someone, 'To dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.' In such sayings they betray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, and what is not. Therefore, man's laws — if it is but in this respect alone, that they are devised by men — are not able to bring anything to perfection, but are forced by necessity to allow many things that are out of order, and are sometimes compelled to wink at the worst things. Because of this, seeing that they do not know how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they ordain that the greater part of things will take place. You know what these kinds of sayings mean: 'I speak in the manner of men.' 'You walk in the manner of men.' 'All men are liars.' And that of St. Augustine, 'If you live after man's reason, you do not live after the will of God.'"

Objection.

"If you say that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, then how should we believe the catholic church? For councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church."

Answer.

Ridley. — "From *may* be, to *indeed* be, is not a good argument; but from *being*, to *may* be, no man doubts that it is a most sure argument. But now, it is manifest that councils have sometimes erred. How many councils were there in the eastern parts of the world, who condemned the Nicene council? And all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (they thought) *Homousians*. Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius — very well learned men and of a godly life — banished and condemned as infamous heretics, and that was by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves much dislike? But here, perhaps one man will say to me; 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, because they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather those notes I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which would serve this purpose. But now, seeing that I do not have them, I will recite only one place out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many:

> 'Who does not know,' he asks, 'that the holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves, who are gathered by provinces and countries, give way to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when (by some experience of things) either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hidden, is known?'

"Thus much out of St, Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian, upon a confessed matter. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I ask you, how is it that the book, which was called the *Bishops' Book*, made in the time of King Henry VIII,[50] of which the bishop of Winchester

[50] The Bishop's Book, formally titled *The Institution of a Christian Man*, was published in Sep. 1537. It was produced by a committee of 46 divines and bishops, led by Thomas Cranmer. It served as an official formulary for the reformed Church of England following its break from Rome. See p. 539 for more information.

(Gardiner) is thought to be either the first father, or the chief gatherer — how is it, I ask, that it sharply reproves the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome? And how is it that it was done with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that, in those days, our learned ancient father, and the bishops of England, did not hesitate to affirm that a general council might err.

"But I think I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, saying, 'What you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies, and conventicles of heretics.' I ask you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? 'Because,' he says, 'they decree heretical things, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion.' The cause is weighty for which they should of right be so called. But if it is so, that all councils ought to be despised which decree anything contrary to sound doctrine and the true word, which is according to godliness — because the mass that we had here of late, is openly against the word of God —it must therefore follow of necessity, that all those councils which have approved such masses, should of right be avoided and despised as conventicles and assemblies of men who stray from the truth.

"Another man alleges to me the authority of the bishop of Rome, without which, he says, the councils can neither be lawfully gathered, nor being gathered, determine anything concerning religion. But this objection is only grounded on the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy. We Englishmen have expelled and abjured this tyranny long ago, by the consent of the whole realm. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth *de utraque potestate* (that is, of both the powers) clearly shows. I grant that the Romish ambition has gone about to claim for itself and to usurp such a privilege from olden times. But the Council of Carthage, in the year 417, openly withstood it. And also the council at Milevia, in which St. Augustine was present, prohibited any appeals to be made to bishops beyond the sea."

Objection.

"St. Augustine says the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne with for the good. You will not say, I suppose, that in our congregations all are evil."

Answer.

Ridley. — "I say nothing of the goodness or wickedness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which utterly takes away and overthrows the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife will be broken down. Now, as to that place in St. Augustine's writings, forbearing with the evil for the good's sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer has expressed in other places. That is, if those evil men cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."

Objection.

"It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacks the example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act to which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are contrary? But as for this act of yours, in abstaining from the church because of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are clean contrary. Therefore, etc. the first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus: In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition; the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we do not read that the prophets made any schisms or divisions. And Christ himself frequented the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. St. Peter and St. John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; St Paul after the reading of the

law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. And further, no man can show that either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, refused to pray together with others, or to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' laws."

[827] A.D. 1555.

Answer.

Ridley. — "I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contains many true things, such as the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being frequented by Christ and his apostles — yet notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved. For you should have proved that in the temple, either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, had communion with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can nowhere be shown. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, nor to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, or to do all other things whatever, that may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in his epistle *ad Januarium*) although he grants that they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and the bondage of the same, yet he calls them *burdens of the law*, which were delivered to them in the word of God — not *the presumption of men*. Notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, these might in a way be borne with. But now, seeing that they are contrary to those things which are written in the word of God, whether they ought to be borne by any Christian or not, let him judge who is spiritual, who fears God more than man, and loves everlasting life more than this short and transitory life.

"As to that which was said, that my act lacks any example from the godly fathers who have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobias (Tobit). It is said of him, that when all others went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he alone fled all their companies, and got himself to Jerusalem to the temple of the Lord, and there he worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both to the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had made there according to his own fantasy? King Josias, the true minister of God, executed these plagues at the time appointed. And where do we read that the prophets or the apostles agreed with the people in their idolatry, when the people went about whoring with their hill altars? For what cause, I ask you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God following their own minds, and not God's word? What was so much as that was? Therefore the false prophets did not cease to malign the true prophets of God. Therefore they beat them, they banished them, etc. How else, I pray you, can you understand what St. Paul alleges, when he asks what concord Christ has with Belial? What part does the believer have with the infidel? Or how does the temple of God agree with images? For you are the temple of the living God. As God himself has said, "I will dwell among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

"Therefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, says the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. So I will receive you, and be a father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty. Judith, that holy woman, would not allow herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, who truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do anything which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die rather than forsake the laws of their God. This is why the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defense of the law, yes, and at length died manfully in the defense of the same. If we praise the Maccabees, says St. Augustine, and do that with great admiration because they stoutly stood even unto death, for the law of their country; then how much more should we suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and

blood of Christ, etc.? But the mass utterly abolishes, and corrupts most shamefully, the supper of the Lord — I mean such a supper as Christ commands us to celebrate."

Latimer. — "Who am I, that I should add anything to what you have so spoken.' No, I rather thank you that you have granted to minister such plentiful armor to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed — except that he cannot be left destitute of help, who rightly trusts in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading from the New Testament, and I am ever now and then praying to my God, that he will be a Helper to me in time of need."

Objection.

"Seeing that you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm because it is done in a tongue that is not understood by the people, and for other causes (I cannot tell what), is it therefore not the true sacrament ordained by Christ? I begin to suspect that you do not think catholically of baptism either. Is our baptism, which we use in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptism of Christ, or not? If it is, then does the strange tongue hurt the mass? If it is not the baptism of Christ, tell me how you were baptized. Or whether, like the Anabaptists, you would have all who were baptized in Latin, baptized again in the English tongue?"

Answer.

Ridley. — "I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar (common) tongue, for the people's sake who are present, so that they may better understand their own profession, and also be better able to teach their children the same. Yet notwithstanding there is not a like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's Supper. Baptism is given to children who, because of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken to them, whatever tongue it may be. The Lord's Supper is, and ought to be given to those who are of age. Moreover, in baptism, which is usually given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man might say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism is a perfect and true baptism; and that not only is it not necessary, but it is *not lawful* for any man so christened, to be christened again. Yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith when they come to years of discretion. Whoever despises, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn this catechism, in my judgment does not play the part of a Christian man. But certain substantials are lacking in the popish mass — that is, things that are commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's Supper. Sufficient declaration was made of these things before."

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

Objection.

"Because I perceive you are so stiffly (I will not say obstinately) bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remains that which in like cases was normally the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons. That is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey, whether you will or not, or else suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whoever refuses to obey the laws of the realm betrays himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you bear your own sin, than through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can

you say you will be the queen's true subject, when you openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

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Answer.

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

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable that whoever by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to what is right and good, should be bridled by the straight correction of the laws. That is to say, whoever will not be subject to God's word must be punished by the laws. It is true, what is commonly said, that whoever will not obey the gospel must be tamed and taught by the rigor of the law. But these things should take place against the one who refuses to do what is right and just according to true godliness, and not against the one who cannot quietly bear superstitions, but hates and detests from his heart such proceedings, and who does that for the glory of the name of God. As to what you said, 'a transgressor of the common laws betrays himself to be an enemy of his country,' surely a man ought to look to the nature of the laws, as to what manner of laws they are which are broken. For a faithful Christian should not think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying should only truly be understood of those laws which are not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whoever loves their country in truth, that is to say, *in God*, will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man are contrary to one another; for a man ought to obey God rather than man. Those who think otherwise, and pretend a love for their country, because they make their country fight against God, as it were — in whom consists the only stay of their country — surely I think that such men are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For those who fight against God, who is the safety of their country, what else do they do, but to go about bringing upon their country a present ruin and destruction? And those who do so, are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, etc.

"But this is the readiest way, you say, to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth. Therefore these things are to be repressed in time, by force of laws. Behold, Satan does not cease to practice his old guiles and accustomed subtleties. He ever has this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries: to accuse them of sedition, so that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For so by his minister he has always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said to Elijah: 'Are you the one who troubles Israel?' The false prophets also complained to their princes about Jeremiah, that his words were seditious, and not to be allowed. Did the scribes and Pharisees not falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and someone who spoke against Caesar? Did they not cry at the last: 'If you let this man go, you are not Caesar's friend?' The orator Tertullus: how does he accuse St. Paul before Felix, the high deputy? 'We have found this man,' he says, 'a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer up of sedition, to all the Jews in the whole world,' etc. But I ask you, were these men — Christ, St. Paul, and the prophets — *seditious persons*, as they were called? God forbid! But they were falsely accused by false men. And therefore, I ask you, was it not because they reproved the people for their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused these men as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth. By this means, they were made hateful to the

people and places, so that they might be snatched up more easily, to be tormented and put to death. But their whole doctrine, life, and conversation, well declare how far they were from all sedition. For that which was objected last of all — that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, who openly professes that he will not observe the laws which the prince has made — here I would wish that I might have an impartial judge, and one who fears God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand.

"I therefore answer, a man ought to obey his prince, but *in* the Lord, and never *against* the Lord. For whoever knowingly obeys his prince against God, does not do a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and helps him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, who does not give to the prince what is the prince's, and to God what is God's. Here comes to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian, the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: 'Set him,' he says, 'in the bishop's seat, to whom if we, as men, offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.' Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Caesar, etc. he answered with a mild spirit: 'We are taught,' he says, 'to give honor to princes, and to those powers which are of God; but such honor that is not contrary to God's religion.'

"Up to here you see, good father,[51] how I have only made, as it were, a flourish in words before the fight, which I shortly look to, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ; and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and in what manner I may strike him back with the sword of the Spirit. I also learn hereby to be used to the armor, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tyndale, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had — that is, in their jacks, with their spears in their hand (you call them northern-gads) — especially when they had any secret warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although some of them spent their lives at every such bickering, yet by such means they defended their country, like brave men. And those who so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny were better beloved by all the country for their fathers' sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Savior, in the defense of his own divine ordinances by which he gives us life and immortality — yes, in the quarrel of faith and Christian religion, in which our everlasting salvation rests, shall we not watch? Shall we not always go armed, ever looking, when our adversary, like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, will come upon us because of our slothfulness? Yes, and woe be to us if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do if he finds us sleeping.

"Let us awake, therefore. For if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and not allow his house to be broken into. Let us awake, therefore, I say. Let us not allow our house to be broken into. 'Resist the devil,' says St. James, 'and he will flee from you.' Let us, therefore, resist him manfully. And taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain, Christ, who by his own blood has dedicated and hallowed the way which leads to the Father — that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, to where he calls and allures us, so that after these afflictions, which last for but a moment, and by which he tests our faith like gold in the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and do that through the our same Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory, now and forever. Amen, Amen.

"Good father, because I have determined with myself to pour out my cogitations into your bosom here, I think I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, in your way, and

[51] Ridley addresses Latimer here as "father," out of respect for his elder in Christ.

then looking upon me with your prophetical countenance, and speaking to me with these or similar words:

[829] A.D. 1555.

> 'Do not trust, my son (I beseech you grant me the honor of this name, for in so doing I will think myself both honored and beloved by you), do not trust, my son, to these word-weapons, for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not consider beforehand, what and how you will speak; for it will be given to you even in that same hour which you speak. For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you.'

"I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, unless He assists me with his Spirit when the time comes. I beseech you, therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind may be given to me, that I may say with David, out of a true faith, 'I will not trust in my bow, nor will my sword save me.' (Psa 44.6) 'He does not delight in the strength of the horse; he does not take pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord takes pleasure in those who fear him, in those who hope in his mercy.' (Psa 147.10-11) I beseech you pray, *pray* that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, not being overcome through His gracious aid, I may remain and stand fast in Him, till that day of the Lord in which, to those who obtain the victory, will be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown forevermore.

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

Latimer. — "Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armor to me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armor, but also well-buckled armor. I do not see how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and you shall not lack my prayer, trusting that you do the same for me; for indeed there is the help, etc. Many things make confusion in my memory. And if I were as well-learned as St. Paul, I would not bestow much among them, further than to gall them, and to spur-gall too,[52] when and where occasion were given and matter came to mind. For the law shall be their sheet-anchor,[53] stay and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy, now when they have the master bowl in their hand, and rule the roost, but patience. It is better to suffer what cruelty they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Therefore, my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration of what he requires of you, and what he promises you. Our common enemy will do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not allow us to be tempted above our strength, etc. Be at a point of what you will stand to. Stick to that, and let them both say and do what they wish. They can but kill the body, which otherwise, of itself, is mortal. Nor yet will they do that when they wish, but only when God will allow them, when the hour appointed has come. To use many words with them, it will be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that you give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you. Otherwise, you know that in a wicked place of judgment, a man may keep silence, following the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their

[52] *Spur-gall*: a sore or wound on a horse, caused by the repeated irritation of a spur.

[53] *Sheet-anchor*: a spare anchor for use in emergency, usually the largest and heaviest anchor on board.

sophistical sophisms and fallacies. You know that false things may have more the appearance of truth, than things that are most true. Therefore St. Paul gives us a watch-word: 'Let no man deceive you with beguiling words.' Nor is it requisite, when dealing with the contentious, that you should imitate the strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and to the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death most persuades a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton, many men thought, after he had made a good profession openly before the judgment seat (p. 613). The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit will refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must be fulfilled; Rev 6.9 if we are congregated there, we are happy. That is the greatest promotion that God gives in this world, to be like the Philippians, 'To whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer,' etc. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is from God. He requires and promises. Let us declare our obedience to His will, when it will be requisite in the time of trouble, even in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I trust will be shortly, then have at the papists. When they say peace, all things are safe, then Christ will come to keep his great parliament to the redress of all things that are amiss. But he will not come as the papists imagine him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep,[54] as it were, under a piece of bread. But he will come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists — but to the great consolation and comfort of all who will suffer here for him. Comfort yourselves, one to another, with these words.

"Behold, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously. But I thought it better than not to fulfill your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God visits me again with his comfort. So he comes and goes, to teach me to feel and to know my infirmity, to the intent that I give thanks to Him who is worthy, lest I rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare you well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their wracking, writing, wrenching, and monstrous injuring of God's holy Scripture, as appears in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be steadfast and immovable in the Lord. St. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well. Notwithstanding, he says to him: 'Be partaker of the afflictions of the gospel:' and again: 'Harden yourself to suffer afflictions.' 'Be faithful unto the death, and I will give you a crown of life,' says the Lord."

A Letter of Nicholas Ridley to John Bradford.

"Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yes, and all the holy brotherhood who now suffer with you in diverse prisons, bearing patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel — grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Sir, concerning this state of chivalry and warfare in which I have no doubt we are set to fight under Christ's banner and his cross, against our spiritual enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan — I think I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines [55] which he has to impugn Christ's truth, his gospel, and his faith. And the same two also are the most massy posts and most mighty pillars by which he maintains and upholds this satanic synagogue. These two, in my judgment sir, are *first*, his false doctrine and idolatrous use of the Lord's supper; and *secondly*, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the See of Rome. By these two. Satan seems to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by

[54] *Bopeep*: a child's game of peek-a-boo, "now you see me, now you don't."

[55] *Engines*: mechanical devices of war, such as siege towers, battering rams, catapults, etc.

these two he drives down mightily (alas! I fear) a third of the stars in heaven. Rev 8.12 These two poisoned and rotten posts, he had so painted over with such a pretense and color of religion, of unity in Christ's church, of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God.

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"Therefore St. John says, and not without great cause, 'If any man does not know the depths of Satan, as they say, I will put upon him no other burden.' Rev 2.24

"Sir, because these are his principal and main posts upon which stands all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God has given me, I have bent my artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knows) that I can do, and I know of my shot, that they do not pass. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, of which this bearer will give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they wish. Know for a certainty, by God's grace, and without any doubt, that I am fully determined to live and die in Christ's gospel cause, against and upon the aforesaid enemies of God. Farewell, dear brother, and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer will notify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord. From Bocardo.

"Your brother in Christ,
"NICH. RIDLEY."

Another Letter of Doctor Ridley to John Bradford.

"Oh, dear brother, seeing the time has now come, in which it pleases the heavenly Father, for Christ our Savior's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that you were ever born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling, 'Well done, good and faithful servant; you have been faithful over a few things, I will make you ruler over many things: enter into the joy of your Lord.' (Mat 25.23)

"Oh, dear brother, what does this mean, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his Fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness will be plentifully poured abroad among his servants, our dear brethren in that country, by this martyrdom of yours, where the martyrs shed their blood and lost their lives for Christ's sake. Oh, what wondrous things Christ has afterward wrought to his glory, and the confirmation of their doctrine! If it is not the place that sanctifies the man, but the holy man by Christ sanctifies the place brother Bradford, then happy and holy will that place be in which you will suffer, and will be sprinkled over with all your ashes in Christ's cause. All your country may rejoice about you, that it ever brought forth such a one, who would render his life back in His cause from whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I understand you are on your journey by God's grace, I will call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set you safely home. And then, good brother, speak and pray for the remnant who are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to what you then will know more clearly.

"We look every day now, for when we will be called on, blessed be God! I suppose I am the weakest of our company in many ways. And yet, I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Roger's departing, and his stout confession of Christ and his truth, even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced at it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have sometimes felt before.

Oh, good brother, blessed be God in you, and blessed be the time that I ever knew you. Farewell, farewell.

"Yours, in Christ, "NICH. RIDLEY."

A Letter of Ridley to the Afflicted

"To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons, but knit together in unity of spirit and holy religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus. "Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you.

"What worthy thanks can we render to the Lord for you, my brethren, namely, for the great consolation which, through you, we have received in the Lord, who notwithstanding the rage of Satan, who goes about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily labors to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin. You still remain immovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, although Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (we hear) draws numbers to him, so that it is said of him that he plucks even the very stars out of heaven, while he drives into some men the fear of death and the loss of all their goods, and shows and offers to others the pleasant baits of the world — namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not —all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and they should be enticed to commit fornication with the harlot of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication. Yet, blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has given to you a manly courage, and has so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can despise all the terrors, as well as the vain flatterings and allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of naught. He has also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so steadfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, however terrible or plausible, will you permit any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides Him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed, and testified with the effusion of their blood.

"In this faith, stand fast, my brethren, and do not allow yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For you know, brethren, how our Savior warned his disciples beforehand, that those would come who would appoint to the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) would thereby be deceived — our Savior gave warning before of such a strong delusion to come. But continue faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain has overcome the world. For he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promises to us that for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness will be shortened. In the meanwhile, abide and endure with patience as you have begun. Endure, I say, and reserve yourselves for better times, as one of the heathen poets said. Do not cease to show yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the pure faith of the gospel.

"'For you need patience, so that after you have done the will of God, you might receive the promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith; but if any man draws back, my soul will have no pleasure in him. But we are not of those who draw back unto perdition; but of those who believe to the saving of the soul.' (Heb 10.36-39) Let us not allow these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Do not fear those who kill the body — the rest

you know. For I do not write to you, as to men who are ignorant of the truth, but who know the truth; and to this end only: that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort from one another, and be more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to despise our life, or to shed our blood for. We cannot take in hand the defense of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for which we contend; but it touches the very substance of our whole religion, indeed, even Christ himself.

[831] A.D. 1555.

"Will we, or can we receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of Him who alone is the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory, and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom alone dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness, be far from us. For although there are what are *called* gods, whether in heaven or in earth, just as there are many gods and many lords, yet to us there is but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man does not have knowledge. 'This is eternal life,' says St. John, 'that we may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent.' If any, therefore, would force upon us any other god besides him whom St. Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

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

"Let us be hearty and of good courage, therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no way afraid of your adversaries. For that which is an occasion of perdition to them, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, that not only should you believe in Him, but also suffer for His sake. And when you are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that — by the voice of St. Peter, and indeed, of Christ our Savior also — you are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed; for the glory and Spirit of God rests upon you. On their part, our Savior Christ is evilly spoken of; but on your part, He is glorified. For what else can they do to you by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villainy against you, but make your crowns more glorious, indeed, beautify and multiply them, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God? And, therefore, good brethren, though they rage ever so fiercely against us, let us not wish evil to them in return, knowing that while for Christ's cause they vex and persecute us, they are like madmen, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads. But rather, let us wish well to them, knowing that we are called to this in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray to God, therefore, that He would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth shine unto them, that acknowledging their blindness, they may with all humble repentance, be converted to the Lord, and together with us confess Him to be the only true God, who is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in Spirit and truth. Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and the patience of Christ. Amen.

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

Another Letter of Ridley to the Afflicted

"To the brethren who constantly cling to Christ, in suffering affliction with him, and for his sake;

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

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

"As for the darkness that Satan now brings upon the church of England, who need doubt it? In olden times our Savior Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spoke in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any difficulty by the godly, and by those who sought heavenly knowledge in matters which, by necessity of salvation, pertained to obtaining eternal life. But now those things which once were written by them for edifying the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, so that no man is able to understand them, who has not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

"In recent days, those heavenly mysteries by which Christ has grafted us into his body, and has united us one to another, and also by which — being regenerate and born anew to God — he has nourished, increased, and strengthened us; and by which, moreover, He has either taught and set forth an order among those who are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body, He has given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies — those things (I say) were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language. So that, whatever great and exceedingly good things every man had received from God, whatever duty each one owed to another by God' s ordinance, whatever each one had professed in his vocation and was bound to observe, where a remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, the one to whom God has given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand them. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such a way, that the people redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were ordained by Christ himself, can have no way of understanding them at all.

"Of late (because we do not know how to pray as we should) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, of which he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Spirit in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, taught and instructed all the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might ask for things that are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together. But now all

these things are commanded to be hidden and shut up from them in a strange tongue. By this it must follow that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for. And how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they no longer understand what the voice signifies, than a brute beast.'

"Finally, I hear say that the catechism which was recently set forth in the English tongue, is now condemned in every pulpit. Oh devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed, Satan could not long allow so great a light to be spread abroad in the world.

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"He saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ while they are still young. By this, not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks, those who before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know Him. Now, therefore, Satan roars; now he rages. But what else do they do who serve Satan, brethren, and who become his ministers and slaves in maintaining his impiety, but even the same things which those did, to whom Christ our Savior threatens this curse in the gospel: 'Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. For you neither go in yourselves, nor allow those who are entering to go in.' (Mat 23.13)

"And from where will we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceeds which is now brought upon the world? From where, I ask you, if not from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit. Now, even now, beyond doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigns.

"You, therefore, my brethren, who pertain to Christ, and have the seal of God marked on your foreheads, that is, who are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, acquit yourselves like men, and be strong. For he that is in us 'is stronger than he who is in the world.' And you know that 'all that is born of God overcomes the world, and this is the victory that overcomes the world, even our faith.' Let the world fret; let it rage ever so much; let it be ever so cruel and bloody. Yet be sure that no man can take us out of our Father's hands, for he is greater than all. 'He that did not spare his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how will he not with him also freely give us all things?' Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God who justifies. Who is he that condemns? It is Christ that died, yes, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also makes intercession for us. Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?' (Rom 8.32-35) The rest you know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that nothing of any kind will be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. That this thing may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you. So, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request, we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will not cease to pray for us. Farewell, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore. Amen."

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, in answer to a Letter from one Mr. West, sometime his Chaplain.

"I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without which being truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in

Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, you know this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded that this world is but transitory; and as St. John says, 'The world passes away, and the lust of it.' (1Joh 2.17) I am persuaded Christ's words are true, 'Whoever therefore confesses me before men, I will also confess him before my Father which is in heaven.' (Mat 10.32) And I believe that no earthly creature will be saved, whom the Redeemer and Savior of the world will deny before his Father. This the Lord grant: that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present, nor things to come, high or low, life nor death, will be able to remove me from there. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me to deeply consider the things pertaining to God's glory; but if you had also wished that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, would prevent my maintaining God's word and his truth, which is His glory and true honor, I would have liked it well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed, sir, it is now time to do so. For so far as I can perceive, it stands me upon no less danger than of the loss both of body and soul. And I suppose, then it is time for a man to awake, if anything will awake him. He that will not fear Him who threatens to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? (With this fear, O Lord, fasten together our frail flesh, that we may never swerve from your laws.) You say you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

"You have known me long, indeed. In this time it has chanced for me, as you say, to dislike some things. I grant it is true. For I never loved sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, nor the obstinate setting forth of extremities. Confession to the minister, who is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed, I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation; and so, I assure you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often; and in your judgment, you have thought it godly, except for the sacrament. This thing, although it was reverently handled by me, and a great deal better than by the rest (as you say), yet in the main you write warily, and in this world wisely; and yet, I thought, all sounding not well. Sir, if I did not see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, I would not a little marvel at your saying. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I esteemed for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning. And have you kept this so close in your heart from me to this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and I will not say all that I think. But what need do you have to care what I think, for anything I will be able to do to you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, sir, in this I like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it to my life's end.

"I cannot see what it will avail me to write to those whom you name. For I would have you know this, that I esteem nothing available for me, which will not also further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire for my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I were not to bear you a good heart in God again, I think I would be to blame. Sir, how near the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell. The Lord's will be fulfilled, however soon it will come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I will appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be accountable to Him for all my former life. And although the hope of His mercies is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet I am persuaded that whoever wittingly neglects and does not regard to clear his conscience, cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in His mercy. Conscience therefore moves me, considering that you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure,[56] and of all those who were within my house. In this, indeed, I ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure,

[56] *Cure*: priestly care for the souls of those within his parish. (Heb 13.17)

not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power. But alas! Now when the trial separates the chaff from the corn, how small a portion it is, God knows, which the wind does not blow away. This conscience, I say, moves me to fear, lest the lightness [57] of my family will be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God, who has given me grace to see my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing from here.

[833] A.D. 1555.

"This conscience moves me now to also require both you and my friend Doctor Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you will not need to fear being charged with them by me later before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends), but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear to you, bids me now say to you both, in God's name, fear God, and do not love the world. For God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. 'When His wrath is kindled but a little, blessed are all those who put their trust in Him!' And the saying of St. John is true, 'For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passes away, and the lust of it: but he who does the will of God abides forever.' If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required for eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly engrafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, nor to shrink so suddenly from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as now, alas! it is seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, perhaps, you would know from me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John says, and that is even the same that was before. For although man varies and changes like the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abides the same forevermore. And of Christ it is truly said, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever.'

"When I was in office, all who were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth written in God's word: that the common prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you, I never found a man (so far as I remember) either old or young, gospeller or papist, of whatever judgment he was in this thing, to be of a contrary opinion. If, then, it was a truth of God's word, do you think that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, then why do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth once received by us all? For what else is it, I ask you, to confess or deny Christ in this world, if not to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from it? This one thing I have brought for a sample. Other things are in like case, which I need not mention particularly now. For whoever would wittingly forsake any *one* open truth of God's word, either for fear or gain of the world, if he is constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and *all* his truth, rather than endanger himself to lose or leave what he loves better indeed, than he loves God and the truth of his word.

"I like very well your plain speaking, in which you say I must either agree or die — and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or not. But what folly would it be, then, to make such an agreement by which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, as long as I live. And because, I dare say, you wrote this short earnest warning out of friendship toward me, and I think truly, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing toward you in my heart no less love in God than you do toward me in the world, I say to you in the word of the Lord (and what I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God),

[57] *Lightness*: here it means a lack of seriousness regarding spiritual matters.

that if you do not confess and maintain according to your power and knowledge, that which is grounded upon God's word, but would either for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostate, indeed you shall die the death; you know what I mean. And beseech all true friends and lovers in God, to remember what I say; for this may be the last time, perhaps, that I will ever write to you.

"From Oxford, the 8th of April 1555."

The History and Martyrdom of Hugh Latimer.

An Account of the Life, Acts, and Doings of Master Hugh Latimer.

After the life of Bishop Ridley, we must now relate the life and doings of the worthy champion, and old practiced soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer. We will treat here his acts, even from his first years and tender age. He was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of good estimation, with whom he was brought up until he was of the age of four years or thereabouts. At that time, his parents seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature. He so profited in this in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen he was sent to the university of Cambridge. There he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age suffered.

He was then zealous in the popish religion, and so scrupulous, as he himself confessed, that being a priest, and having said mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water, and that he would never be damned once he was a professed friar, with other such superstitious fancies. In this blind zeal, he was a bitter enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel. His oration against Philip Melancthon, delivered when he obtained his degree of bachelor of divinity, and also his other works, plainly declared this. His popish zeal could in no case abide good Master Stafford (reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge) most spitefully railing against him, and desiring the youth of Cambridge not to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that though by the way he thought to ruin the professors of the gospel, and the true church of Christ, he was himself caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Thomas Bilney (whose history was described before, p. 509), being at that time a searcher out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Latimer to be full of zeal, although without knowledge, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him. He thought by what means he might best win this zealous, though ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. After a short time, he came to Latimer, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which he willingly granted. Latimer was, through the good Spirit of God, so touched by what he then heard, that he forsook bis former studying of the school doctors, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself confesses. So that whereas before he was an enemy and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him. He changed his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Bilney and others, and also came to Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, he pitied the misery of others. And therefore he became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, for three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly among the simple people in the English language. However, as Satan never sleeps when he

sees his kingdom beginning to decay, so now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker of it, he raised up his impious agents to molest and trouble him.

Among these there was an Augustinian friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons that Latimer made around Christmas 1529, in the church of St. Edward as well as St. Augustine's, in the university of Cambridge, to object against him. For in his sermons Latimer (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards [58] taken from the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, upon which they might occupy their time, not only then, but always.

The handling of this matter was so proper for the time, and so pleasantly applied, that it wrought much fruit in the hearers, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of pure religion.

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This was on the Sunday before Christmas day. On Christmas day, coming to the church and having the bell tolled for a sermon, he entered into the pulpit. He took for his text the words of the gospel read in the church that day, "Who are you?" etc. [59] In delivering the cards, he made the heart trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies. He added, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that even if it were ever so small, it would take the best court card (face card) in the bunch, even if it were the king of clubs, etc. He meant thereby, how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and truth, in which consists true Christian religion, not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistering show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, etc. So that, all these were either needless where the other is present; or else these were of small estimation in comparison to the other.

It would require a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom touched too near. And therefore he thought it time to look about him, and call out his men of arms (soldiers).

The prior of the Blackfriars' came out first, called Backenham, and afterwards a Dr. Venetus.

But why should I stand here tracing the names of Latimer's adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost throughout the university, preaching against him? Among them was Dr. Watson, Master of Christ's College; Latimer had been his scholar. Also, Dr. Notories, Master of Clare Hall; Dr. Philo, Master of Michael House, Dr. Metcalf, Master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe, of the King's Hall; Dr. Bullock, Master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe, of Clement House; Dr. Donnes, of Jesus' College; Dr. Psalms, of St. Nicholas Hostel; Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, Bachelors of Divinity, all three of St. John's College; also Brikenden, Bachelor of Divinity, of the same house, and sometimes scholar to Latimer. Briefly, this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustained almost as many impugners as there were heads of houses.

Then at last came Dr. West, bishop of Ely. Preaching against Latimer, at Barvel Abbey, he forbade him to preach any more within the churches of that university. Notwithstanding, the Lord so provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, licensed Latimer to

[58] Latimer had written out these verses on playing cards. He then declared hearts to be the "trump" suit.

[59] Referring either to Joh 1.19 (re the Baptist) or Joh 8.25 (re Jesus).

preach in his church of the Augustines. He himself preached at the church nearby, called St. Edward's church. This was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached. It was Christmas eve, on a Sunday.

Latimer being thus baited by the friars, Doctors, and Masters of that university, about the year 1329, notwithstanding these malignant adversaries, he continued in Cambridge, preaching for three years with applause from the godly — and also with such admiration of his enemies who heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and hearing him, wished himself to be equal to him. After this, Latimer and Bilney continued in Cambridge for some time. There, he and Bilney used to confer much together; so that the place where they most used to walk in the fields was long after called *the Heretic's Hill*.

The society of these two, as it was much remarked about by many in that university, so it was full of many good examples to all those who would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, relieving the needy, and feeding the hungry.

After Latimer had thus labored in preaching and teaching in the University of Cambridge for about three years, he was at length called up before the cardinal for heresy, which was by the procurement of some at the university. He was content to subscribe, and agree to such articles as they then propounded to him, etc.

After that, he returned to the university again, where shortly after, by means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician [60] (a singular poor man, and a special favorer of good proceedings), Latimer was in the number of those who labored in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then he went to the court, where he remained a certain time in Dr. Buts' chambers, preaching in London very often. At last being weary of the court, having a benefice offered to him by the king, at the suit of Lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, he was glad of it, seeking by that means to be rid of the court. And so, having a grant of the benefice, he departed and resided on it.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum; the name of the town was called West Kingston. There this good preacher exercised himself with much diligence to instruct his flock, and not only them, but also all the country about. In brief, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that he could not escape without enemies. It is so true what St. Paul foretells us, that "Whoever will live godly in Christ Jesus, will suffer persecution." It so happened that, as Latimer declared his mind, preaching on the blessed Virgin — referring and reducing all honor to Christ alone, our only Savior — certain popish priests being offended by it, sought trouble against him. They drew out articles which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed to him. They said that he preached against our Lady. For he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain priests who held opinions respecting that blessed Virgin, as if she never had any sin, nor was saved by Christ, the only Savior of the whole world. Also, that saints were not to be worshipped; that Ave Maria was only a salutation, not a prayer; that there was no material fire in hell; and in saying that he would rather be in purgatory than Lollard's Tower, he was saying that there is no purgatory.

His chief molesters, besides the country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury; Dr. Wilson, of Cambridge; Master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Some of them preached against him, some also wrote against him. So that, by their procurement he was cited and called to appear before William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, January 29, A.D. 1531.

[60] Dr. William Buts was physician to Henry VIII (referred to here), and later to Edward VI.

Against this citation, although Master Latimer appealed to his own ordinary, he was taken to London before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and before the bishop of London. There he was greatly molested, and detained a long time from his cure. He was called before the bishops three times every week, to answer for his preaching, and to answer certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, to which they required him to subscribe. At length he wrote to the archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity by which he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for troubling and detaining him from his duty for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses that had crept into religion.

In this epistle he also alludes to certain articles, but whether he subscribed to them or not, is uncertain. It appears by the epistle, that he dared not consent to them. Yet it is doubtful that he was afterwards compelled to assent through the cruel handling of the bishops. Whether he did so or not is no great marvel, the iniquity of the time being such that either he must do so. or else abide the bishop's cruel sentence of death. At that time (as he himself confessed), he was loath to sustain death for such matters as these, unless it were for necessary articles of belief. I conjecture that he did subscribe, even if it was long before he could be brought to do so. Yet it is to be noted, by the way, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used to entrap him in their snares. He shows the truth of the story in a sermon preached at Stamford, October 9, A.D. 1550:

> "I was once," he said, "in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much vexation. Every week I came three times to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to entangle me. Now, God knows I was ignorant of the laws; but God gave me answers and wisdom as to what I should say. It was God indeed, else I would never have escaped them.

[835] A.D. 1555.

> "At last I was brought out to be examined, into a chamber hung with arras (tapestries), where I was usually examined. But now this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was usually a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, arras were hung over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end. Among the bishops who examined me, was one with whom I had been very familiar, and I took him to be my great friend, an aged man He sat next from the end of the table. Then, among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, such as I could not, indeed, think there was such great danger in it. When I would have answered, 'I pray you. Master Latimer,' said one, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here are many who sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bid to speak out. I began to suspect, and gave an ear to the chimney. There I heard a pen writing in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed someone there to write down all my answers, making sure that I would not stray from them; there was no straying from them. God was my good Lord, and He gave me answers, else I could never have escaped it."

In these hard and dangerous straits and snares of the bishops, it would have been impossible to escape, had not the Almighty, as he stirred him up, so he preserved Latimer through the favor and power of his prince. With much favor He embraced him and rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. At length, through the procurement partly of Dr. Buts, partly of good Cromwell, he was advanced to the dignity of a bishop, and made bishop of Worcester. So he continued a few years, instructing his diocese according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and the example of perfect conduct. It would take too long to dwell particularly upon those things which might be brought here to the commendation of his pains — such as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or the time would bear. But the days then were

so dangerous and variable, that he could not do what he would in all things. Yet what he might do, he performed to the utmost of his strength. So that, although he could not utterly extinguish all the relics of old superstition, yet he so worked, that though they could not be taken away, yet they might be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as possible. For example, in this and in other things, it appeared that when it could not be avoided that holy water and holy bread must be received, yet he so prepared and instructed those of his diocese, that superstition would be excluded as far as possible in them.

He was not ignorant of how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and teaching of the gospel. Thus this good man acted in his diocese. But both in the university and at his benefice, he was harassed by wicked and evil-disposed persons; and so also in his bishopric he was not clear of some who sought his trouble. He continued in this laborious function of a bishop for a number of years, till the Six Articles came in.

Seeing that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he resigned his see of his own free accord. At that time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, likewise resigned. And so these two remained unbishoped a long time, keeping silence till the time of King Edward, of blessed memory.

Then coming up to London, he was molested and troubled by the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger. At length was cast into the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the time of King Edward, by means of whom the golden mouth of this preacher, so long shut up before, was now opened again. And so beginning afresh to speed his plough, he continued all the time of that king, laboring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully.

He occupied himself in this labor of love all King Edward's days, for the most part preaching twice every Sunday, to the no small shame of other loitering and unpreaching prelates. And it was so much more to their shame, because, having been hurt by a falling tree, and being over sixty-seven years of age, he still took little ease and care of himself in order to do the people good, preaching every morning usually, winter and summer.

Not long after the death of King Edward, Latimer was arrested and brought to London by command of Queen Mary. He was cast into the Tower, where he suffered much. From there he was transported to Oxford, with Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as mentioned before. It was also mentioned how Latimer with his fellow-prisoners were condemned by Gardiner after the disputations, and committed again to the prison. There they continued from April to October, occupied either with brotherly conference, fervent prayer, or fruitful writing.

Although Latimer, because of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment, yet he was fervently occupied in prayer. Among other things, there were three principal matters he prayed for. *First*, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also He would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. *Secondly*, that God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he so inculcated and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. The *third* matter was to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty who now is (Elizabeth), whom in his prayer he customarily named, and even with tears, desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England.

These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Nor were these things desired in vain; for the Lord most graciously granted all his requests.

Concerning his constancy, even in the utmost extremity, the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake at Oxford, and the tormentors were about to set the fire to him and to the learned and godly Bishop Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, who does not allow us to be tempted above our strength." And so by and by he shed his blood in the cause of Christ.

These present days can bear record how mercifully the Lord heard Latimer's second request, in restoring His gospel once again to this realm. And what then shall England say now for her defense, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considers either her own past misery, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us! Amen.

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

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May the same God, who, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, has poured upon us such benefits of His mercy, peace, and tranquility, assist our most virtuous and Christian princess, and her subjects, that we may, every one in his state and calling, serve to His glory. And may we walk in our vocation, so that we not lose what they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of His glory, and our everlasting comfort in Him! Now after these things pertaining to the events of Bishop Latimer's life, let us come to his letters. *First* of which, he writes to Master Morice. concerning the articles for which he was troubled by the priests, about his benefice at West Kingston.

The following are extracts, for the whole would be too long to insert here, and the reader will perceive that even then, Latimer had not seen the full extent of the errors of popery.

They objected he had taught that our Lady (Mary, mother of Jesus) was a sinner. He says in his letter on this point as follows:

> "I was led by some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed men — who gave so much devotion to our Lady, without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her — to prove Christ to be her Savior, and to make Christ a whole Savior of all who are or shall be saved. I reasoned in this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner; there is no mean. If she was a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners

were. If she was no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ. So that, Christ saved her and was her necessary Savior, whether she sinned or not. Now, certain authors (I said) such as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been somewhat faulty in her time. I Also said that certain Scriptures somewhat support the same, unless they are more warily understood and taken (as in Rom 3.19-23). '*All* have sinned, *every* mouth must be stopped, and *all* the world held guilty before God.' And '*All* have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.' And in the fifth chapter, 'Death passed upon *all*, because *all* have sinned.' (Rom 5.12)

"They asked 'What need is there to speak of this?' I answered, 'A great need. When men cannot be content that she was a creature who was saved, but was instead a savioress, as it were, not needing salvation, then it is necessary to set her in [equivalent] degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Savior of all who are or shall be saved.'

"As for the *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary), they lie falsely; I never denied it. I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in the holy Scripture of St. Luke. Yet it is not properly a prayer as the Paternoster is (the Lord's Prayer). Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly *praying*. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and show the good will of God towards her. And therefore, it is called the *annunciation of our Lady*; it is not to pray her, nor to pray to her properly. Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spoke it, it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the same thing now, that it was then?"

It was also objected that he taught that saints are not to be honored. He answers thus:

"I said this word 'saints,' is variously understood by the common people. Images of saints are called saints; and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now, *honoring* saints is meant as *praying* to saints. If we take honoring that way, and we take images as saints, then saints are not to be honored. That is to say, dead images are not to be prayed to, for they have neither ears to hear with, nor tongue to speak with, nor heart to think with, etc.

"They can help neither me nor my ox, neither my head nor my tooth, nor can they work any miracle for me, any one of them more than another. And yet I showed the good use of them to the *laymen's books*, as they are called, to reverently look upon them in order to remember the things that are signified by them, etc.

"And yet I would not have them so costly and intricately gilded and decked, that the living image of God [*i.e.* believers] (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatever is done, Christ imputes it done to himself)' lack necessaries, and are unprovided for by that occasion. For then the layman abuses his book. [61]

"As regards the saints in heaven, I said, — they are not our mediators by way of redemption; for Christ alone is both our mediator and theirs. So that the blood of martyrs has nothing to do by way of redemption. The blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, etc.

"But by way of intercession, saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we do not call upon them. For they are charitable, and need no urging, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God. Nor yet may we call upon them without showing distrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all. So that. though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray to God for us, it is not so necessary to be done, but rather that we may pray to God ourselves, without first making suit to them, and obtain from Him whatever we need, if we continue in prayer. So that whatever we ask the Father, in the name of Christ his

[61] That is, he lacks food, clothing, or shelter because his money has been spent on these extravagant books..

Son, the Father will give it to us. Scripture sets departed saints before our eyes as examples, so that the greatest and most principal worship and honoring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them as they followed Christ, etc.

"God bids us come to Him with prayer, and to do His bidding; that is not presuming. It is presuming to leave it undone, rather than to do what he bids us not to do, etc. We must hold saints in reverend memory, and learn from God's goodness towards them, to trust in God, and to mark well their faith towards God and his word, their charity towards their neighbor, their patience in all adversity, and pray to God who gave them grace to do so, that we may do likewise — for which like doings we will have like success. They are well honored when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in Him who made them saints. And just as they were saints, so we may be saints. Indeed, there are many saints who never prayed to saints."

It was objected to him that he held there is no fire in hell; and no purgatory after life. He answers:

"I speak of diverse opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some that it is a spiritual fire, or at least a spiritual pain in the corporeal fire — for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm. Now, because they do not think it is a corporeal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some think that it is a corporeal and natural fire. Some have thought of it differently before the resurrection, *without* body, and afterward *with* body — some think that the soul without a body suffers in the fire, but not from the fire; some both in and from the fire. The scholastic authors think that the souls before the resurrection, because they are spiritual in substance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporeal quality. So that Athanasius, a Greek author, calls their pain a heaviness or an anguish; and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that although they are always in pain, yet they are not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat. But when their bodies are there, whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain — their torment goes with them. For they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have *pain* with them, yet they do not have *fire* with them. For then they would be known by the heat of the fire.

[837] A.D. 1555.

"I am certain, says St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell except He that is of God's privy council. I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he will find no fire in hell. Chrysostom says that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than being in hell. There is fire burning; there is the worm gnawing; there is heat, there is cold; there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement — anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarry and abide for all liars and those who hinder the truth."

"I would rather be in purgatory than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this prison I might die bodily for lack of food: in that purgatory I could not. In this prison I might die spiritually for fear of pain or lack of good counsel; in that I could not. In this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if extreme necessity is being in peril of perishing. And then you know what follows from this: if we are not bounden to help only those who are in extreme necessity, then we do not see who is in such need in purgatory, but we see who needs in this world. St. John says, 'Whoever sees his brother in need, and shuts up his heart of compassion from him, how does the love of God dwell in him?' Here either we are, or we may be, in extreme necessity, both in body and soul; in purgatory, we are neither one nor the other. Here we are bound to help one another as we would be helped ourselves, under pain of damnation. I am sure the souls in purgatory are thus charitable, and from charity they are so

loath to have God dishonored, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor to be bestowed upon them here in this world, which might occasion the dishonor of God, etc.

"Therefore, however we provided for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. If I had a thousand pounds to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me by God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work and sick and sore for lack of succor. I would distinguish between that which *may* be done, and that which *ought to* be done. And this latter is to go before the former, and the former is to come after this. If God commands one way, and my devotion moves me another way, which way should I go? I may by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make foundations for myself with other men's goods. Goods wrongfully gotten must be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, then they are poor men's goods. Debts must be paid, creditors must be satisfied and content, God's ordinance towards my neighbor here in this world must be discharged, and all affections and lusts moving to the contrary must be purged. Or else, even if our soul-priests sing till they are bleary-eyed, and speak till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings will bring us out of hell, to which we shall go for despising God's forbiddings."

A Public Instrument of the Bishops, for abolishing and prohibiting the Scriptures and diverse other Books in English, in the time of King Henry VIII, A.D. 1531. [62]

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful people to whom these present testimonial letters, or this present public, and authentic instrument will come, or who will see, read, hear, or understand the same, and to whom what is underwritten, will or may teach, or pertain in any manner or way in time to come. William,[63] by the sufferance of Almighty God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, sends greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify to you all, and we let you well understand and know by these presents, that whereas the king our sovereign lord, hearing that many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in parts beyond the seas, are brought into diverse towns, and sundry parts of this, his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our Catholic faith, and the perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided — his highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind in the high degree to which Almighty God has called him, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquility and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all contagion and wrong opinions in Christ's religion. Considering, also, that, being defender of the faith, he would be fully loath to permit such evil seed to be sown among his people, and so taking root, that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine sprung up before in the souls of his subjects. For repelling such books, he called to himself out of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerics of his realm, but also from each university a certain number of the chief learned men of those places. He proposed such books which his grace therefore had ready for them to read, requesting to hear their advice and judgment in that behalf. Both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, they found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable. They were of such a sort that they were likely to quickly corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be permitted to remain in their hands any amount of time). They also gathered out of them many great errors and

[62] Foxe inserts these here instead of in Book VIII, where he referred to them (p. 517), because Latimer had previously written to King Henry VIII, in support of the English translations. Latimer's letter will follow shortly.

[63] That is, William Warham (1450-1532).

pestilent heresies, and noted them in writing, with the intent to show for what cause they reputed the said books damnable. Hereafter many things ensue which are gathered out of each book, even though there are many more things in the said books, which totally swarm full of heresies, and detestable opinions."

Heresies and Errors contained in the Book,
"The Parable of the Wicked Mammon." [64]

"Faith alone justifies us.

"The law makes us hate God, because we are born under the power of the devil.

"It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God.

"The law requires impossible things of us.

"The Spirit of God so turns us and our nature, that we do good as naturally as a tree brings forth fruit.

"Works only declare to you that you are justified.

"Christ in all his deeds did not deserve heaven.

"By laboring in good works to come to heaven, you shame Christ's blood.

"Saints in heaven cannot help us to get there.

"To build a church in honor of our Lady, or of any other saint, is in vain; they cannot help you; they are not your friends.

"All flesh is in bondage to sin, and cannot avoid sinning continually."

[This instrument proceeds, at great length, to cite sentences from the various books then circulated by the reformers in the English language. It would be too tedious and unprofitable to recapitulate them here. The instrument thus concludes.]

"All of these great errors and pestilent heresies, being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, also with the translation of the Scriptures corrupted by William Tyndale, in the Old Testament as well as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors, the king's highness being present in person, by one whole advice and assent of the prelates and clerics of the universities, as well as of all others assembled together, determined these are utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be allowed to go abroad among his subjects. And his highness further wills that his pleasure and determination is that the people should be notified abroad by preachers, to put away all such books, as well as reading, retaining, or hereafter having any similar books, delivering this to certain preachers in written form, to be published in effect to the people in their sermons, which form follows here, commanding them in all his realm to publish the same."

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[*Here follows the bill in English to be published by the preacher*.]

"It is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to show and declare to his audience that which might be profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their souls, to be followed and taken, but also to note and signify to them such things as are dangerous and contagious, with the intent that they might be avoided and eschewed; and also, as near as they can judge, who are the teachers and authors of the same. This example we have of our Savior Christ, where he says, 'Beware of false prophets,' etc. St. Paul likewise many times warns those he wrote to, that they should beware of false apostles, who in his absence went about to corrupt the doctrine which he had taught them when present. Therefore, considering that it has pleased the king's highness, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the present bodily wealth and tranquility of all his subjects for his and their

[64] *Wicked Mammon* was written by William Tyndale, published in 1528.

worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the wealth of their souls and their due order towards God — thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory — to assemble and call together the chief personages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his conscience, to find, read, examine, and discuss the contents of such books as are now spread abroad within this his grace's realm in the English tongue, concerning the points and articles of our faith. And also, according to their learning and conscience, to relate to his highness, whether the same books are expedient and profitable for his people, to direct and order their conscience and soul, or else are contagious and pestiferous for the same; and whether the opinions contained in them were agreeable to God's word and doctrine, or not. For the said congregation and assembly having had free liberty and license granted to every man to say as his conscience and learning served him without any reproof or blame to be imputed for anything spoken there, whichever person it touched, or any necessity to agree to the most part, but only to say what his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify. After mature deliberation and consultation had, it was there — by whole consent, no man contesting or challenging — determined and agreed that the books, now being abroad in the English tongue, contain false traditions and corrupt doctrine, far discrepant from the true sense of the gospel and catholic understanding of Scripture, only persuading of pernicious heresies, to the destruction of the souls of good Christian men. The certainty of this I can report to you from my own knowledge, being one of the said assembly, and hearing and seeing the said opinions read, declared, and examined, and reproved and rejected by the true sense and meaning of God's word.

"I think, therefore, my duty is taking upon myself the office of a preacher, following the example of our Master Christ, and St. Paul, as aforesaid, to warn and admonish you by the words of Christ, as I spoke before: 'Beware of false prophets,' etc. And take heed of yourself, that you are not infected by the contagion and infection of those false apostles who have, in our English tongue, set forth books to seduce you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring you by their false interpretations of Scripture into the detestable and abominable heresies, to the destruction of our souls. Therefore you who have the books called 'The Obedience of a Christian Man (Tyndale);' 'The Sum of Scripture (Ursinus);' 'The Revelation of Antichrist;' 'The Supplication of Beggars (Simon Fish);' 'The Mammon of Iniquity;' 'The Matrimony' of Tyndale; 'The New Testament in English' (Tyndale), the translation of which is now printed, and such other books in English, the authors of which either dare not, or do not put their names to, are pernicious books. Detest them, abhor them, do not keep them in your hands; deliver them to those superiors who call for them; and if by reading them up to now, anything of that teaching remains in your breasts, either forget it, or by information of the truth, expel it and purge it, with the intent that being so purified and cleansed of that contagious doctrine and pestiferous traditions, you may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and understanding of Christ's laws, to the comfort and edification of your souls. This I move and exhort you in God to do; this is your duty to do.

"The prelates of the church having the cure and charge of your souls, ought to compel you, and your prince ought to punish and correct you, to not do the same. To them, as St. Paul says, the sword is given by God's ordinance for that purpose. You shall also further understand that it was reported to the king's highness, that there is an opinion engendered in many of his subjects, that it is his grace's duty to have the Scriptures of God translated into the English tongue to be communicated to the people, and that the prelates, and also his highness do wrong in hindering the same. His highness therefore directed every man there present in the said assembly, to freely and frankly show and open to him what might be proved and confirmed by Scripture, and by holy doctors in that behalf. This was with the intent that his highness, as he openly protested there, might conform himself to it, minding to do his duty

towards his people, as he would have them do their duty towards him. In this matter, following the Scripture declared, which the holy doctors and authors alleged and read, and all things said which might be said on both sides, and for both parts spoken, deduced, and brought forth, it finally appeared that having the whole Scripture in English is not necessary to Christian men. But without having any such Scripture, endeavoring themselves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow such lessons as the preacher teaches them, and so learned by his mouth, they may as well edify spiritually in their souls, as if they had the same Scriptures in English.

"And just as having the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people's hands, has been thought by holy fathers of the church before now to sometimes be fitting and convenient, so at another time, it has been thought by holy fathers that it is not expedient to be communicated among them. In this, because the king's highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinks in his conscience, that divulging the Scripture at this time in the English tongue, then to be committed to the people — considering that such pestilent books and such evil opinions as are now spread among them, would be to their further confusion and destruction, rather than the edification of their souls; and that, as holy doctors testify upon similar considerations, the same has been done in times past — it was thought there in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that it the king's highness, and the prelates, not allowing the Scriptures to be divulged and communicated in the English tongue to the people at this time, does well. And I also think and judge the same, exhorting, and moving you, that in consideration of what his highness openly said and protested there, that he would have the New Testament faithfully and purely translated by learned men into the English tongue, with the intent that he might have it in his hands, ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behavior fit, apt, and convenient to receive the same; and that you will so detest these pernicious books, so abhor these heresies and new opinions, so decline from arrogance of the knowledge and understanding of Scripture according to your fantasies, and show yourself in cunning and reasoning to be so sober, quiet, fit, and temperate, that all fear of misusing the gift of Scripture being taken away, you may appear such in your prince's eyes, and in the eyes of your prelates, because they will have no just cause to fear any such danger. Persuade yourself in the meantime, without grudging or murmuring, the very truth which is this: that we cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the English tongue, otherwise than upon the discretion of the superiors. So that, whenever they think in their conscience, that it may do you good, they may and do well to give it to you; and whenever it is seen otherwise to them, they do amiss in permitting you to have it.

[839] A.D. 1555.

"Of and upon this decree, order, and determination recited above, his gracious highness — being in person in the chapel called the old chapel, which was sometimes called St. Edward's chamber, sat on the east side of the parliament chamber, within his grace's palace at Westminster, on the 24th of May in the year 1530, in the 22nd year of his reign — called before his grace the three notaries here underwritten. And then and there in the presence of all the personages there assembled and gathered together, directed and required the said three notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and directed us to set our seal to it accordingly, in and for witness and perpetual memory and monument of this, his grace's desire, order, and determination, and of all and singular the premises, and all the personages then and there being present, to testify to the same, and to bear record and testimony upon it. In witness of all and singular the premises, we, William, archbishop, primate, and legate aforesaid, have commanded and obtained these present letters testimonial, or present public, or authentic instrument, containing in them the order, decree, and determination above-said, to be made, and to be subscribed, and signed by the hands of the notaries hereafter named,

and to be sealed with our own seal. All of these premises have been done in the manner and form above specified, then and there. Present were the noble personage of Thomas Moore, knight, great chancellor of England; our reverend brother in Christ, Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of Durham; and worshipful personages, Master Stephen Gardiner, Secretary," etc. etc.

Here follows a letter of Latimer's written to King Henry VIII on this occasion. You heard before of two proclamations set out by the bishops in the name of King Henry: the one in the year 1531, and the other set out in A.D. 1546. In these proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, all English books were prohibited which either contained or regarded any matter of the Scriptures. Now Latimer, growing in some favor with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christ's religion because of these proclamations, and touched with zeal of conscience, directs the following letter to King Henry, endeavoring to persuade the king to set open again the freedom of God's holy word among his subjects.

A Letter of Latimer's to King Henry VIII.

"To the most Mighty Prince, King of England, Henry VIII, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

"The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalanus, says, 'He who for fear of any power hides the truth, provokes the wrath of God to come upon him; for he fears men more than God.' And according to the same, the holy man, St. John Chrysostom, says, 'He is not only a traitor to the truth, who openly teaches a lie as the truth; but also he who does not freely pronounce and show the truth that he knows.' These sentences, most highly respected king, when I read them recently, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of my heart, they made me sorely afraid. They troubled and grievously vexed me in my conscience, and at last drove me to this strait, that either I must make known such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else belong to those who provoke the wrath of God upon themselves, and are traitors to the truth. Rather than this thing should happen, I would rather suffer extreme punishment.

"For what other thing is it to be a traitor to the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas to Christ, who is the very truth, and the cause of all truth? and who says that, 'Whoever denies me before men, I will deny him before my Father and his angels.' Denying this should be more feared and dreaded than the loss of all temporal goods, honor, and promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yes, and death itself, however shameful and painful. But, alas! How little men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men; and how little they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God, and especially those who boast of being guides and captains to others, and claiming for themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture. Yet they will neither show the truth themselves, as they arc bound, nor permit those who would. So that it may be said to them, that which our Savior Christ said to the Pharisees (Mat 23.13): 'But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. You neither go in yourselves, nor do you allow those who are entering to go in.' And they will, as much as it lies in them, debar not only the word of God, which David calls a light to direct and show every man how to order his affections and lusts, according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a way, all the kings in Christendom to aid, succor, and help them in this, their mischief. And especially in this, your realm, they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses,[65] and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections, I would say). And now at

[65] *Banbury gloss*: an explanation or interpretation of text that is roundabout and nonsensical.

last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increases by their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble grace to have the Scriptures in English.

"Here I beseech your grace to pardon me a while, and to patiently hear me a word or two. Yes, even if it is such that, concerning your high majesty and regal power to which Almighty God has called your grace, there is as great a difference between you and me, as between God and man. For to me and to all your subjects, you are here in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succor us in our right. And so I should tremble and quake to speak to your grace. But again, seeing that you are a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in which all of us are both conceived and born, so you have no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and others of your subjects have, who are all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you are a higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as St. Paul teaches, 'Those members who are taken to be most vile, and held in least reputation, are as necessary as the others, for the preservation and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your favorable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this crude, homely, and simple letter to your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

"First, and before all things, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and process of our Savior Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting forth the gospel, and also to note the words of our Master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them out to preach his gospel, and as to these, ever have in your mind the golden rule of our Master Christ: 'The tree is known by the fruit.' For by the diligent marking of these, your grace will clearly know and perceive who are the true followers of Christ and teachers of his gospel, and who are not. And concerning the first, all Scripture shows plainly that our Savior Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

"Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, or of one so poor as he was? It would take too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he was both master and man, and she was both mistress and maid. How vilely, does your grace think they were treated in the inns and lodgings along the way; and in how vile and abject a place was this poor maid, the mother of our Savior Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight. Was it not a poor beginning here, concerning this world? Yes, truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world. And yet he might, by his godly power, have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, whenever and wherever he wished.

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"But he did this to show us that his followers and vicars should not regard and value the riches and treasures of this world. Rather, we ought to take them according to the saying of David, who says: 'If riches increase, do not set your heart upon them.' Psa 62.10 So that it is not against the poverty in spirit which Christ preaches in the gospel of St. Matthew (5.3) — to be rich, to be in dignity and in honor, in such a way that their hearts are not fixed and set upon them so much that they neither care for God nor good men. But they are enemies to this poverty in spirit, however little they have, who have greedy and desirous minds for the goods of this world, only because they would live according to their own pleasures and lusts. And they also are secret enemies (and so much the worse) who have professed, as they say, willful poverty, and would not be called worldly men; yet they have lords' lands, and kings' riches. Indeed, rather than lose one jot of that which they have, they will set a debate between king and king, realm and realm, even between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the

temporal power, to which our Savior Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declares — those whom the holy apostle, St Paul, teaches every Christian man to obey. Yes, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as it lies in them to do so, even into the deep pit of hell, all who challenge their appetite, by which challenge they think their goods, promotions, or dignities might decay.

"Your grace may see what means and craft the spiritualty (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your grace's last parliament, against their excesses. Therefore, those who do thus, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. Although I named the spiritualty to be corrupt with this unthirsty ambition, yet I do not mean all of them are faulty in this, for there are some good among them. Neither would I have your grace take away the goods due to the church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, and set better ones in their stead.

"I do not name or appoint any person or persons, but refer your grace to the rule of our Savior Christ, as mentioned in Mat 7.20, 'By their fruits you shall know them.' As touching the words that our Savior Christ spoke to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, we read in St. Matthew, that here they will be hated and despised by all worldly men, and brought before kings and rulers (Mat 10.18), and that all kinds of evil would be said of them for his name's sake (Mat 5.11).[66] But he exhorts them to take such persecution patiently by his own example, saying it does not become the servant to be above the master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and heretics (Mat 10.24-25)? Read the 10th chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, and there your grace will see that he did not promise the true preachers any worldly promotions or dignity, but persecution and all kinds of punishment; and (Luk 21.16) that they would be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In Joh 16.33 also, he says, 'These things I have spoken to you, so that in me you might have peace. In the world you will have tribulation. But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.' And in the 10th chapter of St. Matthew's gospel (Mat 10.16) our Savior Christ also says, 'Behold! I send you out as sheep among wolves.' So that the true preachers go like harmless sheep, and are persecuted, and yet they do not revenge their wrong, but commit all to God, so far is it from them to persecute any others except with the word of God alone, which is their weapon. And so, this is the most evident token that our Savior Jesus Christ would have his gospel and the preachers of it be known by: that it would be despised among those worldly wise men; and that they would repute it as but foolishness, and deceivable doctrine; and that the true preachers would be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town — and yes, at the last, lose both goods and life.

"And yet those who did this persecution would think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. Joh 16.2 And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Savior Christ, were content to suffer many persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul says that, 'Every man who will live godly in Christ Jesus, will suffer persecution.' And he says further in Phi 1.29, 'To you it is given in behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake.'

"Therefore take this for a sure conclusion, that where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution of the hearers as well as of the teachers. And whereas there is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loves all who are of the world, and hates all things that are contrary to it. To be brief, St. Paul calls the gospel the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the holy Scripture promises nothing to the favorers and

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[66] Latimer cited several wrong passages for the text he alludes to (e.g., the 14th and 15th chapters of Matthew). Those have been removed, and specific verse references included in parentheses. I realize that alters a historical document, and it hides his mistakes, but I thought it best to do so for the sake of his argument. His scripture text remains as he had it; only the references have been altered. – WHG

followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor bear with.

"Therefore please it your grace, to return to this golden rule of our Master and Savior, Jesus Christ, which is this, 'By their fruits you will know them.' For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and those who persecute are void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light which, as our Savior Jesus Christ teaches in the 3rd chapter of St. John's Gospel (Joh 3.19), has come into the world, and which will utter and reveal every man's works. Those whose works are evil, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, hindering as much as they can, so that the holy Scripture would not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection — and so they persuade, or at least they would gladly persuade your grace, to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, who are not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs from thorns, and grapes from thistles, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that which teaches all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly-wisdom Phi 3.19 with which they judge and measure everything, to hold and keep this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and has so blinded the eyes of their hearts that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they talk ever so much about it.

"But concerning this matter, other men have shown your grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. Your grace has also promised this thing by your last proclamation. That promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even today before tomorrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly-wise counsellors of Hanun, the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, 'They did not come to comfort him, but to espy and search his land, so that after they had brought David word how everything stood, David might come and conquer it.' And they had the young king shave their heads, and cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools — those whom he should rather have made much of, and entreated them gently, and given them great thanks and rewards. 1Chr 19.3-4 Oh, wretched counsellors! But see what followed from this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of the whole realm, and also of all those who took their side.

"Therefore, good king, seeing that the true David — that is to say our Savior Christ — has sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and also his own word to comfort our weak and sick souls, do not let these worldly men make your grace believe that they will cause insurrections, and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest He be avenged upon you and your realm, as David was avenged upon the Ammonites.

[841] A.D. 1555.

"He has ever been avenged upon those who have obstinately withstood and denied his word. But perhaps they will lay this against me, and say that experience shows how such men who call themselves followers of the gospel do not regard your grace's commandment, nor value your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons who were recently punished in London for keeping such books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation. And so, just as they did not regard this, so they will not regard or esteem others of your grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion. For your grace knows that there is no man living, who especially loves worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or advance his enemies, whereby he would be hindered of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires. But rather, he will seek all the ways possible that he can, to utterly confound, destroy,

and put his enemies out of the way. And so, concerning your last proclamation prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors, were those (as men say, and of likelihood it might be) whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books mentioned and disclosed.

"And though there were three or four who would have had the Scripture go forth in English, yet it happened, as it is evermore seen, that the greater part overcomes the better part. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs, set forth in your name, as they have done many times more. This has put your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it into great penury. It would have done more if God had not mercifully provided to bring your grace to a knowledge of the falsehood and secret treason which their head and captain was about. And you can be sure he is not without adherents, if the matter is duly searched. For what marvel is it that being so near your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, they should provoke both your grace and them to prohibit these books. Before, by their own authority, they have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation. For such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell before they send one to God. And yet the New Testament (and so I think the other) was meekly offered to every man who would and could, to amend it if there was any fault.

"Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections which have occurred in this realm up to now. And from where is it that there are so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, who daily not only break your grace's laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also break the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say it is these books, but rather their pardons which cause many a man to sin in trust of them. As for those malefactors which I now recited, you will not find one in a hundred, who will not cry out both against these books, and also against those who have them — yes, and who will be glad to spend the good which he has wrongfully gotten, on faggots to burn both the books and those who have them.

"And as regards these men who were recently punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, who can lay any word or deed against them that would sound to the breaking of any of your grace's laws, with this exception: if it is yours, and not rather theirs. And let us say it is so, that there are some who have these books, who are evil, unruly, and self-willed persons, regarding neither God's laws nor man's. These books are not the cause of it, any more than the bodily presence of Christ and his words were the cause of Judas falling. But it was their own froward mind and carnal heart, which should be amended by the virtuous example of their curates, and by the true exposition of the Scriptures. If the lay people had such curates who would thus do their office, then neither these books, nor the devil himself, could so hurt them as to go out of frame. So that, the lack of good curates is the cause of destruction and all mischief. Nor do I write these things because I would either excuse these men who were recently punished, or affirm all to be true that is written in these books, all of which I have not read. But it is only to show that such inconvenience cannot follow them, and especially of the Scriptures, as they would make men believe would follow them.

"And even if it is so, that your grace may by other books, and namely by the Scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in sheep's clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter to your grace such things as God put in my mind to write. And I do this (God judge me) not for hate of any person or persons living. Nor is it because I think the word of God should go forth without persecutions, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother tongue. For the gospel must have persecution until the time that it has been preached throughout the world. This is the last sign that Christ told his disciples would come before the day of judgment. So that, if your grace had once commanded that the Scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to

exhort your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels. I do it for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of His name, which is only known by His word. And it is for the true allegiance that I owe to your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart, the talent given to me by God, but to present it to others.

"Take heed whose counsels your grace takes in this matter. For there are some who, for fear of losing their worldly worship and honor, will not leave their opinion, which they rashly took it upon themselves to defend by writing. And that was to please men by whom they had great promotion. So that, now they think that all their felicity which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if what they have so slanderously oppressed should now be promoted and allowed. But, alas! Let these men remember St. Paul, and how fervent he was against the truth before he was called (and that was of a good zeal). He thought it no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for what he had despised and called heresy before. I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

"Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building the temple, after the prophet Nathan had shown him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for Him. Notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

"Therefore, those who think it is against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance, are sorely drowned in worldly wisdom. I pray to God that your grace may observe them, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God, so that you may do what God commands, and not what seems good in your own sight without the word of God. Thus your grace may be found acceptable in His sight, and one of the members of his church. And according to the office that He has called your grace to, you may be found a faithful minister of His gifts, and not a defender of His faith. For he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by His word alone, by which he has evermore defended it. And that is by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the histories of the Bible mention.

"Therefore, gracious king, remember yourself; have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you will give account of your office, and of the blood that has been shed with your sword. In that day, may your grace stand steadfastly and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have (as they say) your rest sealed with the blood of our Savior Christ, which only serves at that day. This is my daily prayer to Him who suffered death for our sins, who also continually prays to his Father for grace for us. To Him be all honor and praise forever. Amen.

The Spirit of God preserve your grace,
1st December A.D. 1530."

[842]

In this letter of Latimer to the king, we have many things to consider: first, his good conscience to God; his good will to the king; the duty of a good pastor to truth; his tender care for the commonwealth, and especially for the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of prince's courts, how kings many times are subject to flatterers and wicked counsellors about them. And we may especially note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings to support their own malignant proceedings. We may see, moreover, and rather marvel at, the great boldness and divine strength of this man, who was not yet a bishop, to so freely and plainly, without any fear of death, risk his own life to discharge his conscience. He dared write so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a

dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time. He took it upon himself to write about, and to admonish that which no counsellor dared once speak to him in defense of Christ's gospel. His example, if the bishops and prelates of this realm would likewise follow for their parts, in like cases of necessity (as indeed they should), so many things perhaps would not be so out of frame as they are.

Finally it is to be noted how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold venture, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time. Yet notwithstanding, God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet displeasure, arose to him thereby, but rather, the thanks and good will of the prince. For not long after, he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester.

During the time that Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we do not read of much that he wrote, besides his conference with Doctor Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, we find very few letters that he wrote to his friends.

Concerning the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, this is not to be neglected: what a bold enterprise he attempted in sending to King Henry a present, in the following manner. There was then, and still remains, an old custom received from the Romans, that on New-year's day, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king. And so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, some one thing, and some another. But Latimer, then being bishop of Worcester, among the rest, presented a NEW TESTAMENT for his New-year's gift to the king, with a napkin having this sentence on it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus*. [67]

And thus have you, gentle reader, the whole life, both of bishops Ridley and Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, with their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful labors, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constancy in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, up to this present time and month of the reign of Queen Mary, which was October A.D. 1555. In that month they were brought out together to their final examination and execution. Therefore, as we have previously declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other, so now we will couple them together, as they were joined in one society of cause and martyrdom. And we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remains concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant (faithful) suffering.

The Examination of Ridley and Latimer

The Examination of Ridley and Latimer,
on the 30th of September 1555.

First, their examination was after the appearing of Cranmer before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th of September. More will be said of this when we come to the death of the archbishop. On the 28th of September, another commission was sent down to Oxford from Cardinal Pole, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, Doctor Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and Doctor Holyman, bishop of Bristol. It stated that they, or two of them, would have full power and authority to cite, examine, and judge Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for sundry erroneous opinions which they held and maintained in open disputations in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year 1554. If these

[67] The Lord will judge fornicators and adulterers.

persons would now recant these opinions, yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by St. Peter, in the blessed See of Rome, then the judges would have power to receive the penitent persons, and minister to them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would defend and maintain their erroneous opinions, then the lords, by their commission, would proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics — that is, after degrading them from their dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, they would pronounce them as heretics. And therefore they would cut them off from the church, and yield them to receive the punishments due to all such heresy and schism.

Therefore, on the last of September, Ridley and Latimer were cited to appear before the lords, in the Divinity School at Oxford. The lords placed themselves in the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, which was nicely set and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet. After the lords were seated, Latimer and Ridley were sent for. First appeared Ridley, and then Latimer. But because it seemed good to examine them separately, Latimer was kept back until Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after Ridley had come into the school, the commission was openly read. But Ridley standing bareheaded, as soon as he heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. After the commission was read, the bishop of Lincoln spoke in the following sense:

Lincoln. — "Master Ridley, neither I nor my lords here, in respect to our own persons, look for cap or knee. Yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate *à latere* to the pope's holiness,[68] as well as being of a notable parentage (and with that, Ridley removed his cap with lowly obeisance) descending from the regal blood — in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially as he is here in England as deputy to the pope's holiness — it would have become you, at his name, to have uncovered your head. Therefore, unless you will of your own accord put your hand to your head, and at the name of the cardinal as well as of the pope's holiness, uncover your head, lest your obstinacy be prejudicial to these most reverend persons, we will have some man pluck off your cap from you."

Ridley. — "Regarding what you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap or knee, but only require them in consideration that you represent the cardinal's grace's person, I beg you to understand that I put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any obstinacy that I bear towards your own persons, nor for any derogation of honor toward the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honor, as he came from the most regal blood. And as he is indued a man with many graces of learning and virtue, and regarding these virtues and points, I with all humility will reverence and honor his grace (with that, he put off his cap, and bowed his knee). But as he is legate to the bishop of Rome (and with that, he put on his cap) whose usurped supremacy I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no way give any obeisance or honor to him, lest my so doing and my behavior might be prejudicial to my oath, and in derogation of the truth of God's word."

[843] A.D. 1555.

[68] *Legate a latere*: a papal legate of the highest degree, typically a cardinal, appointed by the Pope for a specific, temporary mission, rather than serving as a permanent diplomatic representative abroad.

Lincoln. — “Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with which we did not press you, in that you protest you keep on your cap, not for any obstinacy towards us, nor for any contempt of this audience: nor in derogation of any honor due to my lord cardinal’s grace, for his regal descent, and excellent qualities. For although honor is due in all these, yet we require no honor from you on this account, but only because my lord cardinal’s grace is here in England, deputy of the pope’s holiness,” (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Ridley put on his). “And therefore we say to you the second time, that unless you put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you will put us to the pain of causing some man to take it from you, unless you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause.”

Ridley. — “I spoke only that it might appear to your lordships, and to this audience, why I used such behavior, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee. And as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease as I have been this long season. And therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but that it might appear by my behavior, that in no point do I acknowledge that usurped supremacy of Rome; and therefore I scorn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it will please your lordships, and I will be content.”

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in the following manner.

Lincoln. — “Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of our commission, considering how authority is given to us, if you will receive the true doctrine of the church, which was first founded by St. Peter at Rome, [69] immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession has been brought to our time. If you will renounce your errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, consent to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel that was received and always taught by the catholic and apostolic church, which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, which all Christian people have and do confess, with you alone standing by yourself. You understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you back into the number of the Catholics and Christ’s church from which you have so long strayed, and without which no man can be saved.[70] This thing I and my lords here, yes, and all nobles

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[69] The founding of the Church in Rome is traditionally attributed to both Peter and Paul. Irenaeus, in the 2nd century, affirmed the Church was "founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul". This is supported by Dionysius of Corinth (2nd c.), who stated that Peter and Paul had planted and taught in both Rome and Corinth; and also by Eusebius (4th c.), who recorded that Clement of Alexandria (2nd c.) wrote of Peter preaching in Rome and inspiring Mark to write the Gospel of Mark. In his letter to the Romans, Paul indicates a well-established church there, but does not mention Peter, despite his closing greetings to many of its members. In 1Pet 5.13, Peter mentions "Babylon," probably referring to Rome as a sister church to the ones at Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (1Pet 1.1). That doesn’t prove Peter personally founded any of those churches. They may have been founded by the Jews from these nations (Act 2.9-10) who heard Peter’s sermon at Jerusalem, believed the gospel, and when they went back to their homes, they founded churches there (Act 2.6-41). There is no indication in the NT, that Peter ever travelled to Rome. However, early church fathers, such as Irenaeus, Origen, and Eusebius, affirm that Peter preached in Rome and was martyred there under Emperor Nero. – WHG

[70] That is, salvation is not by faith alone, in Christ alone, but by faith in Christ plus membership in the Roman Catholic church (as distinct from the universal church of Christ, to which all the elcct of God belong). This was the sticking point for so many of these martyrs, who would not bend the knee to the pope, as the “vicar of Christ.”

and commons of this realm as well, most heartily desire — and I for my part" (with which he put off his cap) "most earnestly exhort you to do. Remember, it is no strange country to which I exhort you to return. You were once one of us. You have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and to be brief, it is not so long since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a proclaimer of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For when the council, to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him, and after you had talked with my lord, and had departed, my lord immediately declared certain points of your talk and means of your persuasion. Among others was this one, that you should say, 'Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle; let us not hesitate to condescend in it to them. But for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the truth of the sacrament.' Also in a sermon of yours at St. Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as universally spoke of that blessed sacrament as any man might have done, by which it appears that it is no strange thing, nor an unknown place to which I exhort you. I wish you to return from where you came. That is, together with us, to acknowledge the church of God, in which no man may err. And to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God, the pope's holiness, who lineally takes his descent from St. Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his church. That supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers acknowledged, in all ages, in all times. Accordingly, St. Augustine writes in this manner: 'All the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome.' Here you see that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should prevent you, therefore, from confessing the same as St. Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Ridley requested permission to speak somewhat, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory. And having obtained permission, he said this:

"My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship for your gentleness as well as your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favorable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked especially three points which you used to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know. And I am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back and to return to the Romish see, contrary to my oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moves me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

> "The first point is this, that the See of Rome taking its beginning from St. Peter, upon whom you say Christ has built his Church, it has in all ages lineally from bishop to bishop been brought to this time.
>
> "Secondly, that even the holy fathers from time to time have confessed the same in their writings.
>
> "Thirdly, that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you I acknowledged the same.

"First, as regards the saying of Christ, from which your lordship gathers the foundation of the church being built upon St. Peter, truly the passage is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the passage will declare. For after Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they answered that some said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he asked, 'Whom do *you* say that I am?' Then Peter answered, you are Christ, the Son of God. To whom Christ answered, 'You are

Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;' that is to say, upon this rock, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, who is so frail and brittle, to be the foundation of his staple and infallible church; but upon *this* rock-stone: that is, upon this confession of yours, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity: to confess with word, heart, and mind, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. Whoever does not believe this, Christ is not in him. And whoever does not confess that Christ is the Son of God, cannot have the mark of Christ imprinted in his forehead.

"Therefore Christ said to Peter, that upon this rock — that is, upon his confession that he was Christ the Son of God — he would build his church, thereby declaring that without this faith, no man can come to Christ. So this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built: not upon the frailty of man, but upon the staple and infallible word of God.

"Now as to the lineal descent of the bishops in the See of Rome, it is true that the patriarchs of Rome, in the apostles' time and long after, were great maintainers and presenters of Christ's glory. There especially, above all other countries and regions, the true gospel was preached, and the sacraments were most duly ministered. And as it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs *before* Christ's coming, that all the world was in a way subject to it, and *after* Christ's passion, various of the apostles suffered persecution there for the gospel's sake, so too, the emperors afterward (their hearts being illuminated) received the gospel and became Christians. The gospel flourished there most, for the great power and dominion, as well as for the name of the place, by which the bishops of that place were held in greater reverence and honor, and most esteemed in all councils and assemblies.

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"This was not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most reverenced and spoken about for its great power and strength. Just as now, here in England, the bishop of Lincoln has pre-eminence over the other bishops in sessions and sittings. It is not that he is their head and ruler, but it is for the dignity of the bishopric," (and with this, the people smiled).

"Therefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this See of Rome; and in their writings they preferred it. This is the prerogative which your lordship said that the ancient doctors gave to the See of Rome.

"I cannot and dare not but commend, reverence, and honor the See of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But afterwards, the bishops of that see — seeking their own pride, and not God's honor — began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, and the dominion and supremacy over the whole world. I can but confess with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome, that the bishop of that place is the very antichrist, which St. John calls by the name of the whore of Babylon. And I say with St. Gregory, 'He that makes himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.' [71]

[71] This statement is attributed to Gregory the Great (Gregory I), concerning the Patriarch of Constantinople (John IV, the Faster), who was granted the title "universal bishop" by a synod held in Constantinople in 588.

"Now, you say St. Augustine seems not only to give such a prerogative, but also *supremacy* to the See of Rome, in saying that the whole Christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that See a certain kind of subjection. I am sure that your lordship knows that in St. Augustine's time there were *four* patriarchs — of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome. These patriarchs had under them certain countries; such as, in England the archbishop of Canterbury has under him diverse bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their 'patriarch.' Also your lordship knows right well, that when St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant that between Europe and Africa lies the Mediterranean Sea. So that to him who in Africa, all the countries in Europe may be called transmarine countries, or 'beyond the sea.' It is of *this* that St. Augustine says, 'All the Christian countries beyond the seas and far regions are subject to the See of Rome.' If I said 'all countries beyond the sea,' I would except England, which to me (now being in England) is *not* beyond the sea. In this sense, St. Augustine says all the countries *beyond the sea* are subject to the See of Rome. He declares thereby that Rome was one of the Sees of the four patriarchs, and under it *Europe*. But by what subjection, I ask you? Only for pre-eminence; as we say here in England, all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York.

"For this pre-eminence, the other doctors (you cited) also say that Rome is the mother of churches, just as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford. This is because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were once both one. So the archbishopric of Canterbury is mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In the same way, the archbishopric of York is mother to the northern bishoprics. And yet no man would say that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York are supreme heads to other bishoprics. Neither then should we confess that the See of Rome is supreme head, just because the doctors in their writings confess the See of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now, where you say I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so too, St. Paul was a persecutor of Christ. But when you say that I was one of you not long ago — in that giving my message to my Lord of Winchester, I desired him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord — in very deed I was sent from the council to my Lord of Winchester to exhort him also to receive the true confession of justification. And because he was very unresponsive, I said to him, 'Why, my lord, what in this is so great a matter for you? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar. I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding them. For at that time my Lord of Winchester and I had to deal with two anabaptists in Kent. In this sense, I willed my lord to be stiff in the defense of the sacrament against the detestable errors of the anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"As to the sermon which I made at St. Paul's Cross, you will understand that there were at St. Paul's and diverse other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it Jack of the box, the sacrament of the halter, round Robin, with other such unseemly terms. For these causes, in order to rebuke the irreverent behavior of certain evil-disposed persons, I preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued from mishandling it, affirming that sacrament to be truly and indeed the body and blood of Christ, effectually so by grace and spirit. The unlearned, not understanding these words, supposed that I meant them of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth: that a body having life and motion was indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the bishop of Lincoln somewhat interrupting him, said:

"Well, if I were to stay on this place of St. Augustine, I could bring many more places of the fathers to confirm it. But we have certain instructions according to which we must proceed. We did not come here to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles, to be used in the way of disputation. You interrupted me in this; therefore I will return again.

"You must consider that the church of Christ does not lie hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is catholic. So that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, and not contained in a prescribed locality, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

"Therefore, God's love not being singular, acknowledge with all the realm the truth. It will not be, as you allege, prejudicial to the crown. For the king and queen, their majesties, have renounced that usurped power taken by their predecessors, and have justly renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to St. Peter, and left by him to all his successors. As to our goods, possessions and lives, we acknowledge with you that we are subjects to the king and queen, who has the temporal sword. But concerning matters of religion, regarding quarrels about God and his word, we acknowledge another head. And as their highnesses, the king and the queen. in all worldly affairs, justly claim the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge they are not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why then should you stick at that matter which their majesties have forsaken and yielded?

"Therefore, you will not only *not* do injury to the crown, nor be prejudicial to their majesty's honor in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church militant here on earth, but you will do a thing that is most delectable in their sight. Thus if you will revoke all your errors, acknowledging with the rest of the realm the common and the public fault, you will do what all men most heartily desire: you will bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then we will with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you back into the church, acknowledging you are no longer a rotten, but a lively member. But if you will still be singular, if you will still obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefies and corrupts the whole body. Then we must confess and publish that you are none of ours.

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"Then we must yield you up to the temporal judges of whom, unless it otherwise pleases the king and queen's highness, you must receive the punishment due heretics by the laws of this realm. Therefore, consider your state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; and especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight. Do not force us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish that you are none of us, but cut you off from the church. We do not, nor can we condemn you to die (as has been most untruly reported of us), for that is the temporal judge's office. We only declare you to be none of the church; and then

you must, according to the tenor and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination. So that we, after we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have nothing further to do with you."

Then Master Ridley, with frequent interruptions, at length spoke:

Ridley. — "My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in which no man can err, without which no man can be saved, which is spread throughout the world — that is, the congregation of the faithful. Nor do I confine or bind it to any one place, as you said, but confess it to be spread throughout the world. And where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel duly preached and followed, there Christ's church shines as a city on a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick. But rather it is those like you who would have the church of Christ bound to a place, who appoint it to Rome — that there and nowhere else is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is founded everywhere, in every place where his gospel is truly received and effectually followed. And where the church of God is in doubt, I use the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis,[72] whom I am sure you will allow. Giving precepts on how the catholic church may be known amid all schisms and heresies, he writes in this manner: 'When,' he says, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greater part is infected, then prefer antiquity.'

"So now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity is infected with the poison of the See of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees — such as, that the priest receives alone, what it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such things. Therefore it requires that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church."

Lincoln. — "Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the See of Rome with, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbidden to the laity; rather, that they might, if they demanded, receive both kinds. You also know that Christ, after his resurrection, when he went with his apostles to Galilee, revealed himself by breaking the bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, broke bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking bread, which declares that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only. And yet the church had just occasion to decree that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby taking away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to better establish the people's faith, the Holy Spirit in the church thought it fit to decree that the laity should receive only in one kind. And it is not a new thing for the church, upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul, writing to certain of the gentiles who had received the gospel, bid them to abstain from things that were strangled, and from blood; so that this seems to be an express commandment. Yet, who will say that it is lawful or not to eat blood? How is it lawful, if not by the permission of the church?"

Ridley. — "My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the gentiles for a sufferance, to win the Jews to Christ little by little, were only commandments of the time, and did not respect the successors. But Christ's commandment, 'Do this' — that is, what he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only — was not a commandment for a time, but was to persevere to the world's end."

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[72] Vincentius Lyrinensis (or Vincent of Lérins), was a Gallic monk and theologian of the 5th century. His primary work, *Commonitorium*, outlines criteria for distinguishing orthodox Christian teaching from heresy.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration:

"So that the church seems to have authority by the Holy Spirit, whom Christ said he would send alter his ascension, which would teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But, as I said before, we did not come to reason the matter with you, but to have certain instructions ministered to us, according to the tenor of which we must proceed, proposing certain articles to which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to each of them, either denying them or granting them without further disputation or reasoning. For we have already stretched our instructions, in that we allowed you to debate and reason the matter, as we have done. The articles you shall now hear, and tomorrow we will require your answers, and then proceed. If you require a copy of them, you will have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you demand, if they are to be gotten in the university."

The Articles.

"1. We object to you, Nicholas Ridley, and to you, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; First, that you Nicholas Ridley, in this high University of Oxford, in the year 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, have affirmed and openly defended and maintained, and at many other times and places besides these, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. That in the year and months aforesaid, you have publicly affirmed and defended that in the sacrament of the altar, the substance of bread and wine still remains.

"3. That in the said year and months, you have openly affirmed and obstinately maintained that in the mass, there is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"4. That in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these aforesaid assertions solemnly had been condemned by the scholastic censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Doctor Weston, then prolocutor of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both universities.

"5. That all and singular of the premises are true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, to those near at hand, as well as to those in distant places far off."

Examination upon the Articles.

All these articles are placed together here, so that as often as reference needs to be made to any of them, the reader may have recourse here, and peruse them, and not distract the history with several repetitions of them.

After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At last the bishop of Lincoln said, "These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, maintained and defended. What do you say to the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

Ridley. — "Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such that you would have given me time until tomorrow, that upon good advice I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln. — "Indeed, Master Ridley, I did not mean that your answers now will be prejudicial to your answers tomorrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding, it will be lawful for you to add. diminish, alter, and change any part of these answers tomorrow, as you will."

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Ridley. — “Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said that after disputations I would have a copy of them, and license to change my answers, as I might think good. It was fit also that I might have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me time. But this gentleness is the same that Christ had from the high priest. For you, as your lordship says, have no power to condemn me, nor at any time to put a man to death. So the high priests said in like manner, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, nor would they allow him to absolve Christ, although he sought all means that he might.”

Doctor Weston. — “What! Do you make the king Pilate?”

Ridley. — “No, Master Doctor. I only compare your deeds with those of Caiaphas and the high priests, who would condemn no man to death, as you will not, and yet they would not allow Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ.”

Lincoln. — “We intend that you will enjoy the benefit of answering tomorrow, and will take your answers now as now; tomorrow you will change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the meantime, we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively.”

Ridley. — “Seeing you appoint me a time to answer tomorrow, and yet will take my answers out of hand: first, I request the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, nor admit you to be my judges in whatever you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatever I say or do, I protest. I neither say nor do it willingly, to thereby admit the authority of the pope. And if your lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me to this.”

Lincoln. — “No; we have instructions to the contrary. We may not permit you.”

Ridley. — “I will be short; I pray your lordships allow me to speak in few words.”

Lincoln. — “No, blaster Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers’ ears.”

Ridley. — “Why, my Lord, allow me to speak three words.”

Lincoln. — “Well, tomorrow you will speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What do you say to the **first article**?”

Ridley. — “My protestation always saved, that by my answer I do not yield to your authority as legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false; for if you take ‘really’ for ‘*vere*,’ for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament ‘*vere et realiter*, indeed and really.’ But if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then *really* the body and blood of Christ is not in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Spirit is in the element of water in our baptism.”

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries did not know how to note it. Therefore the bishop of Lincoln desired him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley. — “My lord, both you and I agree in this, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which

ascended into heaven, which sits at the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from there to judge the quick and the dead. We differ only in the way and manner of being, We confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I being fully persuaded by God's word, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by Spirit and grace, because whoever worthily receives that bread and wine, effectually receives Christ's body and drinks his blood; that is, he is effectually made a partaker of his passion. You make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, I answer that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receives the very true body of Christ. But if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that sense, Christ's body is not in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer, being taken and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the **second question** or article. To whom he answered:

Ridley. — "Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus: that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that the bread, which before was common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectually represents his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so the internal soul is fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. He answered:

Ridley. — "Notwithstanding the sacramental mutation of which I speak, and all the doctors confess, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remains, with which the body is nourished, as the soul is nourished by grace and Spirit, with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Spirit; and yet the water does not cease to be water, but keeps the nature of water still. In a like way, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the bread does not cease to be bread."

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because Christ did not say. by the water, "This is the Holy Spirit," as he said by the bread, "This is my body."

Then Ridley cited St. Austin, who compared both sacraments, the one with the other. But the bishop of Lincoln recited the **third article**, and required a direct answer. He said:

Ridley. — "Christ, as St. Paul writes, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, nor can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his. And yet the communion is an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving; but to say that sins are taken away by it, which was wholly and perfectly done by Christ's passion, of which the communion is only a memorial, that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion. For the sacrament was instituted so that, by receiving it, and thereby recognizing and remembering his passion, we would be partakers of its merits. For otherwise this sacrament takes upon it the office of Christ's passion, by which it might follow that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively. Then the bishop of Lincoln said:

"As you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross. Yet nevertheless, he has left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in remembrance of that by which sins are forgiven; which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the **fourth article**, to which Ridley answered, "In some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those assertions of his were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned by the university, for the disputations were ordered in such a way, that it was far from any school act."

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This answer being penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln recited the **fifth article**. To which Ridley answered that the premises were true in such a way as he had declared in his other answers. Whether all men spoke evil of them, he did not know, in that he did not go so much abroad as to hear what every man reported.

This answer also was written by the notaries. The bishop of Lincoln then said:

"Tomorrow, at eight o'clock, you will appear before us in St. Mary's church, and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, if it will please you to write your answer, you will have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you require. But if you write anything except your answers to these articles, we will not receive it." So charging the mayor with him, he also declared to the mayor that he should allow him to have a pen and ink. He dismissed Ridley, and sent for Latimer. Having been brought to the divinity school, he had tarried there till they called for him.

Latimer's Appearance before the Commissioners.

Now, after Ridley was committed to the mayor, the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, as soon as he was placed, said to the lords:

Latimer. — "My lords, if I appear again I pray you not to send for me until you are ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to my old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls."

Latimer. — "Master Latimer, I am sorry you were brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine; but it will be amended."

Then Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground. He held his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin). He wore an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown,[73] girded to his body with a penny-leather girdle, at which hung by a long string of leather his Testament. His spectacles, without a case, were suspended around his neck upon his breast. After this, the bishop of Lincoln began in this manner:

Lincoln. — "Master Latimer, you will understand that I and my lords here have a commission from my lord cardinal Pole's grace, legate *à latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend Father in God, the pope's holiness, to examine you on certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, here openly in disputations in the year 1554, as well as at other times, affirmed, maintained, and obstinately defended. In that commission

[73] *Frieze*: a type of coarse woolen fabric with a napped surface.

there are especially two points; the one which we must desire you is that, if you will now recant, revoke, and disannul these errors of yours, and together with all this realm, yes, and all the world, confess the truth, then we, upon your due repentance, will receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you to be no longer a strayed sheep, but join you again to the unity of Christ's church, from which you fell in the time of schism. So that it is no new matter to which I exhort you. I desire you to return to there from where you left.

"Consider that outside the unity of the church, there is no salvation; and in the church there can be no errors. Therefore, what would keep you from confessing that which all the realm confesses, to forsake that which the king and queen their majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted? It was a common error, and it is now confessed by all, that it will be no more shame to you than it was to us all. Consider that within these past twenty years, this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head, and it is well known by what means and for what occasion it cut itself off from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which was confessed in all times and ages. And it might now be declared on what good foundation the See of Rome was forsaken, except that we must spare those who are dead, to whom the reciting would be opprobrious. It is no usurped power, as it has been termed, but it is founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as it may be proved by diverse writings of the ancient fathers, as well as by the express word of God."

Here Latimer, who before had leaned his head on his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The bishop proceeded, saying,

"For Christ spoke expressly to Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep, and rule my lambs,' which not only declares a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but also includes a certain pre-eminence and government. So that, in saying 'rule,' Christ declared a power given to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter delivered to Clement, and so in all ages it has remained in the See of Rome. If you will confess this with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then you will do that which we most desire; then we will rest upon the first part of our commission; then we will receive you, acknowledge you as one of the church, and according to the authority given to us, minister to you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to which the king and queen their majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, even though of themselves they were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation. Yet, lest the putrefaction and rottenness of the whole body might be fetid, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal his grace, by him, as a legate to the pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation.

"But if you stubbornly persevere in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then we must proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do — not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do that) — but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are a son of perdition, a lost child; and as you are a rotten member of the church, to cut you off from the church, and to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws."

After the bishop had paused, Latimer lifted up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow), and asked whether his lordship had concluded; and the bishop answered, "Yes."

Latimer. — “Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?”

Lincoln. — “Yes, Master Latimer, if you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts.”

Latimer. — “I beseech your Lordship, give me leave to sit down.”

Lincoln. — “At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will.”

Latimer. — “Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a catholic church, spread throughout the world, in which no man may err, and without which unity of the church no man can be saved. But I know perfectly by God’s word, that this church is in the whole world, and does not have its foundation in Rome only, as you say. And I thought your lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ had bid him to ‘rule,’ or govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did his office well and truly, in being bid to rule. But since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of ruling. Indeed they ought to rule; but how my lord? Not as they will themselves, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule ‘according to the word of God,’ into the rule ‘according to their own pleasures.’ For there is a book which has several points set forth in it, and among others, this is one point which your lordship went about to prove by this word ‘rule.’ The argument which he brings for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said that if there arises any controversy among the people, the priests of the order of Levi will decide the matter *according to the law of God*. This book, perceiving this authority is given to the priests of the old law, takes occasion to prove that the same authority is given to the bishops and the other clergy of the new law.

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“But in proving this matter, ‘according to God’s law’ is left out. My lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now, I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet.”

Lincoln. — “No, Master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing. But as I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know of any such, I can say nothing in this.”

Latimer. — “Yes, my lord, the book is available to be read, and is written by one who is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, nor did I at any time see him to my knowledge.”

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission. Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up, and said it was his book.

Latimer. — “Was it yours, my lord? Indeed I did not know your lordship, nor did I ever see you before, nor do I see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining between you and me.”

Then the audience laughed again; and Lattimer spoke to them, saying, “Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death: ‘Woe to you who laugh now, for you shall weep.’ “

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said:

“Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this would not have been done.”

After this, the bishop of Gloucester spoke in defense of his book.

Gloucester. — “Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have.”

Latimer. — “Behold, you look for learning at my hands, who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink! And now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and overnight the one, through friends and favor, is cherished, and has good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy or lack of friends, is set in the stocks the whole night. In the morning when they meet, the one is in strength and lusty; the other is stiff in his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Do you think that running this man through with a spear is not a goodly victory?”

But the bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded saying:

“I did not go about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my book. For then, if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion for reprehension. But in that place I only formed an argument that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, then much more should the authority be given to the clergy in the new law. And I pray you, in this point, what does it avail them to recite, ‘according to the law of God?’ “

Latimer. — “Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spiritualty to decide matters of religion, and as my Lord said even now, to rule. But they must do it according to the word and law of God, and not according to their own will, nor according to their own imaginations and fantasies.”

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Latimer, proceeded to recite the articles in form, as it was declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to Ridley. And he required Latimer’s answer to the **first article**. Then Latimer, making his protestation that notwithstanding his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he acknowledged any authority of the bishop of Rome. He said that he was the king and queen’s subject, and not the pope’s, nor could he serve two masters at one time, unless he were now to renounce one of them. He requested the notaries to so take his protestation, that whatever he were to say or do, it should not be taken as though he thereby agreed to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome. The bishop of Lincoln said that his protestation would be so taken. But he required him to answer briefly the first article, affirmatively or negatively, and so he recited the same again. Latimer answered as follows:

Latimer. — “I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament, by spirit and grace, is the very body and blood of Christ, because every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receives the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ’s passion. But I deny that the body and blood of Christ is so in the sacrament, as you would have it.”

Lincoln. — “Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively.’”

Latimer. — “Yes, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you take it to be.”

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — “What do you say, Master Latimer, to the **second article**?”

Latimer. — “There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotence of God can make, in that what before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ’s body. And yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine. For the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because what now was common bread has the dignity to exhibit Christ’s body. For whereas it was common bread, it is now

no longer common bread, nor should it be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word.'

Lincoln. — "Look, Master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine. What you most abhorred and despised, you now most establish. For whereas you railed most at holy bread, you now make your communion to *be* holy bread."

Latimer. — "A rush for holy bread! I say the bread in the communion is holy bread indeed."

But the bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said: — "Oh! You differentiate between holy bread and holy bread. Well, Master Latimer, is your answer not that the substance of bread and wine remains after the words of consecration?"

Latimer. — "Yes, truly, it must be so. For Christ himself calls it bread; St. Paul calls it bread, the doctors confess the same; the nature of a sacrament confirms the same; and I call it holy bread, not because I make no difference between your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it bears — that is, to be a figure of Christ's body, and not only a bare figure, but to effectually represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — "What do you say to the **third question**?"

Latimer. — "No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for the whole world, nor can any man offer him again. Neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all, as St. Paul says, upon the cross. Nor is there any propitiation for our sins, except his cross alone."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — "What do your say to the **fourth article**, Master Latimer?" After the recital, which Latimer did not answer, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or not?

Latimer. — "Yes, but I do not understand what you mean by it."

Lincoln. — "Only this, that these assertions of yours were condemned by Doctor Weston as heresies; is it not so, Master Latimer?"

Latimer. — "Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly. He who shall be judge of all knows."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — "What say you, Master Latimer, to the **fifth article**?"

Latimer. — "I do not know what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer, I would have you propose the matter plainly."

Lincoln. — "As we proceed according to the laws, we must use their terms also. The meaning is this: that these assertions of yours are notorious, evilly spoken of, and yet they are common and frequent in the mouths of the people."

[849] A.D. 1555.

Latimer. — "I cannot tell how much, nor what men say about them. I do not come so much among them, for I have been secluded a long lime. What men report about them I do not know, nor do I care."

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said:—

Master Latimer, we do not mean that these answers of yours will be prejudicial to you. Tomorrow you will appear before us again, and then it will be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till tomorrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against tomorrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth."

Latimer. — "Now, my lord, I pray you give me license to declare the reasons why I have refused the authority of the pope."

Lincoln. — "No, Master Latimer, tomorrow you will have license to speak."

Latimer. — "No, my lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it pleases your lordships. I pray you, do not let me be troubled again tomorrow."

Lincoln. — "Yes, Master Latimer, you must appear again tomorrow."

Latimer. — "Truly, my lord, for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point. You will give me respite in vain. Therefore I pray you, do not let me trouble you tomorrow."

Lincoln. — "Yes, for we trust God will work with you against tomorrow. There is no remedy. You must appear again tomorrow, at eight o'clock, in St. Mary's church."

The next day, which was the 1st of October, the lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne, well-trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, Ridley appeared. He was set at a framed table, a good distance from the bishop's feet. The table had a silk cloth thrown over it; the place was compassed about with framed seats, partly for gentlemen who repaired there, and for the heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep away the press of the audience. For the whole body of the university, as well as of the town, came to see the end of these two persons. After Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spoke in the following manner:

"Master Ridley, yesterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of what no man accused you, in saying that you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, who desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect to those whose persons we bear. Neither, you said, was it for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience which, although it justly may, yet in this case it requires no such humility from you. Neither was it for any derogation of 'honor to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is descended from regal blood, in that he is a most noble man, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning. For touching those points, you said, you would honor, reverence, and worship his grace with all humility. But in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God, the pope's holiness" (with that the bishop with all those present, put off their caps, but Ridley did not remove his), "you said you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honor. But because this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honor and reverence from you, we tell you now as we did then, unless you take the pains to remove your bonnet, we will take the pains to have your bonnet taken from you — unless you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley. — "I pretend now no other cause than I did yesterday; that is, only that it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gestures and behavior, in no point will I agree or admit any authority or power that comes from the pope, and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), nor for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipful audience, nor for derogation of honor due my lord cardinal's grace, concerning those points which your lordship spoke of — that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning.

And as for taking away my cap, your lordship may do as it pleases you; it will not offend me. But I will be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln. — "Because you answer now as you did yesterday, we must also do as we did then;" and immediately one of his beadles very hastily snatched Ridley's cap from his head.

After this, the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in the following manner:

"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed to you. But because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer from you, we granted you (and you requesting the same) license to bring your answer in writing, and we commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, and yes, also any books that you would require, if they were to be gotten. We licensed you then to also alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we have come here to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish), or on the other hand, you are content to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church. And I, for my part, most earnestly exhort you, not because my conscience pricks me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you as a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

"Yesterday I quoted among others, St. Augustine, to prove that authority has always been given to the See of Rome. And you twisted the words far contrary to his meaning, in that you would have 'the whole world' to be applied only to Europe, which is but a third of the world."

But Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying, "I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in geography, in which you understand that there is a sea called the Mediterranean between Europe and Africa. He was then in Africa, and he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I might say the whole world beyond the sea, and I would thereby be excepting England in which I stand." Here many words were spent on the interpretation of St. Augustine.

Then he came to St. Cyril, who, as he said, made against Ridley in the sacrament, even by Melancthon's own alleging. He called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before; therefore he passed it over. The bishop of Lincoln continued:

"St. Cyril also in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ had come, uses this reason: altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries. Therefore Christ has come. But we may use the contrary of that reason; altars are plucked down in Britain: therefore Christ has not come. A good argument *a contrariis*.[74] I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. You see what a good argument your doctrine makes for the Jews, to prove that Christ has not come."

Ridley (smiling). — "Your lordship is not ignorant that this word 'altar' in the Scriptures signifies, the altar upon which the Jews customarily made their burnt sacrifices, as well as the table of the Lord's supper. St. Cyril means there by this word 'altar,' not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying (altars are erected in Christ's name, therefore Christ has come) he means that the communion is ministered in his remembrance; therefore Christ has come: for the strength of his argument is because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, unless itself is past. So then, all countries could not celebrate the

[74] *a contrariisI* (Lat.): an argument that is based on the opposite of a certain premise.

communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, unless Christ had come and had suffered. As for taking down the altars, it was done upon just considerations; for they seemed to come too near to the Jews' usage. Nor was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, or more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usages of the primitive church."

Lincoln. — "A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set up an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive it! And yet when your table was constituted, you could never be content in placing it now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

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Ridley. — "Your lordship's irreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men come more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

Lincoln. — "As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man. But by your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We did not come to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles. Now, what do you say to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it; but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read what he had written. But the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. He desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no way permit him.

Ridley. — "Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not permit me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure. Therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln. — "Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we think it good to be read, you will have it published. But unless you deliver it first to us, we will take none at all from you."

With that, seeing no remedy, Ridley delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln. After he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, he declared the sense of it, but he would not read it as it was written, saying that it contained words of blasphemy. Therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience with it, even if Ridley desired very urgently to have it published, saying that except for a line or two, there was nothing contained in it but the sayings of the ancient doctors for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said: "In the first part, Master Ridley, there is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have your answers be so taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness."

Ridley. — "No, my lord, I pray you read it out, so that the audience may hear it." But the bishop of Lincoln would in no way permit that. "Because," he said, "words of blasphemy were contained in it."

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Ridley's answer to it. Ridley said that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published. But the bishop would not read the whole, except for a piece of it here and there. So the notaries took

his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing, and also before at the time of disputation. Doctor Weston was prolocutor. [75]

In like manner, the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer. Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now and also before at the time of disputation; and similar answers were given to the remainder of the articles.

These answers being recited, taken, and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Ridley to recant.

Gloucester. — "If you would just once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground you have for your religion, I do not doubt that you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leans to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit. So that, if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then the religion of Cranmer and Latimer must also fall. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaks most truly, saying: Woe to those who are wise in their own conceits. But you will say here, it is true what the prophet says, but how do you know that I am wise in my own conceit? Yes, Master Ridley, for you refuse the determination of the catholic church. You must therefore be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the proof of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth in this? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit. But if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers in like manner, and you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another, then how will you know the truth in it? If you stand to your own judgment, then you are singular in your own conceit; and then you cannot avoid the woe which the prophet speaks of. Therefore, you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, unless you rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain. If the prophet most truly says, Woe, woe to those who are wise in their own conceit, then for God's love, Master Ridley, do not stand singular; do not be wise in your own conceit; do not please yourself over much.

"How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other diverse heretics which have been in the church, how, I ask you, were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No, truly, for the Arians had no more places of Scripture to confirm their heresy, than the catholics for the defense of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed, unless we constitute the church as our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. Because we all bring Scriptures and doctors for the proof of our assertions, who should be judge of this controversy of ours? If we ourselves then are singular and wise in our own conceits, then we cannot avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of. It remains, therefore, that we submit ourselves to the determination of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Spirit which would teach it the truth. Therefore, Master Ridley, if you would avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of, do not be wise in your own judgment. If you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

[75] *Prolocutor*: spokesman or chairman of an assembly.

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by which he endeavored in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric, to move the affections, to persuade Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, Woe to him who is wise in his own conceit. But he acknowledged no such singularity in himself, nor knew any reason why he should attribute so much to himself.

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded, the religion which he defended was grounded upon God's word. And therefore, without great offense towards God, and great peril and damage to his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God. But he desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he would have license to show his reasons why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said that whereas then he had demanded license to speak *three* words, he was content then that he should speak *forty*, and that grant he would perform.

Then Doctor Weston, who had sat by, stepped forward and said, "Why, my Lord, he has spoken four hundred already."

Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, nor on that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bid him take his leave, but he should speak *only* forty, and he would count them on his fingers. Ridley began to speak. But before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried out and said that his number had run out; and with that, he was put to silence.

[851] A.D. 1555.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the midst, began to speak as follows:

"Now, I perceive. Master Ridley, you will not permit nor allow us to stay on that point of our commission which we desired. For indeed, for my part I take God to witness, I am sorry for you." Whereupon Ridley answered:

Ridley. — "I believe it well, my lord, because one day it will be burdensome to your soul."

Lincoln. — "No, not so, Master Ridley. It is because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means may you be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But seeing it is so, because you will not allow us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you, hearken to what I will say," and immediately he read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process. The tenor of it, because it was already sufficiently expressed before, we thought it fitting to omit it in this place, for they are words of course, rather than things devised upon deliberation. The effect was that, as Nicholas Ridley affirmed, maintained, and stubbornly defended certain opinions, assertions and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, such as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar: secondly, in affirming that the substance of bread and wine remain after the words of consecration: thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and he would by no means be induced and brought from these his heresies, they therefore — the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol — judged and condemned the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic. And so they adjudged him presently, both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical

orders. They declared, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore, committed him to the secular power to receive due punishment according to the temporal laws; and further, excommunicated him by the great excommunication.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Latimer was sent for. But in the meantime, the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table where Ridley stood was removed, because Latimer had never received the degree of a doctor, as Ridley had. But as soon as Latimer appeared, perceiving no cloth upon the liable, he laid his hat under his elbows, and immediately spoke to the commissioners, saying:

"My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better arrangement here at the entrance; for I am an old man, and have a very weak back, so that the press of the multitude does me much harm."

Lincoln. — "I am sorry. Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that, Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low curtsey. After this, the bishop of Lincoln began in this manner:

"Master Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially as you requested it, yet having a good hope of your returning, not desiring your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, we deferred further process till this day. And now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and for my part, as I did yesterday, I most earnestly exhort you."

It seemed that the bishop would have proceeded further, but Latimer interrupted him, saying:

"Your lordship often repeats the 'catholic church,' as if I denied it. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call 'catholic,' which should sooner be termed 'diabolic.' And where you join together the Roman and the Catholic church, stop there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say 'Roman church,' and another thing to say 'Catholic church.' I must use here the advice of St. Cyprian. When he was cited before some bishops who gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel to test and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: 'In sticking and persevering in the truth, no counsel or deliberation must be taken.' And again, he was asked by those sitting in judgment, who was most likely to be of the church of Christ, the one who was persecuted, or those who persecuted? 'Christ,' he said, 'has foreshown that whoever would follow him, must take up his cross and follow him.' Christ gave knowledge that the disciples would have persecution and trouble. What do you think, then, my lords? Is it likely that the See of Rome is the church, which has been a continual persecutor, or rather, that small flock which has been continually persecuted by it, even to death?"

Lincoln. — "Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary. For he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel's; but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God, and the received truth of the church."

Latimer (interrupting him). — "Yes, truly, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's. For his was for the word of God, and so is mine."

Lincoln. — “Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could only be that the apostles would suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ’s coming, there were very few who continually truly served God. But after his coming, the time of grace began, and then the church began to increase, and it was continually augmented, until it came to this perfection. And now it justly has that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes resisted before by tyranny. There is a different consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ’s coming. But although we had instructions given us to determinately take your answer to such articles as we would propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet hoping by talk to somewhat prevail with you, we appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school. And whereas then, notwithstanding that you had license to say your mind, and were answered in every matter, you could not be brought from your errors. Thinking that from that time you would, with good advice, consider your state, we gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time. And now we have called you again here in this place, to learn whether you are the same man you were then or not? Therefore we will propose to you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning.”

Latimer. — “Always my protestation saved, that by my answers it should not be thought that I condescended and agreed to your lordship’s authority, in that you are delegated by the authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction. To the first article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament, the worthy partaker receives the very body of Christ, and drinks his blood, by the Spirit and grace. But as to being a corporeal substance, which the Romish church prescribes, Christ’s body and blood is *not* in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine.”

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before.

After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer. — “Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that was a perfect sacrifice; nor does there need to be any other; nor *can* there be any other propitiatory sacrifice.”

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative.

In like manner he answered to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

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After his answers were penned by the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him to recant, as he did Ridley, and to revoke his errors and false assertions, Latimer answered that he neither could, nor would deny his Master Christ and his truth. The bishop desired Latimer to hearken to him; and then Latimer, listening for some new matter, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation. After the publication of this, the three bishops broke up their sessions, and dismissed the audience.

But Latimer requested the bishop to perform his promise, in saying the day before that he would have license briefly to declare the reason why he refused the pope’s authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, nor ought to talk with him. Then Latimer asked him whether it was lawful for him to appeal from his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. “To the next general council,” said Latimer, “which will be

truly called in God's name." The bishop was content with that appeal; but he said it would be a long time before such a convocation as Latimer meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, Master Mayor." And so Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer continued in prison till October 16th.

A Communication between Doctor Brooks and Doctor Ridley, in the house of Master Irish, the 15th of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the meantime, on the 15th of October, in the morning, the bishop of Gloucester (Doctor Brooks), and the vice-chancellor of Oxford (Doctor Marshall), with several others of the chief and heads of the university, and many others accompanying them, came to the house of Master Irish, then mayor of Oxford. This is where Doctor Ridley, late bishop of London, was a close prisoner. When the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Ridley lay, he told him the purpose of their coming. He said that yet once again the queen's majesty offered to him, by them, her gracious mercy, if he would receive the same, and come back again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad, to the destruction of many. He further said that if Ridley would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they were very loath to do. "But," he says, "we have oftentimes been with you, and have requested that you would recant your fantastical and devilish opinion. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that will ensue, both of body and soul, if you so willfully cast yourself away in refusing the mercy offered to you at this time."

"My lord," answered Ridley, "you know my mind fully in this. And as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assures me that it was sound, and according to God's word (let it be spoken to his glory). This doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue moves, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation of which, seal the same with my blood."

Brooks. — "Well, it would have been best, Master Ridley, for you not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoever is outside of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore, I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

Ridley. — "I marvel that you would trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Roman antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so I do now, that both by my behavior and talk, I will do no obedience at all to the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that is for diverse good and godly considerations."

And here Ridley would have reasoned with the bishop of Gloucester about the bishop of Rome's authority, but it was not permitted. And yet he spoke so earnestly against the pope, that the bishop told him if he would not hold his peace, he would be compelled against his will. "And seeing," he said, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered to you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission, to degrading — taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will be done with you the sooner. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what follows."

Ridley. — “Do with me as it pleases God to permit you; I am well content to abide it with all my heart.”

Brooks. — “Put off your cap. Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice.”

Ridley. — “Truly, I will not.”

Brooks. — “But you must.”

Ridley. — “I will not.”

Brooks. — “You must. Therefore, make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.”

Ridley. — “Truly, if it comes upon me, it will be against my will.”

Brooks. — “Will you not put it upon you?”

Ridley. — “No, that I will not do.”

Brooks. — “It will be put upon you one way or the other.”

Ridley. — “Do in this as it pleases you. I am well content with that; and more than that, the servant is not above his Master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Savior Christ, as the Scripture mentions, and he suffered it patiently, how much more does it become us, His servants!”

On saying these words, they put the surplice on him, with all the trinkets pertaining to the mass. As they were putting it on, Ridley vehemently inveighed against the Roman bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, so that Brooks was exceedingly angry with him, and bid him to hold his peace. Ridley answered him back, saying, “So long as my tongue and breath will allow me, I will speak against these abominable doings, whatever happens to me for doing so.”

“Well,” said Brooks, “it would have been best for you to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped.” At these words one Edridge, then the reader of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Doctor Brooks, “Sir, the law is that he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged.” At these words Ridley, looking earnestly at him, shook his head at him, and made no answer, but with a sigh said, “Oh well, well, well.” So they proceeded in their doings. Yet nevertheless, Doctor Ridley was ever saying things unpleasant to their ears, even though one or the other bade him to hold his peace, lest he be made to do so against his will.

When they came to that place where Ridley would hold the chalice and the wafer-cake (called the singing-bread) they bade him to hold it in his hands. But Ridley said, “They will not come into my hands, for if they do, they will fall to the ground.” Then one was appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain paper in Latin, regarding the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope’s law.

Afterwards, they put a book in his hand, and read as follows, which was, “We take from you the office of preaching the gospel,” etc. At these words Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, “O Lord God, forgive them this wickedness of theirs.”

And as they put upon him the mass-robes, they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a paper in Latin according to the order contained in the book of the pope’s law. Now when all was taken from him, save only the surplice left on his back as they were reading and taking it away, Ridley said to them, “What power do you have, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a singer in all my life, and yet you would take from me that which I never had!”

[853] A.D. 1555.

So when all this their ridiculous degradation was ended, Ridley said very solemnly to Doctor Brooks, “Are you done? If you are done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters.” Brooks answered, “We may not talk with you; you are out of the church. And our law is that we may not talk with any who are out of the church.” Then Ridley said, “Seeing that you will not allow me to talk, nor will you grant to hear me, I have no remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that are amiss, when it pleases him.”

At these words they would have departed, but Ridley said, “My lord, I wish that your lordship would grant to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram’s writing concerning the sacrament.[76] I promise you, you shall find much good learning in it, if you will read it with an unprejudiced judgment.” Doctor Brooks gave no answer to this, but would have gone away. Then Ridley said, “Oh, I perceive that you cannot bear this manner of talk. Well, it does not avail; I will say no more. I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be an intermediary to the queen’s majesty, in behalf of a great many poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband, who stands there. They had a poor living granted to them by me while I was in the see of London. The same is taken away from them by the one who now occupies the same place, without any law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen’s majesty in their behalf. You will hear the same read, so you will perceive the matter the better.” Then he read it, and when he came to the place in the supplication that touched his sister by name, he so wept, that for a little time he could not speak for weeping. After he had left off weeping, he said, “This is nature that moves me. But I am now done.” And with that, he read out the rest, and delivered it to his brother, commanding him to send it up to the queen’s majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for those who had any leases or grants by him, and were put away from them by Doctor Bonner. Brooks said, “Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest. Therefore I must in conscience speak to the queen’s majesty for them.”

Ridley. — “I pray you for God’s sake, do so.”

Brooks. — “I think your request would be granted, except that one thing prevents it. And that is because you do not agree to the queen’s proceedings, but obstinately withstand them; so that it will hardly be granted.”

Ridley. — “What remedy then? I can do no more than speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience, and God’s will be done.”

Brooks. — “I will do what it lies in me to do.”

The degradation being over, and all things finished, Doctor Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering Ridley to them with this charge: to keep him safely from anyone speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Ridley praised God, and burst out with these words, saying, “God, I thank you; and may it be spoken to your praise, that there is none of you all who is able to lay to my charge

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[76] Bertram the priest, or **Ratramnus -** a Frankish monk of the monastery of Corbiel, died c. 870. He authored a treatise on the Eucharist titled *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (On the Body and Blood of the Lord) in response to the realist Eucharistic theology of his abbot, Paschasius Radbertus. It is a counterpoint to Radbertus' doctrine of the physical presence of Christ in the sacrament. Ratramnus argued that Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist are not physically present, but are only spiritually and symbolically present.

The treatise was originally composed in Latin at the command of Emperor Charles the Bald, likely between the 8th and 9th centuries. It was first translated into English in 1549.

any open or notorious crime. For if you could, it would surely be laid against me, I see very well." Brooks said he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, may it be spoken to God's glory. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner. I have great need of God's help and mercy, and I daily call and cry for the same. Therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed. In going away, a warden of a college bade Ridley repent, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Ridley said, "Sir, repent, for you are outside of the truth. And I pray God, if it is his blessed will, to have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a rage, said. "I trust that I will never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, nor yet be in that place where you will go. You are the most obstinate and willful man that I ever heard talk since I was born."

The night before Ridley suffered, his beard and his legs were washed. And as he sat at supper in the house of Master Irish (who was his keeper), he invited his hostess and the rest of the board to his marriage. For, he said, tomorrow I must be married; and he showed himself to be as cheerful as he ever was before. Wishing his sister to be at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find it in her heart to be there or not. He answered, 'Yes, I dare say, with all her heart,' at which he said, he was glad to hear so much about her. So at this talk, Mistress Irish wept.

But Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mistress Irish, you do not love me now, I see well enough. For as you weep, it appears you will not be at my marriage, nor are you content with it. Indeed you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself. Though my breakfast will be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet," etc.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to watch all night with him. But Ridley said, "No, no, that you will not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly tonight, as I ever did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, etc.

The behavior of Ridley and Latimer, at the time of their death, October 16th, A.D. 1555.

The place appointed for the execution was on the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol College. For fear of any tumult that might arise to prevent their burning, the Lord Williams and the householders of the city were commanded by the queen's letters to be assistants, sufficiently armed. And when everything was in readiness, the prisoners were brought out by the mayor and bailiffs.

Ridley had a furred black gown, faced with foins,[77] such as he usually wore as a bishop, and a tippet of velvet,[78] likewise furred about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap over it. He went in a pair of slippers to the stake, between the mayor and an alderman, etc.

After him came Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a handkerchief on his head, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to his feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to mourn — beholding on one hand the honor they once had, and on the other, the calamity to which they had fallen.

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[77] *Foin*: A kind of fur, black at the top on a whitish ground, taken from the ferret or weasel of the same name.

[78] *Tippet*: a short cape-like garment worn around the neck and shoulders, often with hanging ends.

Ridley, as he passed by the prison, looked up to where Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the window, and to have spoken to him. But then Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him. Then Ridley, looking back, saw Latimer coming after him. He said to him, "Oh, are you there?" "Yes," said Master Latimer. "as fast as I can follow." At length they came to the stake, the one after the other. Ridley first entered the place, and earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after, seeing Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced arid kissed him, and as those who stood nearby reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that he went to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and prayed; and behind him Latimer kneeled, earnestly calling upon God. After they arose one talked with the other a little while, till those who were appointed to see the executions, moved themselves out of the sun. What they said I cannot learn from any man.

Then Doctor Smith, whose recantation in King Edward's time you heard before, began his sermon to them on this text of St. Paul, in Corinthians, "Though I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity. I am nothing." He alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the manner of the death, makes the holiness of the person.

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This he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who had recently hanged herself; for they and such like them might then be adjudged righteous, who desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men who stood before him would do. But still, he cried to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their varieties in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst. But the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At this statement the two martyrs lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven, as if calling God to witness their truth. This they did in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spoke amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls.

Ridley said to Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I? "Latimer said, "you begin first, I pray you." "I will," said Ridley.

Then Ridley and Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat on a form near them. Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And while my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know, as it appeared, whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Doctor Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily to him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same you will not only have liberty to do so, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, your life." "Not otherwise?" said Ridley. "No," replied Doctor Marshall; "Therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," said Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall impartially judge all."

Latimer added his own verse, “Well, there is nothing hidden but it shall be made manifest:” and he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be allowed. Immediately they were commanded to make ready, which they obeyed with all meekness. Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave them to his brother-in-law. Master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he was not allowed to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the sergeant who kept him. Some other of his apparel that was of little worth, he gave away. The bailiffs took other parts. Besides these, he gave away some other small things to gentlemen standing by, several of whom pitifully wept; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat,[79] and to some of my Lord Williams’ gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs and ginger, his dial; and such other things as he had about him, to everyone who stood next to him. Some even plucked the points off his hose, and happy was the one who could get any rag from him.

Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly allowed his keeper to pull off his hose and his other apparel, which was very simple. And now being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as handsome a person to those who were present, as one could desire to see; and though in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked old man, he now stood quite upright.

Then Ridley, standing as yet in his truss,[80] said to his brother, “It would be best for me to go in my truss still.” “No,” said his brother, “it will put you to more pain, and the truss will do a poor man good.” Ridley said, “So be it, in the name of God;” and so he unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the stone, and held up his hand and said, “Oh, heavenly Father, I give you most hearty thanks, for you have called me to be a professor of You, even unto death. I beseech you, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies.”

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and fastened it about both Ridley’s and Latimer’s middles. As he was knocking in a staple, Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook it, and looking aside to the smith, said, “Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course.” Then his brother brought him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck, but Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, “gunpowder.” Then said he, “I will take it to be sent by God; therefore, I will receive it as sent by him. And have you any,” he asked, “for my brother?” (meaning Latimer) “Yes, sir, that I have,” said his brother: “Then give it to him,” he said, “lest you come too late.” So his brother went and carried the gunpowder to Latimer.

In the meantime, Ridley spoke to my Lord Williams, and said, “My lord, I must be a suitor to your lordship in behalf of several poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister. I have made a supplication to the queen’s majesty on their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ’s sake, to be a mediator to her grace for them. My brother here has the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to notify you of it. There is nothing in all the world that troubles my conscience, I praise God, except this. While I was in the see of London, some poor men took leases from me, and agreed with me for them. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupies the same place, will not allow my grants to them, but contrary to all law and conscience, has taken from them their livings, and will not permit them to enjoy them. I beseech you, my lord, be a mediator for them: you will do a good deed, and God will reward you.”

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[79] *Groat*: an English silver coin worth four pennies, about the cost of a chair, or several loaves of bread.

[80] *Truss*: a set of clothes for a man that consists of a doublet (a tight jacket) and hose.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid it down at Ridley's feet. Latimer spoke to him in this manner: "Be of good comfort, brother Ridley, and play the man; WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE BY GOD'S GRACE IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT."

And so the fire being kindled, when Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a loud voice, "Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit," and repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer, crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul;" he received the flame as if embracing it. After he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, it appears, with very little pain.

And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Bishop Latimer, for whose laborious services, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm has cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Ridley lingered longer because of the badness of the fire, which only burned beneath, being kept down by the wood, which when he felt it, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him. When his brother-in-law heard it, he did not well understand. Intending to rid him of his pain, but not well-advised as to what he did, he heaped faggots upon Ridley, so that he clean covered him. That made the fire more vehement beneath; so that it burned all his lower parts, before it once touched the upper. And that made Ridley leap up and down under the faggots, and often desired them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." This was apparent: for after his legs were consumed, he showed his other side toward us, shirt and all untouched with flame! Yet in all this torment he did not forget to call to God still, having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "let the fire come to me, I cannot burn." He suffered in this pain till one of the standers-by with his bill, pulled off the faggots above. Where Ridley saw the fire flame up, he leaned himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Latimer's feet.

Some said that before he fell from the stake, Ridley desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight.

[855] A.D. 1555.

For I think there was none who had not clean banished all humanity and mercy, who did not lament to behold the fury of the fire rage upon their bodies. There were signs of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to witness their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need of pity. His brother moved the compassion of many men, seeing his miserable case. But who, considering their preferments in times past, the places of honor that they occupied in this commonwealth, the favor they were in with their princes, and the learning they had, could refrain from sorrow with tears, to see such great dignity, honor, and estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, put into the fire, and consumed in one moment! Well, they are gone, and they have already had the reward of this world. What reward remains for them in heaven, I trust the day of the Lord's glory, when he comes with his saints, will shortly declare.

Ridley's Farewell Letter, and Lamentation

A Letter by Doctor Ridley, instead of his last Farewell, to all his True and Faithful Friends in God. [81]

"At the name of Jesus, let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father, Amen.

"As a man intending to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally has a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure — so I likewise now, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you (O all you, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Savior Christ, who dwell here in this world), having a like mind towards you all (and blessed be God for such time and leisure, of which I right heartily thank His heavenly goodness), to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say in Christ) who dwell upon the earth, in such manner as I can, farewell.

"Farewell my dear brother, George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my cross, over all others, most friendly and steadfast to me, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God's cause ever hearty.

"Farewell, my dear sister Alice, his wife. I am glad to hear of you, that you take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on your back and mine, in good part. Thank God who has given you a godly and loving husband. See that you honor him and obey him, according to God's law. Honor your mother-in-law his mother, and love all those who pertain to him, being ready to do them good, as it will lie in your power. As for your children, I doubt not of your husband, but that He who has given him a heart to love and fear God, and in God those who pertain to him, will also make him friendly and beneficial to your children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

"Farewell, my dearly beloved brother, John Ridley, of the Walton; and you, my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love which you were said to ever bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, binds me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this, your loving affection, and to have requited it with deeds and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God has given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

"Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank,[82] with all your children, nephews, and nieces. Since the departing of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been to them in place of their father; but the Lord God must and will be their father, if they would love and fear Him, and live in the way of His law.

"Farewell, my well beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley, of Willimountswicke,[83] and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness shown both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God has set you in our stock and kindred (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness), to be, as it were, the bellwether to order and conduct the rest, and has also endued you with his manifold gifts of grace both heavenly and worldly above others — so I pray you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you), continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power, to

[81] This serves as a brief biography and retrospective of Ridley's life.

[82] *Unthank [Hall]*: sometimes spelled Unthanc; located 4 miles west of Haltwhistle, Northumberland.

[83] *Willimontswick*, or Willimoteswick: a hamlet in Northumberland, England, Ridley's birthplace.

withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

"Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss; but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it pleases Almighty God.

"Farewell all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ all together. The Lord, who is the searcher of secrets, knows that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I might have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry to which I was chosen among you, named and appointed by the mouth of our late peerless prince, King Edward, and so also denounced openly in his court, by his privy council.

"I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that you not be amazed or astonished at the manner of my departure and dissolution. For I assure you, I think it the most honor that I was ever called to in all my life. And therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it has pleased him to call me of his great mercy to this high honor, to suffer death willingly for his sake, and his cause; to which honor he has called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know that I no more doubt that the cause for which I am put to death is God's cause, and the cause of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which St. John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that St. Paul's epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and to stand in God's cause, and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I assure you, oh man! it is an inestimable and an honorable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle, and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter, says. If you suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake, then you are happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God rests upon you. If for rebuke's sake suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced, by the mouth of that holy apostle, blessed and happy, then how much more happy and blessed is he that has the grace to suffer death also? Therefore, all you who are my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Savior and Redeemer Christ, he has granted to call me, being otherwise without his gracious goodness, who in myself is but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me, I say, to this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs — that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defense and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

"You who are my countrymen dwelling on the borders where, alas! the true man often suffers much wrong at thieves' hands — you know if it chances a man to be slain by a thief, as it often does there, that he who went out with his neighbor to help him to reserve his goods again, and the more steadfastly he stuck by his neighbor in the fight against the faith of the thief, the more favor and friendship all his posterity will have for the slain man's sake, of all those who are true, as long as the memory of this fact and his posterity endures. Even so, you who are my kinsfolk and countrymen, know (however the blind, ignorant, and wicked world will rail hereafter upon my death, in which they cannot do worse than their fathers did of the death of Christ our Savior, and of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs),

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"both know, I say, that before God and all those who are godly, and who truly know and follow the laws of God, you have, and shall have, by God's grace, cause to ever rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoice about me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness has granted to associate with the blessed company of his holy martyrs in

heaven. And I do not doubt in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, you will rather find *more* favor and grace. For the Lord says that he will be both to them and theirs who love Him, all the more loving again in a thousand generations. The Lord is so full of mercy to them, I say, and theirs who love Him indeed. And Christ says again, that no man can show more love than to give his life for his friends.

"Now also know, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause for which I am put to death, is even in the same sort and condition, but touching more nearly God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind, all one. For both are God's cause; both are in the maintenance of right; both are for the commonwealth; and both are also for the well-being of the Christian brother, even if there is yet no small difference in these two, concerning both the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For you all know that when the poor man is robbed of his truly gotten goods by the thief (goods upon which the poor man and his household might live), he is greatly wronged. And the thief, in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, offends God, transgresses His law, and is injurious both to the poor man and to the commonwealth. I say, you know that even here, in the cause of my death, it is so with the church of England — I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, whom I acknowledge not only to be my neighbors, but the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ — indeed, members of one body in which, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This church of England has of late, by the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism, has been learned by all true Christians.

"The church also had a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper in which, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine being set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup in remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed; and both were communicated to all who were present and would receive them, and they were also exhorted by the minister to do so.

"All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that everything might be most easily heard and plainly understood by all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church of late had the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained, said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true meaning of holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

"It also had holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues, which are commended in Scripture; and likewise, other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that, alas! used to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed according to the holy scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in a short time, if they had been universally received, they would have been able to set up Christ's true religion, and to expel many false errors and heresies with which this church, alas! was almost overrun.

"But, alas! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, thieves have entered in, who have robbed and stripped away all this treasure. I may well complain of these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, 'O Lord God, the gentiles, heathen nations, have come into your heritage. They have defiled your holy temple,

and made Jerusalem a heap of stones' — that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground your holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves are of Samaria, these Sabans, and Chaldeans, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God. They have carried it away, and overthrown it. And instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, such as baptism and others, they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions with them.

"Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people with much solemn disguising;, a thing which they call their *mass*, but indeed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord. Or rather, I may call it a crafty juggling, by which these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, so that they have brought them from the true worship of God, to pernicious idolatry. They have made them believe that what indeed is neither God nor man, is Christ our Lord and Savior. Nor does it have any life in itself, but in substance, it is the creature of bread and wine, and in the use of the Lord's table, it is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And for his holy use, for which the Lord has ordained them in his table, to represent to us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood shed there, it pleased him to call them his body and blood. This understanding Christ declares to be his true meaning, when he says, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And again, St. Paul likewise sets out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, 'As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show' (he means with the bread and drink) 'the Lord's death till he comes.' And here again these thieves have also robbed the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel. [84]

"Now, for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, of which the people understand not one word. What else they do in this, but rob the people of their divine service in which they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it but (as St. Paul calls it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yes, and plain madness. [1Cor 14.23]

"For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in their stead, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the simple people? Thus this robbery and theft — no, this sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things — is not only committed, but also instead of the same, what is brought in and placed there is the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonish beast. I cannot consent to this robbery, to this theft and sacrilege, nor ever will (God willing) so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God, high treason unto Christ, our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Savior and Redeemer; it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ s gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and it is against the everlasting salvation of my own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters whom Christ my Savior has so dearly bought with no less price than the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all you, my true lovers in God, my kinsfolks and countrymen, know that it is for this cause, I say, that I am put to death, which by God's grace I will willingly take with hearty thanks to God, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive everlasting life at God's hand again, of His free mercy and grace.

[857] A.D. 1555.

"Although the cause of the true man slain by the thief, helping his neighbor to recover his goods, and the cause for which I am to be put to death, in general are both one, as I said

[84] That is, by restricting it to the priests, and withholding it from the congregation ("in the one kind").

before. Even so, know that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal are much more precious, and their ways of fighting are far different. These thieves are worse, I say, for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty. For those robbers will but kill the body; these will not hesitate to kill both body and soul. Those, for general theft and robbery, are called and are indeed thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called *sacrilegious* — as you would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked, for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their spiritual father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly to steal from every man all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Savior Jesus Christ. Yes, to spoil us of our Savior Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased for us with the death of our Master and Savior Christ. These are the goods and godly substance upon which the Christian must live before God, and without which he cannot live.

"I say, these thieves, these church robbers, go about to spoil us of these goods which, as to the man of God, they excel and far surpass all worldly treasure. So, to withstand even to the death such thieves who go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honorable service done to God. 'These church-robbers are also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves on the borders. For these do not have the craft to so commend their theft, that they dare avow it. And therefore, as if acknowledging themselves to be evil, they commonly steal in the night. They dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought there, they never hang any man, but they [ought to be] hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and color their spiritual robbery, that they can make people believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be no other substance than the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this, their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avow it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor beheading, as the poor thieves of the borders do. But stout and strong like Nimrod, they dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whoever will go about to betray their falsehood.

"The fight against these church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go out against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kinds of bodily weapons as the true men have. But here, as the enemies are of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors who fight in the Lord's war, must be armed and fight with another kind of weapon and armor. For here, the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, they are nevertheless members of their father the devil. Their grand-master is the power of darkness, and their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition and hypocrisy, which are called by St. Paul, principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places. Therefore our weapons must be fit and appropriate to fight against such — not carnal or bodily weapons, such as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly. We must fight against such enemies with the armor of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save, as much as it lies in us, both their bodies and their souls.

"And therefore, as St. Paul teaches us, 'we do not fight against flesh and blood,' that is, we do not fight with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons, therefore, are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer to God. And our sword with which we strike down our enemies, beat, and batter, and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, we fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, ever having our eye on our grand master, duke, and captain, Christ. And then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, following the example of our grand captain, Christ our Master; following the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs; when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies by our enemies, and are most cruelly and without any mercy murdered like so many sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of death to which we are put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon (without any doubts) our martyrdom to be.

"And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest you might be abashed or think any evil of my death (of whose life you looked, perhaps, sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities). Whereas you have cause rather to rejoice (if you love me indeed) that it has pleased God to call me to a greater honor and dignity than I ever enjoyed before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or would ever have had in the see of Durham, to which I was last of all elected and named. Indeed, I count it greater honor before God indeed to die in his cause (of which I doubt nothing) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honor that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knows the cause to be God's, and to be Christ's quarrel, and knows his gospel to be the commonweal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he, I say, that knows this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I do through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself); who is he, I say, that knows this, and both loves and fears God in deed and in truth, loves and believes his Master, Christ, and his blessed gospel, loves his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also desires and longs for everlasting life; who is he, I say again, that would not or cannot find it in his heart to be content to die in this cause? The Lord forbid that there should be any such person who would forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies, and the Father of all comfort through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he who has put this mind, will, and affection in my heart by his Holy Spirit, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose the loss of all my worldly substance, yes, and of my life too, rather than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even to the end, and to yielding up my spirit and soul into his holy hands, of which I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord lends me life, and gives me leisure, I will also bid farewell to my other good friends in God of other places. And who first or before others, than the University of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (only the benefits of my natural parents excepted) than I ever did even in my own native country in which I was born.

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"Farewell, therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse. If I were not to acknowledge your manifold benefits, indeed, if I were not at least to love you back for your benefits, then truly I should be accounted too ungrateful and unkind. What benefits did you ever have, that you used to give and bestow upon your best beloved children, that you thought too good for me? You bestowed on me all your school degrees, the common offices, the

chaplainship of the University, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader; and of your private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that you did not make me a partner of? First to be scholar, then to be fellow, and after my departure from you, you called me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank you, my loving mother, for all this, your kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in you.

"Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late my own college, my cure and my charge. What case you are in now, God knows; I do not know well. You were ever noted since I knew you, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well-learned, and a great proclaimer of Christ's gospel, and of God's true word; so I found you, and blessed be God, so I left you, indeed. Woe is me for you, my own dear college, if you ever permit yourself by any means to be brought from that trade. In your orchard (the walls, bounds, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness), I learned without book almost all St. Paul's epistles, yes, and I think all the canonical epistles, except the book of Revelation. Of this study, although in time a great part of it departed from me, yet the sweet smell of it I trust I will carry with me into heaven. For I think I have felt the profit of it in all my lifetime ever after, and I think of late (whether they abide now or not I cannot tell) there were those who did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love towards that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy Scriptures, may ever abide in that college, so long as the world endures.

"From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God. And of him I was by and by sent to be vicar of Heme, in East Kent, Therefore, farewell. Heme, you worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure to which I was called to preach God's word. You have heard from my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not in the popish manner, but according to Christ's gospel. Oh, that the fruit had answered to the seed. And yet I must acknowledge myself to be your debtor for the doctrine of the Lord s Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed to me. But I bless God for all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by the preaching of his word kindled manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Phines. The Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others more.

"Farewell, you cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitan see of which I was once a member. I dare not say pleasant things to you for danger of conscience, and the displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lies in my heart would be too much, and I fear it would do you but little good now. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity's sake, I wish you to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that you may be found of God according to your name, Christ's Church, in deed and in truth.

"Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom, to say the truth, I found much gentleness and obedience, and I trust you will not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and to your own profit in God. O, that you had and might have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law in which I left you. Then your charge and burden would not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose truly it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

"To Westminster, I do not have other notification in God to say now than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury. And so God give you of his grace, that you may learn in deed and in truth, to please Him according to His own laws: and thus fare you well.

"O London, London, to whom now may I speak in you, or whom will I bid farewell? Will I speak to the prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas, of all who loved God's word, and were the true proclaimers of it, some are now (as I hear said) burned and slain, some exiled and banished, and some held in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's

gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never endure me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

"Shall I speak to its see, in which of late I was placed, for almost three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that place. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever permit him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Do you think that hereafter, when true justice will have its place, this judgment can ever be allowed either by God or man? Well, as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which you still possess, I refer it to God who is a just judge. And I beseech God, if it is his pleasure, that what is but my personal wrong, not be laid to your charge in the latter day; this only I can pray for.

"O you now wicked and bloody see, why do you set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why have you overthrown the Lord's table? Why do you daily delude your people, masking in your masses instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common to the people as well as to the priest (says Chrysostom, indeed, the Lord himself)? How dare you deny to the people of Christ, his holy cup, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel? Why do you babble to the people the Common Prayer in a strange tongue, in which St. Paul commands, in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, unless it is by and by declared in their common tongue, so that all might be edified? No indeed, hearken you whore of Babylon, you wicked limb of Antichrist, you bloody wolf: why do you slay down, and make havoc of the prophets of God? Why do you so cruelly murder Christ's poor silly sheep, who will not hear your voice, because you are a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor's voice, Christ? Do you think to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at your hands? Your God, who is the work of your hands, and whom you say you have power to make, so that your deaf and dumb God (I say) will not, indeed, nor can (although you are not ashamed to call him your Maker) make you escape the revenging hand of the High and Almighty God. But be assured that the living Lord, our Savior and Redeemer, who sits at the right hand of his Father in glory, sees all your wicked ways and the cruelty done to his dear members; he will not forget his holy ones, and you will never escape his hands. Instead of my farewell to you, now I say, Fie upon you, fie upon you, and all your false prophets.

"Yet you, O London, I may not leave you thus. Although your episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, has now thus handled both me and the saints of God, I do not doubt that in that great city there are many secret mourners, who daily mourn for that mischief, who never did nor will consent to that wickedness, but detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these secret mourners I will pass by here, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion more conveniently requires. Among the worshipful of the city, and especially those who were in the office of mayoralty, yes, and in other cities also (whom it will not be necessary to name now) during the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hill's year, to Sir George Barnes's year, a great part of it, I acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as I thought.

[859] A.D 1555.

"But, to say the truth, I esteem above all others for true Christian kindness, that which is shown in God's cause, and done for his sake. Therefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, in your year you won my heart for evermore, for that honorable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which were begun by and through you. For though, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor weak members, to be kept from extreme misery, hunger, and

famine, your heart, I say, was moved with pity. And as Christ's high honorable officer in that cause, you called together your brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom you brokered the matter for the poor; you pled their cause, indeed. And not only in your own person did you set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter, you brought me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom you had assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty in the poor man's cause. The Lord wrought with you, and gave you the consent of your brethren, whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city. With uniform consent by them, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most wise and politic citizens as could be chosen in the whole city, endued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act. And they, like true and faithful ministers, both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought about the matter, that thousands of poor members of Christ, who otherwise would have famished and perished for extreme hunger and misery, will be relieved, kept, and brought up. They will have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but especially you, O Dobs, and those chosen men by whom this honorable work of God was begun and wrought, and so long throughout all ages, as that godly work endures, which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

"And you, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, in your year you were not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before you was well begun by your predecessor; but you also labored so to have perfected the work, that it might have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness to all Christendom. Your endeavor was to set up a house of occupations, both that all kinds in poverty, being able to work, should not lack that upon which they might have been profitably occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired to there the poor children brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those who, in the hospitals mentioned, had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, you obtained, not without the great diligence and labor of both you and your brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely palace of Bridewell. And what other things were needed to perform the same, and under what condition, is not unknown. The fault is not in you, that your endeavor has not had like success, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy grant to amend when it will be his gracious will and pleasure.

"Farewell now, all you citizens who are of God, of whatever state and condition you are. Undoubtedly in London you have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer will be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know I am accountable to my Lord God, that you never swerve from God's holy word, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, and yield to antichrist — upon which must follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

"Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt for any space in the time of my pilgrimage here on earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of my office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the upper house of parliament. Therefore, seeing that my God has given me leisure and the remembrance of it, I will bid my lords of the temporalty farewell. They will have no just cause, by God's grace, to take what I intend to say unfavorably. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them except to repeat a great part of what I have said already to the see of London. Therefore, I will speak to you, my lords of the temporalty, and I would have you first understand this: that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I might be called to the change of this life, and thought that this writing of mine would not come to your knowledge

before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul had expired. And therefore, know that I had before my eyes only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you, which moved me to write. For hereafter I will not look to you in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk does you ever so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me; nor if I displease you, can you hurt me or harm me, for I will be out of your reach.

"Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of someone who seeks nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good, hearken to what I say. I say to you, as St. Paul said to the Galatians; I wonder my lords what has bewitched you, that you so suddenly have fallen from Christ to antichrist — from Christ's gospel to man's traditions — from the Lord who bought you, to the bishop of Rome. I warn you of your peril. Do not be deceived, lest you be found willing consenters to your own death. For if you think thus: — we are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them; they shall bear the blame — my lords, this is true. I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, will be punished for the death of their subjects whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led. Yes, and his blood will be required at their hands. Yet, nevertheless, the subject shall also die the death himself; that is, he too will be damned for his own sin. For if the blind lead the blind, Christ says it is not the leader only, but both will fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the council of the Jews, do you think, which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused because Annas and Caiaphas, with the Scribes and Pharisees and their clergy, taught them amiss? Yes, and also Pilate, their governor and the emperor's lieutenant, by his tyranny put him to death without cause. Truly no, my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither or both will excuse either that synagogue, or council, or Pilate. But at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, all shall drink of the deadly draught on the latter day. You are wise, and understand what I mean. Therefore I will pass over this, and return to telling you how you have fallen from Christ to his adversary, the bishop of Rome.

"And lest, my lords, you perhaps think thus — to openly call the bishop of Rome as Christ's adversary, or to speak in plain terms, to call him antichrist, is done in my anguish, and that I am but raging, and as a desperate man, I do not care what I say, or upon whom I rail — therefore, so that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as St. Paul said to Festus) be it known to all your lordships, that concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I assure your lordships, the living Lord bears me witness, before whom I speak, I think many a good and holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and truly taught Christ's gospel in that place, which may therefore justly be called *apostolical*.

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"That is, they were true disciples of the apostles, and that church and congregation of Christians was also a right apostolic church. Indeed, it was that for hundreds of years after it was first erected and built upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If you would know how long that was, and how many hundreds of years, to be curious in pointing out the precise number of years, I will not be too bold. But I say thus: so long and so many hundred years as that See truly taught and preached that gospel, that religion, and exercised that power, and ordered everything by those laws and rules which that See received from the apostles, and (as Tertullian says) the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God — so long, I say, that See might well have been called St. Peter's and St. Paul's chair and See, or rather Christ's chair, and its bishop called apostolic, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

“But since the time that that See degenerated from the rule of truth and true religion which it received from the apostles at the beginning, it has preached another gospel; set up another religion; exercised another power; and taken upon itself to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules, than it ever received from the apostles, i.e., the apostles of Christ. It does these things at this day, and it has continued so doing, alas, alas, for too long a time. Since the time, I say, that the state and condition of that See has thus been changed, in truth, and out of duty and right, it should have changed the names of both the See and the one who sits in it. For understand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person, that that See and its bishops were called *apostolic*; but it was for the true rule of Christ’s religion, which was taught and maintained in that See at first, and by those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that See was then called *apostolic*, for that true rule of religion, and the consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ’s apostles, so as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and the diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that See and its bishop at this day, should both be called, and are indeed, *antichristian*.

“The See is the See of Satan, and the bishop of the same, who maintains its abominations, is indeed antichrist himself. And for the same reasons, this see at this day is the same which St. John calls Babylon in his Revelation, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritual Sodom and Egypt, the mother of fornication, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore it spiritually commits the most abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yes, and all nations of the earth which consent to her abominations, and use or practice the same things. That is (to recite some of the innumerable multitude of those, for example’s sake), her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, by which God’s laws are defiled; just as her massing and false ministering of God’s word and the sacraments of Christ — clean contrary to Christ’s word and the apostles’ doctrine, of which in particular I have said something before in my talk about the See of London, and in other treatises more at large. In this (if it pleases God to bring the same to light), it will plainly appear, by God’s grace I trust, to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God’s word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this whore of Babylon and the beast upon which she sits, maintains at this day, with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment (according to Daniel’s prophesy), and finally, with all falsehood, death, hypocrisy, and all kinds of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God’s word, as darkness is to light, or light to darkness; white to black, or black to white; or as Belial to Christ, or Christ to antichrist himself.

“I know, my lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as might see my writing, not being endued before with the spirit of grace and the light of God’s word, so many, I say, at these words of mine, would lord-like stamp and spurn, and spit at them. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know that in my writing of this, my mind was none other than in God, as the living God bears me witness, to do you both profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by the time this comes to your knowledge, I trust, by God’s grace, to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is, as St. John says, the greatest of all. And then I will not need, I believe, to fear what any lord, no, nor what any king or prince can do to me.

“My lords, if in times past you have been content to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to despise what I said (when otherwise, if you had perceived just occasion, you might then have suspected me in my talk, even if it had been reasonable, either from a desire for worldly gain or fear of displeasure), then your lordships have more cause to hearken to my word and to hear me patiently now, seeing that you cannot justly think of me, being in this case appointed

to die and looking daily for when I will be called to come before the Eternal Judge, other than I only endeavor to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am assuredly persuaded by God's word will and does please him, and will profit all those to whom God gives grace to hear and believe what I say? And I say even what I have said previously, both about the See of Rome and of its bishop — I mean in their present state at this day. If you will not believe the ministers of God and true preachers of his word in this, then truly I denounce you in the word of the Lord, that unless you repent in time, it will turn to your confusion, and to your grief on the latter day. Do not forget what I say, my lords, for God's sake, do not forget, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you, moreover, as I know I must be accountable to the eternal Judge for my talk, and of my speaking this way, that He will judge nothing amiss. So, you will be accountable for your duty in hearing, and you will be charged, if you will not hearken to God's word, for not obeying the truth. Alas! my lords, how does it happen that this matter is now to be argued anew to you? Who would have thought of late, that your lordships had indeed been persuaded sufficiently, or that you could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent, to the overthrow by the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, in which the prince must be obeyed, then how is it now made a matter in which the unity of the catholic church stands, and a matter of necessity for our salvation, as your clergy says, and indeed as the pope's laws say?

"Has the time being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry VIII and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it has not, but was of the same nature and danger before God *then* as it is *now*, and is now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation, then how did it chance that you were all, O my lords, so light and so little fixed on the catholic faith and its unity, without which no man can be saved, as for your princes' pleasures, who were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith — that is, to forsake Christ and his gospel? And furthermore, if it were so necessary to salvation both then and now, how did it also chance that you, the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, not only abolished and expelled the bishop of Rome, but also abjured him in your own persons, and decreed in your acts, that great oaths were to be taken by both the spiritualty and temporalty, whoever would enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But on the other side, if the law and decree which makes the supremacy of the See and bishop of Rome, over the universal church of Christ, is a thing of necessity, required for salvation by an antichristian law, as it is indeed, and the instructions that are given to the diocese of York are indeed a proclamation of the power of the beast of Babylon by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as by truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by it, it will plainly appear they are), then my lords, never think otherwise than this:

[861] A.D. 1555.

"The day will come when you will be charged with your undoing, of that which once you had done well, and with this perjury and breach of your oath — an oath which was done in judgment, justice, and truth, and agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well dally with you for a time, and make you so drunk with the wine of her dispensations and promises of pardon, that for drunkenness and blindness you may think yourselves safe. But be assured, when the living Lord tries the matter by fire, and judges it according to his word, then all her abominations will appear what they are, then my lords (I give your lordships warning in time), repent if you would be happy, and love your own souls' health; repent, I say, or else without any doubt, you will never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and the breach of your oath. As you have banqueted with the harlot in the fornication of her dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and similar abominations; so you will drink with her (unless you repent in time) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For whoever is partner with

them in their abominations, must also be partner with them in their plagues, and in the latter day they shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare you well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen."

A lamentation of Bishop Ridley
for the change of religion in England.

"Alas, what misery is your church brought to, O Lord, at this day! Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village, yes, and almost in every honest man's house, alas, now it is banished out of the whole realm. Of late, who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dares to bear any open countenance towards it, except those who are content in Christ's cause, and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

"Of late there was to be found many of every age, of every degree and kind of people, who gave their diligence to learn as they could out of God's word, the articles of the Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer. The babes and young children were taught these things by their parents, by their masters, and weekly by their curates in every church. And the aged folk who had been brought up in blindness and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing the children and servants repeating it. But now, alas, and alas again, the false prophets of Antichrist, who are past all shame, openly preach in pulpits to the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again. For the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed of what they have learned, even though it is God's word, and dare meddle no more.

"Of late in every congregation throughout all England, prayer and petition was made to God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy. And now, alas, Satan has persuaded England by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and to provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own head.

"Of late, by strict laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and the full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, the beast of Babylon was banished from here — with laws, I say, and with oaths, and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose. But now, alas, all these laws are trodden under foot. The nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy are quite changed, and all those oaths — though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter was ever so good — hold no more than a bond of rushes or of barley straw; public perjury no more fears them than a shadow upon the wall.

"Of late it was agreed in England, on all hands, according to St. Paul's doctrine and Christ's commandment, as St. Paul says plainly that nothing should be done in the church, in the public congregation, except in that tongue which the congregation can understand, so that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacrament, or any other thing belonging to the public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word. But alas, all is turned upside down. St. Paul's doctrine is put aside; Christ's commandment is not regarded. For nothing is commonly heard in the church but a strange tongue, so that the people do not understand.

"Of late all men and women were taught according to Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, so that they might pray with their heart that which they would

speak with their tongue. Now, alas, the unlearned people are brought back into that blindness, to think that they pray, when they cannot tell what they speak with their tongue, nor are their hearts at all mindful of it, for they can never understand a whit of it.

"Of late the Lord's supper was duly administered and taught to be made common to all who are true Christians, with thanksgiving and proclaiming the Lord's death and passion until his returning again to judge both the quick and the dead. But now, alas, the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and what ought to be common to all the godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lord's death at all, such that the people are able to understand it.

"Of late all who were endued with the light of grace, of understanding of God's holy mysteries, blessed God who had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself of which it is a sacrament — that the creature was the creator, and that the thing which has neither life nor sense, was the Lord himself, who made the eye to see, and has given all senses and understanding to man (alas, such was the horrible blindness). But now, alas, England has returned again like a dog to her own vomit, and is in a worse case than she ever was. For it would have been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known. And now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by the high court of Parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kinds of violence, that heinous idolatry in which that adoration is given to the lifeless and dumb creatures, which is only due to the everlasting God. Yes, they say they can and do make from bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood.

"Of late the Lord's cup was distributed at his table according to his own commandment, by his express words in the gospel, to the laity as well as to the clergy. Christ's church observed this order so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers testify, without contradiction by any one of them, that can be shown to this day. But now, alas, not only is the Lord's commandment broken, his cup being denied to his servants to whom he commands it should be distributed, but also with the same, a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice is set up to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the living and of the dead, to the great and intolerable insult of Christ our Savior, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last who will be born at the end of the world.

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"Of late the commandment of God, 'You shall not make for yourself any graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters beneath the earth; you shall not bow down to them, nor serve them.' (Deu 5.8-9) This commandment of God, I say, was graven almost everywhere in churches, and learned by everybody, both young and old. Whereupon, images that provoked the simple and ignorant people to idolatry, as the wise man says, were taken out of the churches, and straitly forbidden that anyone should anywhere either bow down to them or worship them. But now, alas, God's holy word is blotted and erased out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in their place. God commanded his word to be so ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place; and on the other side, He forbade images and idols to be either made or set in any place where anyone might bow down or worship them. But now, alas, what God commands is not looked upon, and what He forbids is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upheld.

"Of late all ministers who were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they would teach the people nothing, as doctrine, necessary to attain eternal salvation, except that which is God's own holy word, or may be grounded upon it without any doubt. By this, many vain, indeed, wicked traditions of man, vanished and melted away by themselves, like wax before the fire. But now, at one blow, they are revived, and are also in full hope of returning again in as great a strength as they have ever been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but that when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body with it, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief; it is Antichrist and his brood; it is the same as the Babylonish beast. The beast is the one upon which the whore sits. The whore is that city, says St. John in plain words, which has empire over the kings of the earth. This whore has a golden cup of abomination in her hand, from which she makes the kings of the earth drink; and all nations have drunk from the wine of this harlot, yes, and kings of the earth have committed fornication with her; and merchants of the earth, by virtue of her pleasant merchandise, have been made rich.

"Now, what city is there in the whole world that, when St. John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth? Or what city can be read about in any time that, of the city itself, challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, except the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that See, has grown to her full strength? And is it not read that the old and ancient writers understand St. Peter's first Epistle was written at Rome, and in plain terms that city is called *Babylon* by him in the same epistle? By the abomination of it, I understand the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God does that wicked woman have for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and sets for sale such merchandise by which (alas) the madness of man, the wicked harlot has bewitched almost the whole world? Did not St. Peter, the very true apostle of Christ (from whom this vile harlot bears herself so high, but falsely and without any just cause) did he not, I say, give the whole world warning of her money and trash, of her false doctors and apostles in this way, in his 2nd epistle?

> 'But there were also false prophets among the people, even as there will be false teachers among you, who will secretly bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord who bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many will follow their pernicious ways, because of whom the way of truth will be evilly spoken of. And through covetousness they will with feigned words make merchandise of you.' (2Pet 2.1-3)

And does not St. John likewise in his Revelation, after he has reckoned up a long catalog of this mystical merchandise, at last (as though he would knit up all his plain words without any mystery at all, setting out the whore's merchandise), reckon up among the rest, and concludes saying, 'and the souls of men too?' Rev 18.13 Where else, I ask you did this true proverb arise in Latin, 'all things for money are for sale at Rome.' Was that not a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar on earth, that was written about our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a Bishop of Rome, in Latin.'

> "'*Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum:*
> *Vendere jure potest; emerat ille prius.*'

"These two verses in Latin I have read thus translated into English rhyme:

> 'Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,
> Sells for money both right and doom:
> And all kinds of holiness the holy father does not pause,
> To set for sale, ready money to get.
> And as if Christ himself, he dares be bold.

To chop and change for silver and gold.
And why should any think this to be wrong?
For what does he sell but what he bought before.'

"I grant these verses to be light gear; and the verse is but crude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they would have been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed to that See. But now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all who have godly understanding, that these crimes are grounded upon laws, established by custom, and set forth by all kinds of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft. And therefore they are not to be esteemed as any one man's, or a few men's personal crimes, but are now incorporated into that wicked see by laws, custom, and doctrine, and it makes indeed the body of the beast upon which the abominable whore sits.

"But you would know which are those merchandises which I said this whore sets for sale, for which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word to support. Surely, surely, they are not only all these abominations which have come into the church of England already (of which I have spoken somewhat before), but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses which now must follow; such as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *Placebo* and *Dirige*,[85] with trentals and *Scala Coeli*,[86] dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and *toties quoties*,[87] with a thousand more. Now the flattering friars, and the false pardoners will come in, and play their old pranks and knavery as they usually do. Now you will have (but from the See of Rome only, and that is for money), canonizing of those saints who have stood stout in the pope's cause, the enshrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it), clear absolution *a poena et culpa*,[88] for thousands of years. Yes, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, you will have the hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the household stuff and adornment which will be used in the church in the Romish manner — for all these things must be esteemed of such a high price, that they may not be done except by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as your apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) by water and salt, by the christening of bells, and such like things, why need I speak? For every priest that can but read, has power, they say, not only to do that, but also has such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man, at least once every day, from a wafer cake.

"After reciting the said abominations, and remembering a great many more, the Lord knows, it grieves me to think upon them, and it would take too long to describe.

[863] A.D. 1555.

"When I consider, on the other side, the eternal word of God that abides forever, and the undefiled law of the Lord, which turns the soul from all wickedness, and gives wisdom to innocent babes, I mean that milk that is without any guile, as St. Peter calls it; that good word of God, that word of truth which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, by which the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, by which the man of God so

[85] *Placebo*: the first word of the antiphon in prayers for the dead; *dirige* likewise refers to the first antiphon of Matins (morning prayers) for the dead.

[86] *Scala Coeli*, or stairway to heaven, refers to the stages of a pilgrimage.

[87] *Toties quoties*: an indulgence that may be gained or granted as often as the required works are performed.

[88] Some writs of indulgence contained the expression, "*indulgentia a culpa et a poena*", i.e. release from guilt and from punishment.

being born, cannot sin, as John says (he means so long as that seed abides in him); that holy Scripture which has not been devised by the wisdom of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which is profitable to teach, reprove, correct, instruct, and give order in all righteousness, so that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work. I say, when I consider this holy and wholesome true word that teaches us truly our bounden (obligatory) duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is, what he has done for us, how he has given us his own only dearly beloved Son to die for our salvation, and by him has sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure — what his eternal word directs us both to believe and do, has for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Spirit, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they taught (which, as they proceeded from the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all those who were ever endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to obtain eternal salvation).

"And likewise, when I consider that all that man professes in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be counted one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all *that* is grounded upon God's holy word, and stands in the profession of that faith and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word. And furthermore, when I consider whom our Savior Christ pronounces in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses gives his benedictions in the law, what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, declare to be the ways of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favor, which is that faith that justifies before God, and what is that charity that surpasses and excels all, which are the properties of heavenly wisdom; and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed by God, which things Christ himself calls the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that which St. Paul esteemed so much that he counted himself alone to know; what will be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands on that fearful day, how all things must be tried by the fire, and that alone will stand forever which Christ's words shall allow, which shall be the judge of all flesh to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there will be no place left to appeal, no wisdom will serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke — I say, when I consider all these things, and refer to them again and again, all those ways in which the substance of the Romish religion stands (about which I spoke before), it may be evident and easy to perceive that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days, are as far distant one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial.

"Whoever is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scriptures which refer to these things, and upon which this is grounded, and by God's grace he may receive some light. And to the despiser, I have nothing to say now, but to recite the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which St. Paul spoke to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared Christ to them out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night, he said to those who would not believe,

> 'The Holy Ghost spoke well by Isaiah the prophet to our fathers, saying, go to this people, and say, hearing you will hear, and will not understand; and seeing you will see, and not perceive. For the heart of this people has grown gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and they have closed their eyes, lest they would see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I would heal them,' (Act 28.26-27).

> "Alas! England, alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon you. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do you good? Undoubtedly your plague is so great that it is utterly incurable except by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what have you done that you have provoked the wrath of God and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon you for your own deserts. Can you be content to hear your faults told to you? Alas! You have often heard, and would never amend. England, your faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since you bore that name, than you heard them of late, even before the magistrates in King Edward's days. But you only heard them, and never amended a whit. For even of your greatest magistrates, some (the king's highness then, that innocent, godly-hearted and peerless young Christian prince excepted) evermore behaved unkindly and ungently toward those who went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned secretly, and would not hesitate to speak evil of them, even to the prince himself,. And yet towards the same preachers, they would outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face."

There was much other matter in this treatise of Doctor Ridley, which we omit for its length.

The Death of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

The month after the burning of bishops Ridley and Latimer, which was November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated by God and all good men, ended his wretched life. Concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of this man, so as somewhat has been declared before in the history of King Edward's reign, I will therefore need to write less about it now. He came from the town of Bury, in Suffolk, and was brought up in Cambridge. His understanding, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same. For through this promptness, he did not profit a little in studies; at first in the civil law, then in languages, and in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment. Besides other helps of nature, memory rather than diligence of study was useful to him.

To these gifts and qualities were joined his great or greater vices, which not so much burdened him, as made him burdensome to the whole realm. He was of a proud spirit, and high-minded in his own opinion and conceit, flattering himself too much. In wit, he was crafty and subtle; toward his superiors flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equals stout and envious, if in judgment and sentence he withstood them in anything. He stood too much upon his estimation and fame, more than was appropriate for a man of his calling. His profession was to be crucified to the world, which made him so obstinate in maintaining whatever he had once begun.

As to divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time and circumstances, that no one could tell what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or a papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, out of fear or to bear with the times, then he was a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, swear and forswear as he did.

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For first, in the beginning of Queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner? Who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor, as chief agent in behalf of the Luly Anne? Again, at the abolishing of the Pope, who was so ready to swear, or so vehement to write against the Pope as he was, as may appear not only by his sermons, but also by his book "De Obedientia"? He so uttered his

judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the Pope, that coming to Lovaine afterward, he was there accounted a person excommunicated, and a schismatic. So that, he was not permitted to say mass in their church; and moreover, they openly cried out against him in their public sermons.

And thus he long continued firm and forward, so that Winchester was a favorite during the whole reign of Queen Anne. After her decease, time carried him away little by little, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially for his favoring Bonner so much (whom Winchester at that time could not bear), made him an enemy both against him and his religion. Till again, in King Edward's days, he began to abate a little from certain points of popery, and to turn somewhat to the gospel, as may appear both by his sermon before King Edward, and also by his subscribing to certain articles. And this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery back to the gospel. No doubt he would have further turned, had the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset not turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery, in which he continued to be a cruel persecutor to his death.

But whatever he was, he is now gone, and I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, I would that those who were present would testify to us of what they saw. We all have to think that his death happened so opportunely, that England has cause to give thanks to the Lord. This was not so much for the great injury he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the six articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, etc., but also and especially because he thought to have brought to pass the death of our noble queen who now is, Elizabeth. For whatever danger of death she was in, it no doubt proceeded from this bishop who was the cause of it. And if what we have heard is certain, that when her highness was in the Tower, a writ came down from some of the council for her execution, it is out of all controversy, that wily Winchester was the only framer of that instrument, who in that one day would have brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious council, through one Bridges, the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, notified her of the matter, and prevented Winchester's bloody devices. For which thanks be to our Lord and Savior in the congregations of all English churches. Amen.

Of uncertain things, I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information. But as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death, so this bishop for his part bent all his devises, and had spent all his power in assailing the root, and in casting up such a platform to build his popery upon, as he thought would have stood forever. But, as I said before, of uncertain things I can speak but uncertainly. Therefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spoke, what little repentance he showed, etc., all this I leave to the knowledge of those who know it better.

The Residue of Christ's Martyrs

Having thus given the reader an account of Gardiner's history, we will leave him to his great Judge, and return to the history of the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now follows in order:

The Burning of John Webbe, George Roper,
and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury.

After the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Doctor Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, followed the martyrdom of three other stout and bold soldiers, John Webbe, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover on the 16th of September, and had propounded to him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner. Being commanded to depart and deliberate with himself on the matter for the next appearance, he answered that he would not say otherwise, by God's grace, than he had already said, which was this: "As to the sacrament of Christ's body, I believe it to be left to his church in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body, and it is not, by the words of consecration, made his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary; I utterly deny that."

After this, besides other times, on the 3rd of October, John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the judges. There and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made earlier by Webbe, they were adjudged heretics by the bloody prelates. About the end of the same month, or in the latter end of November, they were taken together and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom. By the way going to the stake, they said certain psalms mournfully.

Roper was a young man, of a fresh color, courage, and complexion. The other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen. Roper, at his coming to the stake, putting off his gown, took a great leap. As soon as the flame was about him, he put out both his arms from his body like a cross, and so he stood steadfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these martyrs of Christ being brought to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed, all three together in one fire at Canterbury. They abided most patiently their torments, and counted themselves happy and blessed by the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

William Wiseman.

William Wiseman died on the 13th of December, in the Lollard's Tower, a clothworker of London. There he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God. How he died is not fully certain. After William was departed, as it is said, in the Tower, the holy Roman churchmen cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him, as it was their manner to do with all those who die in this way, whom they account as profane and worthy of no burial, but only to be cast to dogs and birds.

James Gore.

In the same month, about the 7th of December, James Gore died also, in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the truth of God's word.

The Fourteen Examinations of John Philpot.

Next follows the martyrdom of John Philpot, of whom partly you heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in the disputation in the convocation-house (p. 678ff.). He was of an honorable house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the new college in Oxford where he studied the civil law besides other liberal arts, especially the languages, such as Hebrew, etc. In knowledge, he was eminent and happy, of a singular courage, fervent in spirit, zealous in religion, and also well practiced and exercised in it. By nature and condition he was plain and open, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocrisy and dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations can declare, penned by his own hand.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries, Philpot went to Italy and places thereabouts. Coming from Venice to Padua, he was in danger through a Franciscan friar accompanying him on his journey. Upon arriving at Padua, the friar sought to accuse him of heresy.

[865] A.D. 1555.

At length, returning to England, as the time gave more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had some conflicts with Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester. After that, he was made archdeacon of Winchester, under Doctor Poinet, who succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus during the time of King Edward, he continued to the no small profit of those parts. When that blessed king was taken away, Mary his sister came in. Her whole endeavor was to alter the state of religion in the woeful realm of England. She first had a convocation of the prelates and learned men congregated to accomplish her desire.

In that convocation, Master Philpot being present, according to his degree, with a few others, he sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversaries. For this, notwithstanding that the liberty of the house had been promised beforehand, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, being his ordinary. From there he was removed to Bonner, and to other commissioners, with whom he had many conflicts, as it may appear in his examinations, written by himself.

The First Examination of John Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Doctor Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions-Hall, October 2, 1555.

"Before I was called into an inner parlor where they sat, Doctor Story came out into the hall where I was, to view me, among others who were there. Passing by me, he said, 'Ha, Master Philpot;' and in returning immediately again, he stayed opposite to me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

"Philpot. — 'If I am fat, and in good liking, Master Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been shut up in prison these twelve and a half months, in a close corner. I have come to know your pleasure for which you have sent for me.'

"Story. — 'We hear that you are a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for you.'

"Philpot. — 'I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of a disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of publishing a report of it.'

"Story. — 'If you will revoke it, and become an honest man, you will be set at liberty, and do right well; or else you will be committed to the bishop of London. What do you say? Will you revoke it or not?'

"'Philpot. — 'I have already answered in this behalf to my ordinary.'

"Story. — 'If you answer thus when you come before us shortly, you will hear more of our minds;' and with that he went into the parlor, and a little while after, I was called in.

"The Scribe. — 'Sir, what is your name?'

"Philpot. — 'My name is John Philpot.'

"Story. — 'This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Doctor Poinet's presentment.'

“Philpot. — ‘I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, except by virtue of a former advowson,[89] given by my lord chancellor.’

“Story. — ‘You may be sure that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is, an archdeacon.’

“Roper. — ‘Come here to me. Master Philpot. We hear that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of it. whoever is out of it, cannot be the child of salvation. Therefore, if you will come into it, you will be received, and find favor.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have come before your worshipful masterships, at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen’s majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience to the uttermost. Therefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, why I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have suffered this year and a half, without my being called to answer before now, and my living being taken from me without any law.’

“Roper. — ‘Though we have no particular matter to charge you with, yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you; and besides this, we have statutes to charge you with.’

“Philpot. — ‘If I have offended against any statute, charge me with it, and if I have incurred its penalty, punish me accordingly.’

“Story. — ‘I perceive whereabout this man goes. He is plainly in Cardmaker’s case, for he made the self-same allegations. But they will not serve you; for you are a heretic, and bold against the blessed mass. What do you say to that?’

“Philpot. — ‘I am no heretic.’

“Story. — ‘I will prove you are a heretic. Whoever has held against the blessed mass is a heretic: you have held against it, and therefore you are a heretic’

“Philpot. — ‘That which I spoke, and which you are able to charge me with, was in the convocation, where by the queen’s majesty s will, and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely about such questions in religion as were propounded there by the prolocutor, for which I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I now have been, nor to be compelled by you now to answer to the same.’

“Story. — ‘You will go to the Lollard’s Tower, and be handled there like a heretic as you are, and answer to the same that you spoke there, and be judged by the bishop of London.’

“Roper. — ‘You cannot deny that you spoke against the mass in the convocation-house.’

“Story. — ‘Do you deny what you spoke there, or not?’

“Philpot. — ‘I cannot deny what I have spoken there. And if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatever I will be judged to.’

“Cholmley. — ‘Act the wise man and be conformable, and not be stubborn in your opinions, nor cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.’

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[89] *Advowson*: the right to nominate or appoint a priest to a benefice or living, typically belonging to a lay patron.

"Philpot. — 'I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I not be charged further at your hands, than the law charges me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that with which I am now charged. And you, Master Doctor, an old acquaintance in Oxford, I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity.'

"Story. — 'I tell you, if you would be a good catholic man, I would be your friend, and spend my gown to do you good. But I will be no friend to a heretic, as you are, but will spend both my gown and my coat to burn you. What do you say to the sacrament of the altar?'

"Philpot. — 'Sir, I have not come now to dispute with your mastership.'

"Story. — 'Well, since you will not revoke what you have done, you will be sent to the Lollard's Tower."

"Cholmley. — 'Let him go from where he came.'

"Story. — 'No, let him lie in the meanwhile in the Lollard's Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench and also all other prisons of these heretics. They will not have that resort, as they have had, to scatter their heresies.'

"Philpot. — 'You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I do not care not where you commit me, for I cannot be worse treated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber.'

"Story. — 'Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your hands of him, and afterwards of your other heretics.'

"Philpot. — 'God has appointed a day, shortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteousness, however you may judge us now.

"Roper. — 'Be content to be ruled by Master Doctor. and show yourself a catholic man.

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"Philpot. — 'If I stand in anything against that in which any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I will be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please.'

"Story. — 'Have we Scripture, *Scripture*?' And with that he rose up, saying, 'Who will be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, who the other day would have nothing else but Scripture.'"

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

The Second Examination of John Philpot
before the Queen's Commissioners.

"At my coming, a man of Aldgate of my acquaintance said to me, 'God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world. For Doctor Story said that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to get you away.' After a little consultation was had between them, Master Cholmley called me, saying:

"'Master Philpot, show yourself a wise man, and do not be stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you will be well assured of great favor and reputation.'

"Philpot. — 'I will do as it becomes a Christian man.'

“Story. — ‘This man is the rankest heretic that has been in all my lord chancellor’s diocese, and has done more hurt than any other man there. And therefore his pleasure is that he should have the law proceed against him. I have spoken with my lord, and he desires him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant or be burned. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never a man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He will go after his fellows. What do you say? Will you recant?’

“Philpot. — ‘I know of nothing I have done that I ought to recant.’

“Story. — ‘Well, then, I pray you, let us commit him to the Lollard’s Tower, there to remain until he is further examined before the bishop of London. For he is too fine fed in the King’s Bench, and he has too much favor there.’

“Cooke. — ‘This man has most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen’s coming in, beyond any that I have heard of. Therefore it is most appropriate that he be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he has maintained.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have maintained no heresies.’

“Cooke. — ‘No? Have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Do you call that no heresy? Will you recant that, or not?’

“Philpot. — ‘It was the queen’s majesty’s pleasure that we should reason upon it, not by my seeking, but by other men’s procuring, in the hearing of the council.’

“Cooke. — ‘Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? You may be sure her grace will not do so. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you. My lord of London will proceed by inquisition upon you, and if you will not recant, you will be burned.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord of London is not my ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered to my ordinary in this matter.’

“Story. — ‘Take this man with you to the Lollard’s Tower, or else to the bishop’s coal-house.’

“Philpot. — ‘Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place. But I must be content with whatever injury you offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon someone who has never offended you.’

“Story. — ‘Will we suffer this heretic to reprove us thus? Take him away from here!’

“Philpot. — ‘God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need. What you do, do quickly.’

“Story. — ‘Do you not hear how he makes us Judases?’

“Philpot. — ‘That is according to your own interpretation.’

“After this, I with four others were brought to the keeper’s house in Paternoster-row, where we supped. After supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London’s servant, in his master’s name. He offered me a bed for that night. I gave him thanks saying that it would be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse. Therefore I will begin, I said, as I am likely to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. Then we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London’s coal-house, to which is joined a little dark house with a great pair of stocks, appointed for both hand and foot. But thanks be to God, we have not been put into them yet, although some before us had tried them. There we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man.

This minister desired to speak with me, and greatly lamented his own infirmity. For through the extremity of imprisonment, he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London, whereupon he was at once set at liberty. Afterwards he felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarcely refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again. As soon as he received it, he tore it in pieces.'

"The bishop sent to me his registrar, with a mess of food, and a good pot of drink and bread, saying that my lord had no knowledge of my being here, for which he was sorry. I thanked God for my Lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners.

"Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me. I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

"Bonner. — 'Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.'

"With that, because he so gently put out his hand, to render courtesy for courtesy, I kissed my hand and gave it to him.

"Bonner. — 'I am right sorry for your trouble, and before these two hours, I did not know of your being here. I pray you, tell me what was the cause of your being sent here?

"I showed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house for which I was molested, against all right.

"Bonner. — 'I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was no other cause.'

"Philpot. — 'If it pleases your lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you.'

"Bonner. — 'I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, St. Ambrose says that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render an account of it to every man privately, unless it is to edify.'

"Bonner. — 'I perceive you are learned; I would have men such as you about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church.'

"Philpot. — 'God forbid I should be out of the church; I am sure I am within it, for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, outside of which there is no salvation.'

"Bonner. — 'How does it chance then, that you go out of it, and do not walk with us?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church upon which she is built, which is the word of God.'

"After some further converse I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows slept together in straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down."

The Fourth Examination of Master Philpot in the Archdeacon's house at London, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

"Bonner. — 'It has pleased my lords to dine with my archdeacon, and at dinner time it chanced us to have communication about you.

"You were pitied here by many who knew you in the new college in Oxford. And therefore I have sent for you to come before them. Now therefore, utter your mind freely, and you will with all favor be satisfied.'

"Bath. — 'My lords here have not sent for you to flatter you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church.'

"Worcester. — 'Before he begins to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.'

"With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer in this manner:

> 'Almighty God, who are the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech you of your infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (a most vile sinner in your sight), the spirit of wisdom to speak and give an answer in your cause, that it may be to the contentment of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding if I am deceived in anything.'

"Bonner. — 'No, my lord of Worcester, you did not do well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like certain arrant heretics that Pliny mentions, who daily sang 'Praises to God before dawning of the day." [90]

"Philpot. — 'My lord, God make me and all of you present here, such heretics as those were who sang those morning hymns. For they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well-doing.'

"Bonner. — 'Say on, Master Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.'

"Philpot. — 'I have, my lords, been in prison this twelve and a half months, without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order. And now I am brought, contrary to right, from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Therefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.'

"Bonner. — 'I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my diocese by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar. And therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.'

"Philpot. — 'I have not offended in your diocese. For that which I spoke of the sacraments was in St. Paul's church in the convocation-house, which is a peculiar jurisdiction, belonging to the dean of St. Paul's.'

"Bonner. — 'Is not St. Paul's church in my diocese? Well, I know leading it costs me a good deal of money by the year."

"Philpot. — 'That may be, and yet I may be exempted from your lordship's jurisdiction. Although I had so offended in your diocese, yet by the law I should be sent to my ordinary, and not to be punished by you who are not my ordinary.'

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[90] Pliny the Younger, in his letter to Emperor Trajan, described Christians meeting before dawn on a fixed day to sing responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god.

“Bonner. — ‘You cannot say hereafter that you have not been gently communed with by my lords here. And yet you will be willful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not show any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lords, I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than have you report me as obstinate or self-willed, I will open to you somewhat of my mind, desiring your lordships, who seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in it. And I will refer all other points in which I dissent from you, to one or two articles, or rather to one, which includes them both. In this, if by the Scriptures I can be satisfied at your mouths, I will as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.’

“Bonner. — ‘These heretics always come with their *ifs*, as this man does now, saying. *If* he can be satisfied by the Scriptures — so that he will always have this exception: *I am not satisfied*, even if the matter is ever so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?’

“Philpot. — ‘I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures. And I protest here before God. and his eternal Son Jesus Christ, my Savior, and the Holy Spirit, and his angels — and you present here are judges of what I speak — that I do not stand in any opinion through willfulness, but only upon my conscience, informed by God’s word, from which I dare not go for fear of damnation. And this is the cause of my earnestness in this behalf.’

“Bonner. — ‘I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you count me and such as I am, as heretics, is because we are not at unity with your church. You say *you* are of the true church; and we say, *we* are of the true church. You say that whoever is out of your church is damned; and we think on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, to which we are grafted in by God’s word, we would stand in a state of damnation. Therefore, if your lordship can bring any better authority for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by her under pain of damnation, as you say, and that that church, as you pretend, has authority to interpret the Scriptures, and that all men are bound to follow only such interpretations, I will be as conformable to that church as you may desire me to. Therefore I request you, for God’s sake, to satisfy me in this.’

“Cole. — ‘What will you say if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius’ time, that the whole Christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? But I do not now remember where.’

“Philpot. — ‘If you can show me this is granted to the See of Rome by the authority of the *Scripture*, I will gladly hearken. But I think you are not able to show any such thing. For Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure.’

“Cole. — ‘Even if it were not then, it might be at another time.’

“Philpot. — ‘I desire to see the proof.’

“Upon this Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenaeus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity. After the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

“I took the book, and read the place. After I had read it, I said, ‘It says nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenaeus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they taught and followed strange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of Europe was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received from the apostles, and not like these heretics, etc. By this he concludes against them, that they were not to be heard, which if you, my lords, are able to prove now about the church of Rome, then you have as good authority against me as Irenaeus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome has swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel which it maintained in Irenaeus’ time. Therefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenaeus to the church of Rome, which is now so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church.’

“Worcester. — ‘It can be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the See of Rome has always followed the truth, and was never deceived until of late certain heretics had defaced it.’

“Philpot. — ‘Let that be proved, and I am done.’

“Worcester. — ‘No, you are of such arrogance, singularity, and vain glory, that you will not see it, however well it is so proved.’

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“Philpot. — ‘My lords, is it now time, you think, for me to follow singularity or vain glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know if I do not die in the true faith, I will die everlastingly. And again, I know if I do not as you would have me do, then you will kill me, and many thousands more. Yet I would rather perish at your hands, than perish eternally.’

“Cole. — ‘Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome has erred at any time? And by what history? It is certainly proved by Eusebius that the church was established at Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul, and that St. Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years.’

“Philpot. — ‘I know well that Eusebius so writes. But if we compare what St. Paul writes to the Galatians (chap. 1), the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He did not live more than thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and St. Paul mentions his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ’s death more than thirteen years.’

“Cole. — ‘What, did St. Peter write to the Galatians?’

“Philpot. — ‘No; I say St. Paul mentions St. Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem. And further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historians, that the church of Rome has manifestly erred, and errs at this present time, because she does not agree with what they wrote. The primitive church was according to the gospel, and no other proof is needed but to compare one with the other.’

“Bonner. — ‘I may compare this man to a certain man I read about, who fell into desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself. And when he got there, he went viewing every tree, and could find none on which he might grant to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you. Master Doctor, go on with him.’

“Cole. — ‘My lord, there are, on every side, those who are better able to answer him, and I do not love to fall into disreputation. For now-a-days a man will but sustain shame and infamy among the people. I would rather show my mind in writing.’

“Philpot. — ‘And I would rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge your Words;’ and I beseech you to do so. But you will not be able to show what you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius’ time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none from Africa, under pain of excommunication, should appeal to Rome. This decree I am sure they would not have made, if it had been decreed by the Scriptures and by a universal council, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.’

“Cole. — ‘But I can show that they revoked that error again.’

“Philpot. — ‘So you say; but I pray you show me where. I have up to now heard nothing from you but bare words without any authority.’

“Worcester. — ‘Do you think the universal church may be deceived?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Paul, in writing to the Thessalonians, prophesies that there would come a departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ, saying, Christ shall not come, till there come a falling away first.’

“Cole. — ‘How do you take the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire?’

“Philpot. — ‘Apostassa’ is properly a departing from the faith, and from that comes ‘apostate,’ which properly signifies someone who departs from his faith.’

“Worcester. — ‘I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world.’

“Philpot. — ‘The world commonly, and such as are *called* Christians, have hated the truth.’

“Gloucester. — ‘Why, Master Philpot, do you think that the universal church has erred, and you alone are in the truth?’

“Philpot. — ‘The church that you are of was never universal, for two parts of the world, which are Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, just as they do not at this day, nor do they follow his decrees.’

“Gloucester. — ‘Yes, in the Florentine council they agreed.’

“Philpot. — ‘It was said so by a false report, after those of Asia and Africa had gone home. But it was not so indeed, as the sequel proves.’

“Gloucester. — ‘I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?’

“Philpot. — ‘By the word of God. For Christ says in St. John, The word that he spoke, the same will be judge in the latter day.’

“Gloucester. — ‘What if you take the word one way, and I another way. Who shall be judge then?’

“Philpot. — ‘The primitive church.’ [91]

“Gloucester. — ‘What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another: who will be judge then?’

“Philpot. — ‘Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God’s word.’

“Worcester. — ‘It is wonder you see how he stands with a few against a great multitude.’

[91] In other words, as the early church understood it. That is not tradition but originalism.

"Philpot. — 'We have almost as many as you. For we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospellers increases. So that I am credibly informed that for this religion in which I stand, and for which I am likely to die, a great multitude daily comes out of France through persecution, so that the cities of Germany are scarcely able to receive them. And therefore your lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.'

"Bonner. — 'My lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you will go from where you came, and have such favor in the meanwhile as I can show you. And on Wednesday next you will be called again to hear what you can say for the maintenance of your error.'

"Worcester. — 'God send you more grace.'

"Philpot. — 'And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may maintain his truth, and his true church.'

"Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and had a writing made, in which I think my blood was bought and sold by them, and they put their hands to it. After this I was carried to my coalhouse again."

The Fifth Examination of John Philpot, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, and others.

"Bonner. — 'Come here, Master Philpot, I have desired my lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again, to do you good. Therefore act the wise man, and be ruled by these learned men.'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I look for nothing else than death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you are to require it.'

"Bonner. — 'Behold, what a willful man is this? By my faith, it is but folly to reason with him, or with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to show extremity against you.'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, you need not show extremity against me unless you wish; nor by the law do you have anything to do with me, for you are not my ordinary, even though I am, contrary to all right, in your prison.'

"Bonner. — 'You maintained open heresy in my diocese. Therefore the commissioners sent you to me that I should proceed against you.'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf, that even if it were a great heresy, as you suppose it is, yet I should not be troubled for it, in respect to the privilege of the parliament house, of which the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may freely speak their minds. And here a gentleman of the queen's majesty is present who was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were then in controversy, were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required in the queen's majesty's name, that all men were to dispute their minds freely in the same, who were of the house.'

[869] A.D. 1555.

"After much dispute about the laws of the realm, Philpot at last said, 'My lord, I do not stand here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same. For I have been a student in the law six or seven years. But to answer to the articles of faith

with which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defense.'

"Bonner. — 'Why, will you answer directly to nothing you are charged with?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I have declared my mind to you, and to others of the bishops, desiring you to satisfy me of but one thing, to which I have referred all other controversies. If your lordships now, or other learned men can resolve me about this, then I am as contented to be reformable in all things as you will require, which is to prove that the church of Rome is the catholic church.'

"Coventry. — 'Why do you not believe your creed, — *I believe in the holy catholic church*?'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, that I do; but I cannot understand Rome to be the same, or like it.'

"St. Asaph. — 'It is most evident that St. Peter built the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, 'You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.' Moreover, the succession of bishops in the See of Rome from time to time can be proved, which is a manifest proof of the catholic church.'

"Philpot. — 'What you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain. And where you allege Christ saying to St. Peter, 'You art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, you prove nothing. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from St. Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome is the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of St. Peter's faith upon which the catholic church is built, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and to remain there at this present time.'

"Bonner. — 'Are there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray tell me, into what faith were you baptized?'

"Philpot. — 'I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, of which I am a member, I praise God, and I am of that catholic faith of Christ into which I was baptized.'

"Coventry. — 'I pray you, can you tell what this word *catholic* signifies? Show if you can.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as the people now-a-days are taught — that which is most universal, or received by most men. By this you infer our faith hangs upon the multitude, which is not so. But I esteem the catholic church to be, as St. Augustine defines it. He says, 'We judge the catholic faith, that which has been, is, and shall be.' So that if you are able to prove that our faith and church has been taught from the beginning, and is, and shall be, then you may count yourselves catholic, or otherwise not.'

"Coventry. — 'Let the book be seen.'

"Bonner. — 'I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break off and let it all alone. Do you think the catholic church, until these few years, has erred?'

"Philpot. — 'I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I request you to prove that this church of Rome is the catholic church.'

"Curtop. — 'I can prove that Irenaeus, who was within a hundred years after Christ, came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which he would not have done if he had not taken him to be supreme head.'

"Coventry. — 'Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer it? Answer, if you can.'

“Philpot. — ‘It is soon answered, my lord, for it is of no force. This act of Irenaeus makes no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine has done. I have been at Rome as well as he, and I might have spoken with the pope, if I had pleased. And yet I wish none in England favored his supremacy more than I.’

“St. Asaph. — ‘You are all the more to blame, since all in the catholic church, until these last few years, have taken him to be the supreme head of the church.’

“Philpot. — ‘That is not likely that Irenaeus took him so, or the primitive church. For I am able to show seven general councils after Irenaeus’ time, in which he was never so taken. This may be a sufficient proof that the primitive catholic church never took him for supreme head.’

“Coventry. — ‘Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Because it does not follow the primitive catholic church, nor does it agree with it, no more than an apple is like a nut.’

“Coventry. — ‘In what does it dissent?’

“Philpot. — ‘It would take too long to recite it all, but I will name two things: the supremacy of the pope, and transubstantiation.’

“Curtop. — ‘As for transubstantiation, although it was set forth and decreed as an article of faith not much beyond three hundred years ago, yet it was always believed in the church.’

“Bonner. — ‘Yes, that it was. Very well said of you, Master Curtop.’

“Philpot. — ‘You have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late planting of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to show by any ancient writer, that the primitive church believed any such thing.’

“Coventry. — ‘Can you disprove that the church of Rome is the catholic church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, that I am able, but I rather desire to hear from you for the proof of it. And seeing that I cannot have my request at your hands, I will show you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, then the church of Rome is not now the catholic church, which dissents so far from it both in doctrine and use of the sacraments.’

“Coventry. — ‘How do you prove that the church of Rome now dissents in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Compare the one with the other, and it will soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers.’

“Coventry. — ‘What more do you have to say, as to why it is not the catholic church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Because it is not universal, nor ever was, even though you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world having been divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe; two parts, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, never consented to the church of Rome, which is of Europe. This is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal.’

“Coventry. — ‘How do you prove that?’

“Philpot. — ‘All the historians who write of the proceedings of the church, testify it. Besides, this present time declares what I say to be true. For at this present time the churches of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yes, and besides all this, most of Europe

does not agree to, or admit the church of Rome — such as Germany, Denmark, Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand. This is a manifest proof that your church is not universal.'

"After this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me some gentlemen, and some of his chaplains, such as Doctor Saverson, who began with me in this manner:

"Saverson. — 'I remember you. Master Philpot, beyond the sea, since the time you reasoned with a friar, a notable learned man, coming from Venice to Padua in a barge.'

"Philpot. — 'I cannot forget that. For the friar threatened to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, because I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar.'

"Saverson. — 'Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you, this day having communed with so many notable learned men, are not more conformable to them than you are.'

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"Philpot. — 'I will be conformable to all who are conformable to Christ in his word.'

"Saverson. — 'I have heard your arguments, and I think that a great many of the old ancient writers are against you in that you do not admit the church of Rome, nor its supremacy. For St. Cyprian, who is an ancient writer, admits that the bishop of Rome is the supreme head of the church.'

"Philpot. — 'I am sure he does not. For writing to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, he calls him only his companion and his fellow-bishop. He neither attributed to him the name of pope, nor of any usurped terms which now are ascribed to the bishop of Rome to set forth his dignity.'

"Saverson. — 'You cannot show that St. Cyprian calls Cornelius his fellow-bishop.'

"Philpot. — 'I will wager that I can show it in Cyprian.'

"Saverson. — 'I will lay no wager with you, but book for book that it is not so.'

"Philpot. — 'I agree to that, and I pray you let one of my lord's chaplains bring his Cyprian here.'

"One of them went to my lord's study and brought Cyprian, and he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle, and there would seem to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he says; 'It does not go well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, who supplies the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow-bishops, and the agreement of the people.'

"Saverson. — 'How can you avoid this place, which makes so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?'

"Philpot. — 'It does not make so plain for your side as you suppose, as I will give you to understand. But first, I claim the wager which we made, that your book is mine. For here, you may see, that he calls Cornelius his fellow-bishop, as he does also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you misconstrue it in taking the high priest for the bishop of Rome alone. For there were four patriarchs appointed by the Nicene council: the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the

patriarch of Rome. Of these four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so he continued for many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to show. Therefore, St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome (whom he calls his fellow-bishop), finds himself offended that certain heretics being justly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were), fled from his diocese, where he was their chief bishop, refusing to be obedient to him, and were reformed to the bishop of Rome and to the patriarch of Constantinople. And there they were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to maintaining heresies and schisms.'

"A chaplain. — 'Did not Christ build his church upon St. Peter? Cyprian says so.'

"Philpot. — 'St. Cyprian, *De simplicitate Praelatorum*, declares in what respect he said so. 'God gave in the person of one, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all.' And also, St. Augustine says in the tenth treatise on St. John, 'If the mystery of the church had not been in Peter, the Lord would not have said to him, I will give you the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church does not have them; if the church had them when Peter received them, then he signified the whole church.' And also Jerome, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, says that, 'All churches lean to their own pastors.' And Evagrius says that, 'Wherever a bishop is, whether he is at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction.'

"Saverson. — 'I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error, to your own destruction.'

"Philpot. — 'I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries of it would never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for your synagogue of Rome is able to answer neither by reasoning, nor by writing. Where is there one of you all who has ever been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all is able to answer *Calvin's Institutes*?' [92]

"Saverson. — 'A godly minister, indeed, of cut-purses (thieves), and renegade traitors! I can tell you, there is such contention between him and his own sects about predestination, that he was glad to flee the town. I tell you the truth, for I came here by Geneva.'

"Philpot. — 'I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister. For it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church are, agreeing to the Scriptures.'

"After this Doctor Story came in. I said to him, 'You have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this, you have not kept your promise to me, for you promised that I would be judged the next day after.'

"Story. — 'I have come now to keep my promise with you. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this? No, he is no man; he is a beast; indeed, these heretics are worse than brute beasts. For they will, upon a vain singularity, take it upon themselves to be wiser than all men, being, indeed, very fools and asses, not able to maintain that which out of an arrogant obstinacy they stand in.'

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[92] John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536-1559) is among the greatest works of Christian theology and Western literature. It was done in the style of a Catechism to teach young Christians about the faith. It began as an exposition of the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. By 1559 Calvin had expanded it to include the sacraments, the Law, Faith, Prayer, Christian Liberty and Church government.

“Philpot. — ‘I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you wish. God forgive you for it; yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other will be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God, otherwise than a Christian man should.’

“Story. — ‘The word of God! Truly the word of God! It is but folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with you, not that I have any hope to win you. Whom will you appoint to judge about the word?’

“Philpot. — ‘The word itself.’

“Story. — ‘Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He wills the word to be judged by the word. Can the word speak?’

“Philpot. — ‘If I cannot prove what I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic, and an ignorant person, and further, whatever you please.’

“Story. — ‘Let us hear what wise authority you can bring in.’

“Philpot. — ‘It is the saying of Christ in St. John, The word which I have spoken, says Christ, will judge in the last day. If the word will judge in the last day, then much more it ought to judge our doings now. And I am sure I have my judge on my side, who will absolve and justify me in another world. However it pleases you now by authority to unrighteously judge me and others, I am sure in another world to judge you.’

“Story. — ‘What! You purpose to be a martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel!’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, sir, I do not doubt it, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness’ sake, which you have begun to persecute me for.’

“Story. — ‘I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have brought you, for what I said, good authority out of God’s book, to which you answer nothing, but give a railing judgment against me without any cause.’

“Story. — ‘Will you not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scriptures?’

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“Philpot. — ‘Yes, if it is according to the word about the true church. And this I say to you, as I have said here before, that if you can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, which I ought to follow, then I will be as ready to yield to it as you may desire me.’

“Story. — ‘What a fellow is this? He will believe nothing but what he chooses himself. Are we not in possession of the church? Have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church? And if we had no other proof but this, it would be sufficient. For the prescription of time makes a good title in the law.’

“Philpot. — ‘You do well to allege prescription of many years, for it is all you have to show for yourselves.’

“Story. — ‘Well, you are likely to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he had learned his heresy from Cranmer. When I came to him, he trembled as though he had the palsy, as these heretics always have some token of fear by which a man may know them, as you may see this man’s eyes tremble in his head. But I dispatched them. And I tell you that there has never yet been one burnt, that I have not spoken with him, and been a cause of his death.’

“Philpot. — ‘You have all the more to answer for, as you will feel in another world, however much you now triumph in your proceedings.’

The Sixth Examination of John Philpot before the Right Honorable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen’s Majesty, Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, Lord Rich, Lord St. John, Lord Windsor, Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two more, with the Bishop of London and Doctor Chedsey, on the 6th of November 1555.

“Before I was called before the lords, and while they were sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in my ear, to act prudently before the lords of the queen’s majesty’s council, and to take heed what I said. After the lords and others were seated, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, called me, and began to speak.

“Bonner. — ‘I have up to now both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more than once had you talked with to reform you of your errors. But I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish. Therefore now I have desired these honorable lords to hear you, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or not. And I dare be bold to say that, if you show yourself conformable to the queen’s majesty’s proceedings, you will find as much favor as you can wish.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I thank God this day, that I have such an honorable audience; and I cannot but commend your lordship’s equity in this behalf, which agrees with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others, his fellow bishops, and learned elders; and thirdly, in the hearing of the laity. There, after the judgment of God’s word, and with the assent of our bishops and the consent of the people, he was condemned as a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship’s hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops. And now I have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause than I have found with my lords of the clergy. God grant I may have at last the judgment of God’s word concerning the same!’

“Bonner. — ‘I pray you, before you go any further, tell my lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shown you any cruelty since you have been committed to my prison.’

“Philpot. — ‘If it will please your lordship to give me leave to declare my matter, I will touch that afterwards.’

“Rich. — ‘Answer, first of all, to my lord’s two questions, and then proceed to the matter. What do you say? Were you imprisoned by my lord or not? Can you find any fault with his cruel using of you?’

“Philpot. — ‘I cannot lay to my lord’s charge the cause of my imprisonment, nor may I say that he has used me cruelly, but rather for my part I may say that I have found more gentleness at his lordship’s hands, than I did at my own ordinary’s. For the time I have been within his prison, he has called me three or four times to my answer, to which I was not called in the twelve and a half months before.’

“Rich. — ‘Well, now go to your matter.’

“Philpot. — ‘The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar. This matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen’s majesty and of the whole house. And that house, being a part of the parliament house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Therefore, I think myself to have sustained great injury, for being imprisoned for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it. And I desire your honorable lordship’s judgment, who are of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and sustain the loss of my living, as I have done, and moreover of my life, as it is sought?’

“Rich. — ‘The convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I have always understood the contrary by those who are more expert men in things of this realm than I am.’

“Bonner. — ‘My lords, he has spoken there manifest heresy. Yes, and he has stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar,(and with that Bonner put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and vail their bonnets [93] at that idol as he did), and would not admit the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in it.’

‘ ‘Rich. — ‘What do you say? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the mass, as all the learned men of this realm do, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, and affirm it?

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I acknowledge, in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, such a presence, as the word of God allows and teaches me.’

“Bonner. — ‘A sacrament is a sign of a holy thing. So that there is both the sign which is the accident (such as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread), and there is also the thing itself, as truly Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacrament to be but bare signs. What do you say? Declare to my lords here whether you admit the thing itself in the sacrament or not.’

“Philpot. — ‘I confess that in the Lord’s supper there is both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered according to the institution of Christ.’

“Bonner. — ‘You may see how he goes about the bush, and dares not utter his mind plainly.’

“Philpot. — ‘If it please you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind in this.’

“Chandos. — ‘I pray you, my lord, let him speak his mind.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lords, the reason that I have not plainly declared my judgment to you is this: I cannot speak of it without the danger of my life.’

“Rich. — ‘There is none of us here that seeks your life, or means to take any advantage of what you will speak.’

“Philpot. — ‘Although I do not distrust your honorable lordships who are here of the laity, yet here is one who sits against me (pointing to my lord of London), who will lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your honors require me to declare my mind, and so that you may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, nor

[93] *Vail*: to lower or take off (a hat or crown) as a sign of respect.

maintain any opinion without sufficient authority of the Scripture, I will show you frankly my mind without any color, whatever will ensue to me.

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That which I intend to speak to you, right honorable lords, I affirm here, first before God and his angels, that I do not speak it in vain glory, nor in singularity, nor in willful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against which I dare not act, for fear of damnation. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, because I do not love the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart) but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, even though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for no other, as I call God to witness.

'"There are two things principally, by which the clergy at this day deceive the whole realm. They are the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name *catholic church*, both of which they usurp. As to their sacrament, which they call the altar, I say now, as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, nor is there any manner of Christ's presence in it. Therefore they deceive the queen's majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you believe that to be a sacrament which is not, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this, besides manifest proof which I am able to make to the queen's majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life. To do this, if it were not upon a sure ground, would be to my utter damnation. And where they take on themselves the name *catholic church*, (by which they blind many folks' eyes) they are not so, calling you away from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, to vain superstition. And this I will say: that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, as they will never be able to do, I will never be against their doings, but will revoke all that I have said. And I desire you, my lords, to be a mediator for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial upon this. Indeed, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm. And if they are able to prove other than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatever I have said, and to consent to them in all points.'

In the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in brief, the bishop of London would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the temper he was in.

"Bonner. — 'It has been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.'

"Rich. — 'All heretics boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself.'

"Bonner. — 'I pray you, how will you explain these two Scriptures: *Pater major me est; et pater et ego unum sumus*. I must interpret the same, because my lords here do not understand the Latin, that is to say, 'The Father is greater than I,' and 'I and the Father are one.' But I beg pardon, my lords, I have mis-spoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for most of you understand Latin as well as I do. But I speak in consideration of my Lord Chandos, and Master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin scholars. Now show your cunning, and join these two Scriptures by the word if you can.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes. that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there are two natures, the divinity and humanity. And in respect to his humanity it is spoken of Christ,

‘The Father is greater than I. But in respect of his deity he said again, ‘The Father and I are one.’

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say, then, to the second Scripture? How do you couple that by the word to the other?’

“Philpot.-’The text itself declares, that notwithstanding, Christ abased himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father. And this St. Paul sets forth more at large to the Hebrews. And just as I have joined these two Scriptures together by the Scriptures, so I am able to do in all other articles of faith, which we ought to believe, and to expound them by the manifest word of God.’

“Bonner. — ‘How can that be, seeing that St. Paul says that the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Paul does not mean the written word of God, in itself kills, which is the word of life and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable and kills the one who is void of the Spirit of God, even if he is the wisest man of the world. And therefore St. Paul said that the gospel is to some a savor of life unto life, and to others a savor of death unto death. We also have an example of this in the sixth of John, of those who hearing the word of God without the Spirit were offended by it. Therefore Christ said, the flesh profits nothing, it is the Spirit that quickens.’

“Bonner. — ‘What! Do you so understand that of St Paul and of St. John?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is not my own interpretation. It is agreeable to the word in other places, and I have learned the same from ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, ‘The natural man does not perceive the things of the Spirit of God, but the spiritual man judges all things.’ ‘

“Bonner. — ‘You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and willfully cast himself away. I am sorry for him.’

“Philpot. — ‘The words that I have spoken are none of mine, but the gospel, on which I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me to, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear it by you or by any other in this realm.’

“After further conference with the lords, and with Doctor Chedsey in their presence, the bishop of London said, ‘My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good. I will trouble you no longer now.’ And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word to me. half amazed. May God work it to good!”

The Seventh Examination of John Philpot on the 19th of November, before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, and Doctor Chedsey.

“Bonner. — ‘Sirrah, come here! How does it happen that you came no sooner? Is it well done by you to make master chancellor and me tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors are shut upon me, and I cannot come when I wish; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.’

“Bonner. — ‘We sent for you that you should have come to mass. What do you say, would you have come to mass or not, if the doors had been opened sooner?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, that is another manner of question.’

“Bonner. — ‘Behold, master chancellor, I told you we would have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. Why do you not answer directly, whether you would have gone to mass or not, if you had come in time?’

“Philpot. — ‘My answer will be thus: that if your lordship can prove your mass, to which you would have me come, to be the true service of God, and to which a Christian ought to come, then I will come with a good will.’

“Bonner. — ‘Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, you are too well handled. You will be worse handled hereafter, I warrant you.’

“Philpot. — ‘If to lie in a dark coal-house may be counted good handling, without fire and candle, then it may be said I am well handled. Your lordship has power to treat my body as you please.’

“Bonner. — ‘Now you think, because my lord chancellor is gone, that we will burn no one more. Yes, I warrant you, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you recant.’

[873] A.D. 1555.

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I did not think that I would have been alive now, nor so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Do not cast yourself willfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.’

“Philpot. — ‘My conscience bears me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causes me to do as I do. Of all other creatures, I would be most miserable if, for my own will only, I lose all the comforts I might have in this life, and afterwards be cast to damnation. But I am sure it is not my will, but God’s will, who will not allow me to be cast away, I am sure.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, since you will not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against you *ex officio*; and therefore hearken here to these articles I have written here, and I charge you to answer them.’

“And with that he read a libel, which he had in his hand of diverse articles, and when he was done he bade me answer.

“Philpot. — ‘Your libel, my lord, contains two special points: the first pretends that I am of your diocese, and therefore your lordship, upon suspicion of heresy against me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary office. This is not true, for I am not of your lordship’s diocese. And the second is that I — being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith — have gone from them. This is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church which I was baptized into.’

“Bonner. — ‘What! Are you not of my diocese? Where are you now, I pray you?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I cannot deny that I am in your coal-house, which is your diocese; yet I am not of your diocese.’

“Bonner. — ‘You were sent here to me by the queen’s majesty’s commissioners, and you are now in my diocese. Therefore I will proceed against you as your ordinary.’

“Philpot. — ‘I was brought here through force, and therefore my being present now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of my own ordinary’s jurisdiction. Nor does it make me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it comes by force, and by such men as had no just authority to do so.’

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say to the second article, and to the others?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, nor the rest, unless the first is proved.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second, that you are not of the same catholic faith, nor of the same church now as you were baptized in?’

“Philpot. — ‘I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church which is of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth.’

“Bonner. — ‘Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you are now.’

“Philpot. — ‘I was not baptized either into my godfather’s faith or my godmother’s, but into the faith and into the church of Christ.’

“Bonner. — ‘How do you know that?’

“Philpot. — ‘By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church.’

“Bonner. — ‘How long has your church stood, I pray you?’

“Philpot. — ‘Even from the beginning, from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors.’

“Chancellor. — ‘He will prove his church to be before Christ!’

“Philpot. — ‘If I did so, I would not go amiss; for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which makes one catholic church.’

“Chancellor. — ‘It is so indeed.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will desire no better rule than that which is often brought in by your side, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity.’

“Bonner. — ‘Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is! He would pretend to be very well versed in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor are you able to prove your church? Name him, and you shall have him.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, that you will not have. St. Cyprian says, ‘There must be one high-priest, to which the rest must obey;’ and they will allow no head, nor vicar-general.’

"Philpot. — 'St. Cyprian does not say that there should be a vicar-general over all. For, in his book '*De Simplicitate Praelatorum*,' he says the contrary: 'There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed by every bishop in part.' [94]

"Bonner. — 'Bring the book, you will see the place against you.'

"Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited the words, 'That it did not go well with the church, where the high-priest was not obeyed;' and so he concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

"Philpot. — 'You misconstrue this place in St. Cyprian; for he does not mean by the high-priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing to Cornelius he means by the high-priest, himself, who was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. He complains of this to Cornelius, and says, the church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, according to the judgment of the Scriptures, the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.'

"Bonner. — 'Has not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth, even from St. Peter?'

"Philpot. — 'No, that he was not. For by the word of God he has no more authority than the bishop of London has.'

"Bonner. — 'Was not St. Peter head of the church, and does the bishop of Rome, who is his successor, not have the same authority?'

"Philpot. — 'I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of St. Peter, has the same authority as St. Peter had. But St. Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had.'

"Chancellor. — 'Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially to him, 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven;' which he spoke to no other or his disciples, but to him.'

"Philpot. — 'St. Augustine answers otherwise to this objection, and says that, 'If in St. Peter there had not been the figure of the *church*, the Lord would not have said to him, To you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If St. Peter had not received them, the church does not have them. If the church *has* them, then St. Peter does not have them.'

"A Doctor. — 'What will you say, if I can prove that Christ built his church upon St. Peter, and take that out of St. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?'

"Philpot. — 'I know what St. Cyprian writes in that behalf; but he means nothing as you take it.'

"Bonner. — 'I will desire you. Master Chancellor, to take some pains with Dr. Chedsey, about this man's examination, for I must go to the parliament house. And I would desire you to dine with me.'

[94] This is the same question raised in his 5th examination (p. 873), as if to get Philpot to contradict himself, or perhaps to have him repeat his answer to this new audience.

“Chancellor. — ‘From the beginning, St. Peter and his successors have been admitted to be the supreme head of the church, and that is by the Scriptures. For Christ said to him, as mentioned by St. John three times, ‘Feed my sheep.’ ‘

“Philpot. — ‘That is not to be taken otherwise than, ‘Go and preach,’ which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as to St. Peter.

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“And that Christ said three times, ‘Feed my sheep,’ signifies nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take the words, ‘Feed my sheep,’ to mean to be Lord of the whole world?’

“In the meanwhile, the Bachelor of Divinity came in, who is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took it upon himself to help Master Chancellor.

“Scholar. — ‘What will you say if I can show you a Greek author called Theophylact to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?’

“Philpot. — ‘Theophylact is a late writer, and one who was a favorer of the bishop of Rome. Therefore he is not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils.’

“Scholar. — ‘In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?’

“Philpot. — ‘In the Nice council I am sure it was otherwise. For Athanasius was the chief bishop and president of the council there, and not the bishop of Rome.’

“Scholar. — ‘No, that is not so.’

“Philpot. — ‘Then I perceive you are better seen in words than in knowledge of things; and I will wager with you what you will, it is so, as you may see in the epitome of the councils.

“Scholar. — ‘I will fetch Eusebius and show the contrary, and the book of general councils.’

“He went into my lord’s closet and brought Eusebius; but he did not bring the general councils, saying that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but he was not able to show the same, and so he shrank away confounded.

“Chancellor. — ‘The church of Rome has always been taken for the catholic church. Therefore I would advise you to come into the same mind with us. You see all the men of this realm condemn you. Why will you be so singular?’

“Philpot. — ‘I have said, and still say, that if you are able to prove it to me, then I will be of the same mind. But I am sure that the church which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you, with the learned men of the realm, persecute the true church.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Do you hear what he says, that the church of Rome is the devil?’

“Chedsey. — ‘I wish you thought more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say if I can show you out of St. Augustine, in his epistle written to pope Innocent, that the whole general Council of Carthage admitted the church of Rome to be the chief over all others?’

“Philpot. — ‘I am sure you can show no such thing.’

“And with that he brought the book of St. Augustine, and turned to the epistle, but he could not prove his assertion clearly, only by conjectures.

“Chedsey. — ‘Here you may see. that the Council of Carthage, writing to Innocent, the bishop, calls the See of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him, notifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approval in the same. They would not have done this, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of the others. And moreover, you may see how St. Augustine proves the church of Rome to be the catholic church, by continual succession of the bishop until his time. This succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St. Augustine, we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have considered how you weigh St. Augustine; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not sufficient to prove the church of Rome now to be the *catholic church*. I will grant that it is now the *apostolic see*, in respect that St. Paul and St. Peter once preached the gospel there, and abode there for a certain season. I wish you could prove it to be the same apostolical see of true religion and sincerity as the apostle left it, and taught the same. If you could do this, you might boast of Rome as the apostolical see. Otherwise it is now of no more force than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem were to boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once abided there, and founded the church of Christ. And whereas the whole Council of Carthage wrote to Pope Innocent, notifying him of what was done in the general council, and desiring him to set his helping hand to suppressing the Donatists, as they had done — that fact of the council does not prove the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, any more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send it to some bishop who is not present because of some impediment, asking him to agree, and to publish them in his diocese. This fact does not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his brotherly consent is required.

“And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it does nothing to prove it to be the catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine does. And the recitation of the succession of the bishops only tends to this: to prove the Donatists are heretics, because they began at Rome as well as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, besides that which was grounded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and by their successors, who all taught no such doctrine, nor such a church as the Donatists. And if you are able to prove by the bishops of Rome, that such doctrine has not been taught by any of the successors of St. Peter’s see, as is now taught and believed by us, then you have good reason against us. Otherwise it is of no force.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Well, you see we can do no good in persuading of him: let us administer the articles which my lord left us. What do you say, Master Philpot, to these articles?’

“Philpot. — ‘You have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles, because I am not of my lord of London’s diocese. And to be brief with you, I will make no further answer than I have already given to the bishop.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.’ “

Two days afterwards, the bishop of London sent for Philpot, and after some conference, said 'I charge you to answer to my articles. Hold him a book.[95] You will swear to answer truly to all such articles, as I will demand of you.'

"Philpot. — 'I would first know your lordship to be my ordinary, before I swear in this.'

"Bonner. — 'What! we shall have an anabaptist of you, who thinks it not lawful to swear before a judge?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I am no anabaptist, I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not my ordinary.'

"Bonner. — 'I am your ordinary, and here I pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am your ordinary, and that you are of my diocese (and here he bid call in more to bear witness.) And I make you (taking one of his servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles, to which (when he had read them) he admonished me to answer. He said to the keeper, 'Bring me his fellows, and I will make them witnesses against him.'

"In the meanwhile one of the sheriffs of London came in, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, 'Master Sheriff, I would have you understand how I proceed against this man. Master Sheriff, you will hear what articles this man maintains,' and so he read a number of feigned articles:

[875] A.D. 1555.

"That I denied baptism to be necessary for those who were born of Christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only a bare faith is sufficient to salvation, whatever a man did besides; and that I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

"Philpot. — 'Ha! my lord, have you nothing of truth to charge me with, but you must be obliged to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said I had killed your father. The Scripture says that, 'God will destroy all men who speak lies.' And is your lordship not ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman, that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have recited? If I did maintain them, I would be well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible.'

"Bonner. — 'I do object them to you, to hear what you will say in them, and how you can purge yourself of them.'

"Philpot. — 'Then it was not justly said by your lordship in the beginning, that I maintained them, since I hold scarcely one of these articles you have read, in form as they are written.'

"Bonner. — 'What do you say? Will you answer to them or not?'

"Philpot. — 'I would first know you to be my ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things, and then afterwards, being lawfully called in judgment, I will show my mind fully about it, and not otherwise.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, then, should I make your companions be witnesses against you? Where are they? Come!'

"Keeper. — 'They are here, my lord.'

[95] That is, put his hand on a book, to swear by it, but unlikely the Bible. It may have been a catechism.

"Bonner. — 'Come here, sirs. Hold them a book. You will swear by the contents of that book, that you all (all manner of affections laid aside) say the truth of all such articles as you will be demanded of, concerning this man present here, who is a very naughty man. And take heed of him, that he does not deceive you, as I am afraid he does you much hurt, and strengthens you in your errors.'

"Prisoners. — 'My lord, we will not swear, unless we know to what. We can accuse him of no evil, we have been acquainted with him only a while.'

"Philpot. — 'I wonder that your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the law, to have infamous persons be witnesses. For your lordship takes them to be heretics; and by the law, a heretic cannot be a witness.'

"Bonner. — 'Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And Master Sheriff, I will make one of them be a witness against another.'

"Philpot. — 'You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you will.'

"Prisoners. — 'No, my lord.'

"'Bonner. — 'No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or not. I guess they are anabaptists. Master Sheriff, they think it is not lawful to swear before a judge.'

"Philpot. — 'We think it lawful to swear for a man who is judicially called, but not as we are now, in a blind corner.'

"Bonner. — 'Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you will swear for yourselves, and here, in the presence of Master Sheriff, I will object the same articles to you as I have done to him, and require you, under pain of excommunication, to answer particularly to every one of them when you are examined, as you will by and by be examined by my register, and some of my chaplains.'

"Prisoners. — 'My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay anything against us, we are here ready to answer to it. Otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us; for we know no just cause why some of us are here before you.'

"Bonner. — 'Master Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men.'

"And so he rose up and was going away, talking with Master Sheriff. And after this we were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning till I night. The keeper at night, on favor, let me out.

On the Sunday after, I was separated from the other prisoners, and sent to the Lollard's Tower."

The eighth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, and others, in the Bishop's chapel.

"The next day I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, one of the queen's council, Master archdeacon of London, and many more, and the bishop spoke to me as follows:

"'Sir, here I object and lay to you in the presence of my lord of St. David's, and of Master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, the articles contained here in this libel,' and he openly read them.

"When I would have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said I would have leisure enough to say what I wished when he had spoken. He then added, 'I require you to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of King Edward. Also I will that you answer certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And here I bring forth these witnesses against you in your own presence, namely, my lord of St. David's, Master Mordant, and Master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house, willing you to testify on your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and irreverent behavior he there used against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Now, sir, you will answer but two words, whether you will directly answer to these articles which I have laid to you, yes or no.'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promise me at the beginning that I might say what I could for my defense. And now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?'

"Bonner. — 'Speak yes or no, for you will say no more at this time.'

"The cause of this was, I guess, that he saw so many persons gathered there to hear the examination.

"Philpot. — 'Then the two words which you would have me speak will be, that I have appealed from you, and I do not accept you as my sufficient judge.'

"Bonner. — 'Indeed, Master Mordant, he has appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her majesty, to stay that appeal in my own hands.'

"Philpot. — 'You will do what you please, my lord; you have the law in your hands.'

"Bonner. — 'Will you answer or not?'

"Philpot. — 'I will not answer otherwise than I have said.'

"Bonner. — 'Register, note his answer that he makes.'

"Philpot. — 'Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law. You may as well do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now-a-days. May God, of his mercy, destroy your cruel kingdom!' And while I spoke this, the bishop went away in haste. After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house."

The Ninth Examination of John Philpot
before Bishop Bonner and his Chaplains.

"In the morning of the next day I was brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained till the bishop had heard his mass. Afterwards he sent for me into his parlor, and there he called for a chair to sit down. He brought his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, desiring me to draw near him, and said, 'This day I tarry at home from the parliament house, to examine you and your fellows on these articles, and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro.'

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"Philpot. — 'My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough. Yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law gives me, which is liberty not to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege I will cling to, until I am compelled otherwise '

“Bonner. — ‘Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay your appeal when you come in judgment, and answer in the meanwhile to these articles.’

“Philpot. — ‘No, my lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal is tried.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you will hear them,’ and he began to read them.

“I shrank back into the window, and looked at a book. After he had read them over, he said to me: ‘I have read them over, although it has not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what you mean by being so willful and stubborn, seeing that you may do well enough if you choose.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I speak to you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to my own will, nor do I stand upon my own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God’s word. And if your lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow it.’

“He then urged me to return to his church, and perceiving that he flattered me, I thought it good to give him some show of relenting, so that I might give him and his hypocritical generation a public foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none but those who are unlearned and not able to answer, or else those they hope will recant for fear or love of the world. I said, ‘My lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of my opinions, and offered to defend them. Therefore, my lord, I would that it might openly appear to the world, I am won by learning. Or else what will they say, either for fear, or love of the world, but that without any ground, I have turned from the truth. And if I hear any kind of learning openly shown, I will be as conformable as you may require of me.’

“Bonner. — ‘Yes, goodness, now you speak somewhat like a reasonable man. You might have had a great deal more favor in my house, and liberty, than you have had. And you will lack nothing that is within my house. Call for it, and you will have it. And what is it that you would openly, by learning, somewhat be satisfied in? Tell me.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I have openly said, and also believe it, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament.’

“Bonner. — ‘What, do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?’

“Philpot. — ‘No, my lord, I do not deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, Rather, I have denied that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, is the true sacrament of Christ’s institution. And first it must be proved to be a sacrament before there can be any presence granted.’

“Bonner. — ‘Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Augustine defines it?’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, truly, that it is.’

“Bonner. — ‘Then I make this argument: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; the mass is a sign of a holy thing; therefore the mass is a sacrament.’

“Philpot. — ‘You must add this to your proposition, as St. Augustine means it: that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing *instituted and commanded by God*; for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for no men can make a sacrament.’

“Bonner. — ‘I grant that; and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ’s institution.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny that, my lord.’

“Bonner. — ‘I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will show you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is outside there? Call me Doctor Chedsey, Master Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and other chaplains here!’

“‘Here, my lord, Doctor Chedsey has gone to Westminster, and the archdeacon was here even now.’

“Bonner. — ‘Master Cosins, I pray you examine him on these articles, and write the answers he makes to every one of them. I will go and examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.’

“Cosins. — ‘I trust, my lord, you will find him at length a good catholic man. Goodness, here is a sight of heresies! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. What do you say to the first?’

“Philpot. — ‘Master Cosins, I have told my lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he has objected against me. But if you will, with learning, answer to that which is in question between my lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.’

“Cosins. — ‘No, will you? Why, what then is in question between my lord and you?’

“Philpot. — ‘Whether your mass is a sacrament or not.’

“Cosins. — ‘What, is the mass a sacrament? Whoever doubted it?’

“Philpot. — ‘If it is an undoubted truth, you may sooner prove it, for I doubt it much.’

“Cosins. — ‘Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing; therefore it is a sacrament.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny that.’

“Cosins. — ‘What! then there is no reasoning with you.’

“Thus Master Cosins gave up for lack of further proof. And then the mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation. And Master Harpsfield came out from my lord, with St. Augustine’s epistles, saying:

“‘My lord has sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look at what he says in a certain epistle which he writes. I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproves those who went hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbath and holidays. ‘

“Philpot. — ‘I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing against me, nor anything that makes for the proof of your sacrament of the mass.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘No; does he not mention the mass, and the celebration of it? What can be spoken more plainly?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Augustine means the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not your private mass, which you in recent years have erected in its place. For this word *mass* has been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me, what *Missa* signifies. I think not many who say mass can well tell.’

“Cosins. — ‘No! *cannot*? That is marvellous.’

“Philpot. — ‘Then tell me if you can.’ “But Master Cosins and my mass chaplain were both dumb, looking at Master Harpsfield for help, and at length he spoke.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘You think it comes from the Hebrew word *Massah*, as if none were versed in the Hebrew but you.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have not gone so long to school, as to derive the signification of *Missa*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew! But I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called *Missa*, à *mittendo*, of things such as the celebration of the communion which were sent by those who were of ability, for the relief of the poor. This is where the rich brought according to their devotion and ability, and required the minister in the celebration of the communion to pray to God for them, and to accept their common alms which they sent for the help of their poor brethren and sisters. And for this reason it was called *Missa*. At this celebration, all who were present communicated under both kinds, according to Christ’s institution, as they did in St. Augustine’s time. But unless you can show that your mass is used as it was then, you will never by the name *mass* (which St. Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion), prove your private mass to be a sacrament.’

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“Harpsfield. — ‘“What! Do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? For shame! Do not say it.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.’

“Cosins. — ‘You are such a fellow as I have never heard of! You will not have the mass be a sacrament! You are no man for me to reason with. Come, let us go.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘Master Philpot, you and I have been old acquaintances a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford, for many years. Therefore I must wish well for you, as for myself, and I pray you to think so of me.’

“Philpot. — ‘I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you are deceived, as I am sure you are, I desire you not to wish me be deceived with you. For before God I tell you plainly, you are deceived, and you maintain false religion. If you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ’s truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time, I give you warning, or else in the day of judgment I will be a witness against you, that I told you this, talking here together. You know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we strived much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth. But now our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion forever. And if then, in my time of ignorance, I was earnest in my own cause, I should now be earnest in my Master Christ’s cause, and his truth.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘What! will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?’

“Philpot. — ‘My faith does not depend upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned in God’s word.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘Well, I will talk with you no more at present, but pray to God to open your heart.’

“Philpot. — ‘I pray God to open both our hearts, to do His will more than we have done in times past.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘Ho! Keeper, take him away with you.’”

The Tenth Examination of John Philpot before Bishop Bonner, his Register, and Others.

"The next day after dinner I was brought into my lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his register, and before Doctor Chedsey, in the presence of two gentlemen and a priest. The bishop said,

"'I here lay to this man in your presence, requiring you to be a witness against him, these articles, this book of the catechism made in King Edward's days; also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge; also, I lay to him that he has despised the censures of the church, and has stood accursed more than a year, and never sought absolution. What do you say, were you not accursed by my lord chancellor?'

"Philpot. — 'I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law, never being personally cited.'

"Bonner. — 'Did you not tell me the other day, when I required you to come to the mass, that you were excommunicated, and therefore by the law could not hear mass? How long have you thus been excommunicated?'

"Philpot. — 'More than a twelve and a half months.'

"Bonner. — 'Behold! You may hear what he says; write it down.'

"Philpot. — 'Also let him write that I requested absolution from my lord chancellor, who excommunicated me, but he would not give it me, saying that I was excommunicated because I was a heretic, as it pleased him to call me.'

"Gentleman. — '"Why do you not request absolution at my lord's hands here, now?'

"Philpot. — 'Because he is not my ordinary, nor by law has anything to do with me.'

"Bonner. — 'What an obstinate fool is this? I tell you I will be your ordinary whether you will it or not.'

"Philpot. — 'And because of this, your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and I request you, Master Register, that my appeal may be entered in writing.'

"Bonner. — 'Have you ever heard such a froward fellow as this? Yesterday he seemed to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell you, you *are* of my diocese.'

"Philpot. — 'I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese.'

"Bonner. — 'I pray you, may not a man be of two dioceses at once?'

"Philpot. — 'No, he cannot.'

"Bonner. — 'Look, I would have you see what an ignorant fool this is. I tell you, a man may be of three dioceses at once: such as, if you were born in London, you should be of my diocese; or if you were not born there, but had a dignity [96] here, then you are to be counted of my diocese, or else by your habitation in my diocese."

"Philpot. — 'In none of these respects am I of your lordship's diocese.'

"Bonner. — 'What wager will you lay? Will you recant if I prove it?'

"Philpot. — 'But what will I win if you do not?'

"Bonner. — 'I will give you my bishopric if I do not prove it.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, but who will deliver it to me if I win?'

[96] *Dignity*: holding a high office, rank, or station.

‘ Bonner. — ‘You are an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses’ depositions. I must be gone to the parliament house.’

“After this, a priest standing by spoke to me, asking whether I was kin to my Lord Rich.

“Philpot.” — ‘He said so himself to me the other day; but how, I know not.’

“Chedsey. — ‘I heard him say he was his near kinsman.’

“Priest. — ‘Why, then, you and I must be kin, for he is my near kinsman. How does it chance that you and I are of contrary judgments?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied. ‘I have come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, for my truth’s sake.’

“Priest. — ‘You hold against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass.’

“Philpot. — ‘If you can prove it is a sacrament, I will not hold against you.’

“Priest. — ‘What! Prove it is a sacrament! Does not St. Paul say, ‘Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, the things which God has prepared for those who love him?”

“Philpot. — ‘That does not concern your sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joys that are prepared for all faithful believers.’

“Priest. — ‘Why, then, I perceive you do not understand St. Paul. By God, you are deceived.’

“Philpot. — ‘You should not swear; I understand St. Paul as well as you.’ Then I showed him a Greek Testament, with Erasmus’s translation, and with the old also, demanding of him which text he was best acquainted with.’

“Priest. — ‘I once knew Greek as well as you; I do not care which you read.’

“Philpot. — ‘You know them all alike then; you understand the one as well as the other.’ With this he departed in a fury.”

The Eleventh Examination of John Philpot, on St. Andrew’s day (Nov. 30th), before the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of the Bath, the Bishop of London, the Prolocutor, Master Christopherson, and Doctor Chedsey; Master Morgan, of Oxford; Master Hussey, of the Arches; Doctor Weston; Doctor Harpsfield, Archdeacon; Master Cosins; and Master Johnson, Register to the Bishop of London, in his Palace.

“The bishop of London met me in his hall, and brought me before the lords, saying, ‘My lords, I desire you to take some pains with this man; he is a gentleman, and I would have him do well, but he will willfully cast himself away.’”

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“Durham. — ‘Will you conform yourself to the catholic faith, and leave all new-fangled opinions and heresies? I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and can tell you how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now does.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I *am* in the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in it. But it is not unknown to your lordship, that I with others these twenty years, have been taught another manner of faith than you now endeavor to compel us to. Therefore it is requisite that we

have time to weigh it, and to hear how it agrees with God's word. For St. Paul says, 'Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God."

"Chichester. — 'If you will give me leave, my lord, I will show him how he takes the saying of St. Paul amiss, that they should not be compelled to believe it. St. Paul speaks of *infidels*, and not of the *faithful*. And so St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, says that 'the faithful may be compelled to believe."

"Philpot. — 'St. Bernard takes the same sense of St. Paul as I do, saying, that 'Faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined."

"Durham. — 'Will you be of the same catholic faith and church with us which you were baptized in, and your godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do? Then you may be out of trouble. I perceive you are learned, and it is a pity that you should not do well.'

"Philpot. — 'I am of the same catholic faith and catholic church I was baptized into, and in that I will live and die.'

"Durham. — 'That is well said; if you hold there you cannot but do well.'

"Chichester. — 'Yes, my lord, but he means otherwise than you do. Are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or not?'

"Philpot. — 'I cannot tell, certainly, what faith they were of, but I am of the faith I was baptized into, which is the faith of Christ. For I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ.'

"Durham. — 'What do you say? Will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or not, and be of one church with us?'

"Philpot. — 'My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have always been two churches.'

"Chichester. — 'Nay, that is not so; there is but one catholic church.'

"Philpot. — 'I desire your lordships to hear my meaning. For I know there is but one true church. But always, from the beginning, there has been joined to the same true church, a false church; and that was declared at the beginning in Abel and Cain. For Cain persecuted and slew his brother, in which is represented (as St. Augustine witnesses) the false and true church. And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shown them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, then the false church arose, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made an altar for themselves at Bethel. They set up golden calves, and yet pretended to serve God with them; and so they abused His word. Notwithstanding their pretensions, God was displeased with them, and did not cease his wrath until He had utterly destroyed them.'

"Chichester. — 'I will grant you that before the coming of Christ, there were two churches in the old law. But in the new law, since Christ's coming, you cannot show it to be so by the Scriptures.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, my lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve apostles, was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? And were they not of the false church?'

Chichester. — 'Yes, but I mean after the gospel was written, where can you find me two churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Spirit?'

“Philpot. — ‘I remember in the New Testament mention is made of two churches, as it appears in the Revelation. And also St. Paul’s letter to the Thessalonians mentions that Antichrist, with his false generation, will sit in the temple of God.’

“Durham. — ‘It is almost night, my lord of London; I must be gone.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while. I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man with, of which I would have your lordships be made privy, and I have them written here in a libel. I pray you sit down again. First, I lay to him here, that he has written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying: ‘The Holy Spirit is Christ’s vicar on earth.’ Will you abide by this saying of yours, that the Spirit is Christ’s vicar on earth?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, it is not my saying. It is a better man’s than mine. For I used not to write my own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers. And as I remember, it is the saying of St. Bernard, and a saying that I need not be ashamed of, nor should you be offended at it.’

“Bonner. — ‘Also I lay to your charge that you killed your father, and were accursed by your mother in her deathbed, as I can bring a witness of it.’

“Philpot. — ‘O Lord! what blasphemy is this! Has your lordship nothing of truth to charge me with, but such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at St. Paul’s Cross, whatever you will have me say. My lords, I pray you consider how my lord of London has proceeded against me.’

“Chichester. — ‘They are beside the purpose.’

“Durham. — ‘My lord, I must bid you farewell.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, my lord, here is a letter which I desire your lordship to hear before you go. This man has taken upon himself to write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman called Master Green, in my house. And he has made a false report of his examination, as you will hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He tore the letter when he saw that my man went to search him, yet I have pieced it together again, and had a copy written.’

“He read the torn letter. The letter was the examination of Master Green before the bishop of London, in the presence of Master Fecknam, dean of St. Paul’s, whose ready answers in the Scriptures and in the doctors were wondered at by the dean himself, and many others.’

“Philpot. — ‘Your lordship mistakes. This letter, as your lordship may perceive, was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, notifying me at my request, of how Master Green fared at the bishop of London’s hands. And there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he who wrote it, need fear.’

“Bonner. — ‘Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.’

“Philpot. — ‘No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend, and especially seeing that you will take all things at the worst. Nor will you *ever* know from me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend wrote to me on the occasion of my appeal, which I have made to the whole parliament house about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.’

“Bonner. — ‘I would like to see any man so hardy as to put up your appeal.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I cannot tell what God will I work. I have written it, fare it as it may.’

“Bonner. — ‘My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. What do you say, have I not?’

“Philpot. — ‘If to lie in the vilest prison in this town (being a gentleman, and an archdeacon) and in a coalhouse, for five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, might be counted ‘gentleness’ at your hands, I must say I have found gentleness. But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are in these days.’

“Bonner. — ‘Look! What a varlet (scoundrel) this is! Besides this, yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose.’

“Philpot. — ‘Your lordship need not mistrust the matter; it is nothing but to make ink.’

“Bonner. — ‘More than this, my lords, he had a pig roasted, and had a knife put between the skin and the flesh, for what purpose do you judge? What do you say? Did you not do so?’

[879] A.D. 1555.

“Philpot. — ‘I cannot deny that there half a pig was sent to me, and under it a knife was lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know of. Your lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other, as you would have men believe. For I was never without a knife since I came to prison. Therefore all these are but false surmises, and not worth repeating.’

“Bonner. — ‘I have here to lay to his charge, greatest of all, his book of the report of the disputation had in the convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that may be, against the blessed sacrament of the altar. What do you say, Doctor Weston? Did he stubbornly maintain the same there, or not?’

“Weston. — ‘Yea, my lord, that he did.’

“Durham. — ‘My lord of London, I can tarry no longer, I must bid you farewell. Master Philpot, I think you have said well that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church; I pray you do so, and you will do right well.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have purposed to do so, however I fared, by God’s grace.’

“Christopherson. — ‘Master Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you remember, and talked somewhat with you about these matters. I find you now the same man that you were then; I wish it were otherwise. For God’s sake, be conformable to men who are better learned than you, and do not stand in your own conceit.’

“Philpot. — ‘Where you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God that you see me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And where you would have me follow better-learned men than myself, indeed, I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whose books, in respect to learning, I am not worthy to carry after you. But faith and the wisdom of God do not consist in learning only. And therefore St. Paul desires that our faith not be grounded on the wisdom of man. If you can show by learning out of God’s book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man, whatever he may be.’

“Christopherson. — ‘Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can show out of him, that ‘the church of Rome is such that unbelief cannot approach it?’ ‘

“Philpot. — ‘I am sure you cannot show any such saying out of St. Cyprian.’

“Christopherson. — ‘What will you lay upon that?’

“Philpot. — ‘I will lay as much as I am able to make.’

“Morgan. — ‘Will you promise to recant, if I show his saying.’

“Philpot. — ‘My faith will not hang on any doctor’s saying further than he will be able to prove it by God’s word.’

“Christopherson then pointed out these words in one of the epistles of St. Cyprian, ‘But to the Romans, whose faith is praised by the testimony of the apostle, unbelief can have no access.’

“Bonner (returning). — ‘Where is the place? Let me see. By my faith here is a place. Come here, sir, what do you say to this? No, I will help this place with St. Paul’s own testimony, where he says that, ‘Their faith is spoken of throughout the world.’ How can you answer this?’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, my lord, it is soon answered, if you will consider *all* the words of Cyprian. for he speaks of those in his time who were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was published throughout the world by an epistle which he had written in commendation of their faith. With those who are praised by St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, unbelief can have no place. And if you can show that the faith which the church of Rome holds now, is that faith which the apostle praised and allowed in the Romans in his time, then I will say what St. Cyprian then said: that infidelity can have no place there. But otherwise, it does not make absolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you take it.’

“Morgan. — ‘All the doctors are on our side, and against you, altogether.’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, and so you say when you are in your pulpits alone, with none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me, I will venture with you a recantation, that I will bring more authorities from ancient doctors on my side than you will be able to for yours. And he who can bring most to his side, let the other side yield. Are you content?’

“Christopherson. — ‘It is but folly to reason with you. You will believe no man but yourself.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will believe you or any other learned man, if you can bring anything worthy to be believed. You cannot win me from my faith with vain words.’

“Morgan. — ‘What are you saying? Do we not believe well of the sacrament?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is the thing which, among all others, you most abuse.’

“Morgan. — ‘In what, I pray you?’

“Philpot. — ‘I have told you before, in the convocation-house.’

“Morgan. — ‘Yes, goodness; indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping.’

“Philpot. — ‘I did weep indeed, and so did Christ over Jerusalem, and I am not to be blamed for that, if you consider the cause of my weeping.’

“Morgan. — ‘What! Do you make yourself Christ?’

“Philpot. — ‘No, sir, I do not make myself Christ; but I am not ashamed to do as my Master and Savior did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry which there I foresaw you would bring back to this realm through tyranny, as this day declares.’

“Christopherson. — ‘In what do we abuse the sacrament?’

“Philpot. — ‘As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you do not minister it in both kinds as you should, but keep one half from the people, contrary to Christ’s institution.’

“Christopherson. — ‘Why, is there not as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is there then to minister in both kinds?’

“Philpot. — ‘I do not believe so; for if it had been as much, Christ would have given but one kind only; for he instituted nothing superfluous. And therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is just as well in one kind, as in both, since the Scripture teaches otherwise.’

“Christopherson. — ‘What if I can prove it by scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles, in one or two places, where it is written that the apostles continued ‘In prayer and in the breaking of bread,’ which is meant of the sacrament.’

“Philpot. — ‘Do you not know that St. Luke, by mentioning the breaking of bread, means the whole use of the sacrament according to Christ’s institution, by a figure which you learned in grammar, *synecdoche*, where part is mentioned, and the whole is understood to be done as Christ commanded it?’

“Morgan. — ‘I would ask you, how old your religion is?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is older than yours by a thousand years and more.’

“Morgan. — ‘I pray you where was it fifty years ago?’

“Philpot. — ‘It was in Germany, as it appears by the testimony of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Wycliffe, whom your generation a hundred years ago and more, burned for preaching the truth. And before their time, and since then, although by persecution, it has been put to silence.’

“Morgan. — ‘That is a marvellously strange religion. No man can tell for certain where to find it.’

“Philpot. — ‘It should be no marvel to you to see God’s truth oppressed through violence. For it has been so from the beginning from time to time, as it appears by history, and as Christ’s true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy has the upper hand by violence. And in the Apocalypse you may see it was prophesied that the true church would be driven into corners, and into the wilderness, and suffer great persecutions.’

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“Morgan. — ‘I tell you, Philpot, you are a heretic, and you will be burned for your heresy; and afterwards you will go to hell-fire.’

“Philpot. — ‘I tell you, you hypocrite, that I do not bypass this for your fire and faggots; nor, my lord, do I stand in fear of them, I thank God. My faith in Christ will overcome them. But the hell-fire with which you threaten me is *your* portion. It is prepared for you unless you speedily repent, and for other such hypocrites as you.’

“Morgan. — ‘What! You speak from wine; you have tippled well today, by likelihood?’

“Philpot. — ‘So, when the apostles were full of the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God, the Jews said they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say.’

“Morgan. — ‘Why, we do not burn you; it is the temporal men who burn you, and not we.’

"Philpot.—' Thus you would, as Pilate did, wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But you call upon the secular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And do you not have a title in your law, *De haereticis comburendis*, to burn heretics?'

"Harpsfield, — 'I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard so stout a heretic as you are, Master Philpot.'

"Cosins. — 'Neither ;have I, in all my life.'

"Philpot. — 'You are not able to prove me a heretic, by one jot of God's word.'

"They then ordered me back to my prison, and as I was passing them I spoke to the bishop.

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I pray you, let me have my bible, with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine.'

"Bonner. — 'Your bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have perused the rest, you will have what I think good.'

"Philpot. — 'I pray your lordship, then, that you would let me have candle-light.'

"Bonner. — 'To what purpose, I pray you?'

"Philpot. — 'The nights are long, and I would gladly occupy myself about something, and not spend my time idly.'

"Bonner. — 'You may pray, then.'

"Philpot. — 'I cannot well say my prayers without light.'

"Bonner. — 'Can you not say your paternoster without a candle? I tell you, sir, you will have some food and drink from me, but candles you get none.'

"Philpot. — 'I would rather have a candle than your food and drink. But seeing I will not have my request, the Lord will be my light.'

The Twelfth Examination of John Philpot, on Wednesday, the 4th of December, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Bishop of Bangor.

"In the morning I was brought down to the wardrobe adjoining the chapel, and a while after in came three of the bishops' chaplains, saying:

"Chaplains. — 'Master Philpot, my lord has sent us to you, to desire you to come to mass, certifying you that there is a notable learned man, called Doctor Chedsey, going to mass: therefore we also pray you, good Master Philpot, be content to come.'

"Philpot. — 'I wonder that my lord would trouble you in sending you about this matter, seeing that he knows I am a man (by your law) who cannot hear mass, because I stand excommunicated.'

"Chaplains. — 'Your excommunication is but upon a rebelliousness, and my lord will give dispensation if you will come.'

"Philpot. — 'My lord cannot, for he is not my ordinary, and I will not seek any such thing at his hands.'

“After mass the bishop called me before him into his chapel, and there, in the presence of his register, he recited the articles.

“Bonner. — ‘Sir, what can you now say, why I should not proceed to give sentence against you as an heretic?’

“Philpot. — ‘Why my lord, will you proceed to give sentence against me before your witnesses are examined? That is against your own law.’

“Bonner. — ‘See, what a fool you are in the law. I need only recite the depositions of the witnesses, if I choose.’

“Philpot. — ‘It appears, indeed, you may do whatever you choose.’

“Bonner. — ‘You are a naughty fellow, and have done much hurt, and have seduced other poor fellows here in prison with you, by comforting them in their errors, and you have made them rejoice and sing with you.’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, my lord, we will sing when you, and others like you, cry, woe! woe! unless you repent.’

“Bonner.— ‘What an arrogant fool this is! I will handle you like a heretic and do it shortly.’

“Philpot. — ‘I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do to me.’

“Bonner. — ‘Have him away; this is a knave indeed!’

“I was taken into the wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an hour after was sent for to come before him and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.’

“Bonner. — ‘Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have caused you to talk with many learned men, yes, and honorable, both temporal and spiritual, and it avails nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought you before so many, for they say you glory to have many to talk with. Well, now it lies upon you to look to yourself. For your time draws near to an end, if you do not become conformable. And at present we are sent from the synod to offer you this grace: that if you will come to the unity of the church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar with us, all that is past will be forgiven, and you will be received to favor.’

“Worcester. — ‘We are sent (as you have heard here by my lord of London) from the synod, to offer you mercy if you will receive it; and of the good-will I bear you, I wish you to take it, while it is offered, and not be a singular man against a whole multitude of learned men, who now in fasting and prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good. Many very learned men have talked with you. Why should you think yourself better learned than them all? Do not be of such arrogance, but have humility, and remember there is no salvation but in the church.’

“Bangor. — ‘I think my lord has said to you wonderfully well, that you should not think yourself so well-learned, but that other men are as well learned as you; neither of so good a wit, that others are not as wise as you; neither of so good a memory, that others do not have as good memories as you. Therefore mistrust your own judgment, and come back home to us. I never liked your religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true religion. I was the same manner of man then that I am now, and a great

many more were too. For fear, we held our peace and bore with the time. Therefore, Master Philpot, I wish that you would do well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us, back into the catholic church of Rome.'

"Philpot. — 'Where, my lord, you say, that religion is to be disliked which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you do not give men occasion to think the same of yours at this day, which had no other argument to stand by, than violence. If you can show me any good sufficient ground by which to satisfy my conscience, that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, I will gladly be of it; otherwise I cannot so soon change the religion I have learned these many years.'

"Worcester. — 'I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I never talked with anyone yet in my diocese, who after once communicating with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and so do much good, as you may if you will. For as I understand, you were archdeacon of Winchester. You may do much good in that part of the country if you would forsake your errors, and come to the catholic church.'

"After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I spoke before dinner, and would not depart from it?'

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"Worcester. — 'Will you stand to the catholic church of Rome?'

"Philpot. — 'If you can prove that church to be the catholic church, I will.'

"Worcester. — 'Did not Christ say to Peter, and to all his successors of Rome, 'Feed my sheep, feed my lambs?' Which signifies that he gave him more authority than the rest.'

"Philpot. — 'That saying does not pertain to the authority of Peter above others, but it declares what Christ requires of his beloved apostles, that they should, with all diligence, preach to the flock of Christ the way of salvation. But the bishop of Rome little regards the spiritual feeding, and he does not feed Christ's flock as Peter did.'

"Worcester. — 'How can you tell that?'

"Philpot. — 'I have been there, and I could not learn from any of his countrymen, that he ever preaches.'

"Worcester. — 'Though he does not preach one way, he preaches another, by procuring good order for the church.'

"Philpot. — 'I am sure that it will be his damnation before God, that he leaves what he is commanded by Christ to do, and sets forth his own decrees to deface the gospel. '

"Worcester. — 'It is the wickedness that you have seen at Rome, that causes you to have this ill judgment of the church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reason further.'

"Thus they departed, and after them came Doctor Chedsey, and Doctor Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, with a great many more.'

“Chedsey. — ‘Here is the archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good counsel; I pray you to hear him.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will refuse to hear none who will counsel me any good.’

“Wright. — ‘I would wish you. Master Philpot, to agree with the catholic church, and not to stand in your own conceit; you see a great many learned men against you.’

“Philpot. — ‘I am of the true catholic church, and will live and die in it. If you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of it.’

“Chedsey. — ‘What proof would you have? I will prove to you that our church has its being and foundation in the scriptures, by the apostles and by the primitive church, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all confessors.’

“Philpot. — ‘Give me your hand, doctor. Prove that, and I hold with you.’

“Chedsey. — ‘If I had my books here, I could soon prove it. I hear you confess a real presence. But I will be hanged if you will abide by it: You will deny it by and by.’

“Philpot. — ‘What I have said, I cannot deny, whatever you say.’

“Chedsey. — ‘If there is a real presence in the sacrament, then evil men receive Christ, which you will not grant, I am sure.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny the argument, for I do not grant by transubstantiation any real presence, as you falsely imagine, but in the due administration to the worthy receivers.’

“Chedsey. — ‘I will prove by St. Augustine that evil and wicked men eat the body of Christ, as well as good men.’

“In the beginning of his text, St. Augustine seems to approve his assertion. But I bade him to read to the end, and there St. Augustine declares most evidently that it was (*quodammodo*), in a certain manner, that evil men received the body of Christ, which is sacramentally only in the outer sign, and not really, or indeed, as the good does. ‘And thus,’ I said, ‘all the doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, are quite against you, if you rightly weighed them.’

“Chedsey. — ‘You will be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or not.’

“Philpot. — ‘Hold that argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence.’

The Thirteenth Examination of John Philpot, before the Archbishop of York, and several other Bishops.

“The Thursday after, I was called before the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of London. The bishop of Chichester began to talk with me.

“Chichester. — ‘I have come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can to come to the catholic church, and to learn to have humility, and by the same token to learn from others who are better learned than you, as they learned from those who were their betters before them.’

“Philpot. — ‘We must all be taught by God, and I will with all humility learn from those who will inform me by God’s word, what I have to do. I confess that I have but little learning in respect to you, who excel both by your years and great exercise. But faith does not consist only in learning, but in simplicity of believing what God’s word teaches. Therefore I will be glad to hear both by your lordship, and by any other, the true doctrine, and to thank you that it pleases you to take pains in this.’

“Chichester. — ‘How do we believe the gospel, if not by the authority of the church, and because the church has allowed it?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Paul says he did not learn the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. This is a plain and sufficient proof that the gospel does not take its authority from man, but from God alone.’

“Chichester. — ‘Does St. Augustine not say, ‘I would not believe the gospel if the authority of the church did not move me to it?’

“Philpot. — ‘I grant that the authority of the church moves unbelievers to believe. Yet the church does not give the Word its authority; for the Word has its authority only from God, and not from men. For first, the Word has its being before the church, and the Word is the foundation of the church. And the foundation must first be sure, before the building can be steadfast.’

“Chichester. — ‘I perceive you mistake me, I speak of the *knowledge* of the gospel, and not of its *authority*; for by the church we have all knowledge of the gospel.’

“Philpot. — ‘I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word. And I acknowledge that God now appoints an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we who are taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation.’

“Here the archbishop of York and the bishop of Bath came in. After they had greeted one another, and communed a while together, the archbishop of York called me to them, saying:

“York. — ‘Sir, hearing that you are out of the way, we have come out of charity to inform you, and to bring you back into the true faith, and to the catholic church. We charge you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn from your betters, for otherwise we can do no good with you. And God says by his prophet, On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and on the meek, and those who tremble at my word?’

“Philpot. — ‘I know that humility is the door by which we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness, I have entered in at that door unto him, and with all humility I will hear whatever truth you will speak to me.’

“York. — ‘What are the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, if it pleases your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, about the church, and how we might know the truth if not by the church.’

“York. — ‘Indeed, that is the head we need to begin at, for the church being truly known, we will sooner agree.’

“Philpot. — ‘If your lordships can prove the church of Rome is the true catholic church, it will do much to persuade me to what you would have me incline to.’

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“York. — ‘Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is a congregation of people dispersed throughout the world, agreeing together in the word of God, using the sacraments and all other things according to the same.’

“York. — ‘Your definition has many words to no purpose.’

"Philpot.— ‘I am not precisely defining the church, but I declare to you what I think the church is.’

"York.— ‘Is the church visible or invisible?’

"Philpot.— ‘It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists of both good and bad, using all things in faith, according to God’s word.’

"York. — ‘The church is a universal congregation of faithful people in Christ throughout the world, which this word *catholic* well expresses; for otherwise, what is catholic? Does it not signify universal?’

"Philpot.— ‘The church is defined by St. Augustine to be called catholic in this way: ‘The church is therefore called catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and falters in nothing.’’

“York. — ‘No, it is called catholic, because it is universally received by all Christian nations, for the most part.’

“Philpot. — ‘The church was catholic in the apostles’ time, yet was it not universally received by the world. But because their doctrine which they had received from Christ was perfect, and appointed to be preached to and received by the whole world, it is therefore called the catholic faith. And all persons receiving its doctrine, were counted as the catholic church. St. Augustine in another place writes, that the catholic church is that which believes aright.’

“York. — ‘If you will learn, I will show you that St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, proves the catholic church by two principal points, which are *universality* and *succession of bishops* in one apostolical See from time to time.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops.’

“York. — ‘I will prove it.’

“With that he brought out a book which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his common places about the church. He recited one or two out of St. Augustine, and especially out of his epistle written against the Donatists, where St. Augustine manifestly proves that the Donatists were not the catholic church, because they have no succession of bishops in their opinion, nor universality.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it does nothing against me, nor does it meet your purpose. For I will stand to the test of St. Augustine for the approval of the catholic church of which I belong. For he speaks of universality joined with truth, and of faithful successors of St. Peter before corruption came

into the church. And so, if you can deduce your argument for the See of Rome *now*, as he might do in *his time*, then I would say it might be of some force; otherwise not.'

"York. — 'How do you answer this argument, that Rome has known a succession of bishops, which your church has not.'

"Philpot. — 'I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by. For there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there is no church, such as at Antioch, and Jerusalem, and in other places where the apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you add to the succession of bishops, the succession of doctrine also, (as St. Augustine does) then I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church. But a local succession alone is not available.'

"York. — 'I see well that you will have no church then.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed; but I cannot acknowledge a *false* church for the *true* one.'

"Chichester. — 'Why, are there two catholic churches then?'

"Philpot. — 'No. I know there is but one catholic church. But there have been, and are at this present time, those who take upon themselves the name of Christ and of his church, which are not so. As it is written, 'There are those who call themselves apostles, and are not, but rather the synagogue of Satan and liars.' Rev 3.9 And now it is with us, as it was with the two women in Solomon's time who were together. The one lost her child, and afterwards went about to claim the true mother's child.'

"The same day, before supper, the bishop sent for me into his chapel, in the presence of the archdeacon Harpsfield, Doctor Chedsey, and other chaplains and servants of his. He said:

"Bonner. — 'I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel that you so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you. Tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man or not, and upon what you chiefly stand.'

"Philpot. — 'I have told your lordship oftentimes plain enough, on which I chiefly stand, requiring a sure proof of the church to which you call me.'

"Harpsfield. — 'St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, declares four special notes to know the church by: the consent of many nations; the faith of the sacraments confirmed by antiquity; succession of bishops, and universality.'

"Philpot. — 'I like St. Augustine's four points for the test of the catholic church. For it can abide every point together, which your church of Rome cannot.'

"Harpsfield. — 'Do we not have the succession of bishops in the See and church of Rome? Why then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?'

"Philpot. — 'St. Augustine does not put succession of bishops alone to be sufficient, but he adds the use of the sacraments according to antiquity, and doctrine universally taught and received by most nations from the beginning of the primitive church — which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all these better than yours. Therefore by St. Augustine's judgment, which you bring to bear here, mine is the catholic church, and not yours.'

"Harpsfield. — 'It is but folly for you to reason with him, my lord, for he is irrecoverable.'

"Philpot. — 'That is a good shift for you to run to, when you are confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing else to say.'

Thus I have set forth at large as many of John Philpot's examinations and conferences as have come to light, faithfully written with his own hand. Although he was examined several other times after this, both openly in the consistory at St. Paul's, and also secretly in the bishop's house, what was said there is not sufficiently known, either because Philpot was not himself allowed to write, or else his writings are kept close, and are not presented other than as the bishop's register has noted them. Its handling of such matters is very slender, so that little light can be gathered. However, such as it is, I thought it good to publish it.

The Last Examinations of John Philpot in Open Judgment, with his Final Condemnation by Bishop Bonner, in the Consistory at St. Paul's.

"On the 13th and 14th of December,[97] sitting judicially in the consistory at St. Paul's, Bishop Bonner had him brought there before him and others. The bishop, first speaking to Master Philpot, said:

"Bonner. — 'Master Philpot, among other things that were laid and objected to you, you were especially charged with these three things: first, 'That, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you refuse and will not come to be reconciled. Secondly, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry.

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And thirdly, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in it. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod, you have often been invited by me and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if you will now willingly do, you will be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favor I can show you. And now to tell you truly, it is assigned and appointed to me to give sentence against you if you stand in this, and will not return. Therefore, if you so refuse, I ask you whether you have any cause that you can show, why I should not now give sentence against you?'

"Philpot. — 'Under protestation — not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge — I say to your first objection concerning the catholic church, that I neither was nor am I out of it. And as to the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of the altar, I never spoke against it. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, and in that time I have many times been sworn (in the reign of King Henry VIII as well as in the reign of good King Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep this oath. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, then I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable to you; otherwise not.'"

Then Bonner, not being able with all his learned doctors to accomplish Philpot's offered condition, fell to persuading him by his accustomed vain promises, as well as by bloody threatenings, to return to their church.

"Philpot. — 'You, and all your sort, are hypocrites, and I would that all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.'"

[97] Philpot was first examined October 2, 1555.

Upon these words, the bishop dismissed him, commanding that on Monday, the 16th of the same month, he should again be brought there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him.

At that day and time, John Philpot being presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner, bishop of London, after a Latin prayer and some conference as to his authority, began to recite the following exhortation:

"'Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence you did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England against the apostolic see of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and Christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same; and moreover, if you which heretofore, especially in the years l")5.i, 1.t54, 1555, or in one of them have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ; if you, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, you shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favor as may be; if not, you shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic, as you are indeed. Now do you choose what you will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favorably.

"'*Ita est quod Edm. Bonner Episc. Lond.*'

"The bishop's exhortation thus ended, Master Philpot turned to the lord mayor, and said:

"Philpot. — 'To you my lord mayor, bearing the sword, I now speak. I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that has defended the gospel and the truth of God's word. But I am sorry to see that that authority, which represents the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist. And you,' (speaking to the bishops) 'pretend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ; and yet you are the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. I am glad that God has given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

"Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say that I am of the catholic church, of which I was never out, and that your church, which you pretend to be the catholic church, is the church of Rome; so it is the Babylonian and not the catholic church; I am not of that church.

"As touching your second objection, which is that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I say that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice. For your sacrifice daily reiterated, is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention. And that abominable sacrifice which you set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and you shall never prove it by God's word. Therefore, you have deceived the people with your sacrifice of the mass.

"Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it is the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone. And if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect to the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ.

“And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist’s name; prove to me that it is the catholic church, which you will never do, and I will follow you, and do as you would have me do. But you are idolaters, and daily commit idolatry. You are also traitors; for in your pulpits you rail upon good kings, such as King Henry and King Edward, who have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome — against whom I have also taken an oath, which if you can show me by God’s law that I have taken unjustly, then I will yield to you. But I pray God to turn the king and queen’s hearts from your synagogue and church, for you abuse that good queen.’

“Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to show where the true church was, saying:

“Coventry. — ‘The true catholic church is set upon a high hill.’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, at Rome, which is the Babylonian church.’

“Coventry. — ‘No; in our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs. But before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church.’

“Philpot. — ‘Would you know the cause why? Christ prophesied that in the latter days false prophets and hypocrites would come, as you are.’

“Coventry. — ‘Your church of Geneva, which you call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of.’

“Philpot. — ‘I allow the church of Geneva and the doctrine of the same. For it is one, catholic, and apostolic. And it follows the doctrine that the apostles preached; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward’s days was also according to it. And are you not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church’s sake, contrary to the true catholic church?’”

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After further controversy, the bishops growing weary, and not being able either by God’s word, or by the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, endeavored by fair and flattering speech to persuade him. They promised that if he would revoke his opinions, and come back home to their Romish church, he would not only be pardoned of what was past, but they would also with all favor and cheerfulness of heart, receive him back as a true member of it. When Bonner saw that these words would have no effect, he demanded of Philpot whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as a heretic. In the end, the bishop seeing his immovable steadfastness in the truth, publicly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading of it, Philpot said, “I thank God that I am a heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church.”

While Bonner was in the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, “My lord, my lord, know of him first, whether he will recant or not.” Then Bonner said, “O, let him alone;” and so he read the sentence. And when he was done, he delivered him to the sheriffs. Then two officers brought him through the bishop’s house into Paternoster row, where his servant met him. When he saw him, he said, “Ah, dear master!” Then Philpot said to his man, “Content yourself, I will do well enough; for you will see me again.” The officers thrust him away, and took his master to Newgate. As he went, he said to

the people, “Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day!” And so the officers delivered him to the keeper.

Then Alexander, the chief keeper, commanded him to be set upon the block, and to put as many irons upon his legs as he could bear.

On Tuesday, the 17th of December, a messenger came from the sheriffs, and bade Philpot make ready, for the next day he would suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Philpot answered and paid, “I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection.” And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit to the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that of His mercy, He had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight o’clock, and called for him. He most joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him and said, “Ah, dear master, farewell!” His master said to him, “Serve God, and He will help you.’’ And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution. When he was entering into Smithfield, he kneeled down and said, “I will pay my vows in you, O Smithfield!”

And when he had come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, “Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing that my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the cross for me?” And then with an obedient heart he meekly said the 106th, 107th, and 108th psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, “What have you done for me?” And every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave money to every one of them.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire to the faggots. So on the 18th of December, this holy martyr suffered in the midst of the flames, yielding his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and like a lamb he gave up his breath, his body being consumed to ashes.

Thus have you, an account of the life and acts of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot, with all his examinations that came into our hands. They were first penned and written with his own hand, and marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies. By all manner of means, they sought not only to stop him from any writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of what he had written. For this reason he was stripped and searched many times in prison by his keeper. Yet happily, his writings were conveyed and hidden in places around him, or else his keeper’s eyes were so blinded that notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishop, they yet remained, and have come to light.

Letters of John Philpot

A Letter of John Philpot to the Christian Congregation,
exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papists,
and to serve God according to his Word.

“It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present time in England, the faithless departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and use of Christ’s sincere religion, which they have been so plentifully taught and know, their own consciences bearing witness to the truth of this. If that earth is cursed by God, which often receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, does not bring forth fruit accordingly, how much more grievous a judgment will such persons receive, who having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry of it, do not display God’s worship according to the same word? If the Lord will require, in the day of judgment, a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lends to men and women, how much more will He require the same from his pure religion revealed to us (which of all other talents, is the greatest and most pertains to our exercise in this life), if

we hide it in a napkin, and do not proclaim it to the usury of God's glory, and the edifying of his church by true confession? God has kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hidden under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and has caused the brightness of it to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men, to the honor of His name.

"It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conduct. For as St. Paul says (Rom 10.10), 'With the heart man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to display the lively works of our belief. For Christ says, 'Either make the tree good and its fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt and its fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by his fruits.' So that the person who knows his master's will, and does not do it, will be beaten with many stripes. And not all those who say, Lord, Lord, will enter into the kingdom of God, but whoever that does the will of the Father. And Christ says, 'Whoever therefore is ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." After we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it has pleased him, by giving us into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known to the world as well as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders in the true church of God, building upon the rock, and not on the sand. And therefore, now the tempest is risen, and the storms mightily blow against us, so that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honor and glory, and to our eternal felicity. No new thing has happened to us, for the church of God has continually been exercised with such tempests and dangerous weather. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us, 'The Lord shakes the earth, so that those might abide forever, who are not overcome.'

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation of it, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying that you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh. But the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Savior, for example, declared to St. Peter who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, and there be slain; but counselled him to look better to himself.

"Likewise, the world would not have us forsake it, nor to associate ourselves with the true church, which is the body of Christ, of which we are lively members, and to use the sacraments according to God's word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ answered Peter, and say, 'Get behind me, Satan, for you do not savor the things that are of God.'

[885] A.D. 1555.

'Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father gives me?' For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly brings with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity. We were born into this world to be witnesses to the truth, both the learned and unlearned.

"Now since the time has come that we must show our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness. Let us take good heed that we are found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church into which we are engrafted through knowledge; and from which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of

people, it will more straitly be required of us than many yet make account of. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else He will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our strength; but they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, who with their heart, mind, or bodily power, have communion with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calls itself the church, and is not. Those who do so, greatly offend God now, just as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, following their own imaginations and traditions. For doing this, God utterly destroyed all Israel, as almost all the prophets testify. This happened to them for our example, that we might beware of having any fellowship with any like congregation, to our destruction.

"God has one catholic church dispersed throughout the world; and therefore we are taught in our Creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion with it. This catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and of the apostles, and upon no other, as St. Paul witnesses to the Ephesians. Therefore, wherever we perceive any people worshipping God truly according to his word, we may be certain the church of Christ is there, to which we ought to associate ourselves, and desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, segregations are made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God teaches, then if we are required to be companions of it, we ought to say again with David, 'I have hated the congregations of evil-doers, and will not sit with the wicked.'

"In the book of Revelation the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tested those who said they were apostles, and were not in deed; and therefore it would not abide their company. Further, God commanded his people by the mouth of his prophet Amos, that they should not seek Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, where idolatry was used. Also we must consider that our bodies are the temple of God, and whoever (as St. Paul teaches) profanes the temple of God, the Lord will destroy him. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted as whoredom by the prophets, and is more detestable in the sight of God than any other sin.

"Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, are said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow it. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites which are not according to the word of God, but rather to the derogation of it, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judges all strange religion which is not according to his institution, as whoredom and adultery?

"Some foolishly think that the presence of the body is not material, so long as the heart does not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul said to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God in body as well as in soul.

"Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her, by clinging to her adversary. By this it appears to others who are weak, that we allow the same. And so, contrary to the word, we give great offense to the church of God, and outwardly slander the truth of Christ, as much as men may do so. But woe to him by whom any such offense comes. It would be better for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea! Such are traitors to the truth, like Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other church than that unspotted church of which He is the only head,

and in which he has planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God has towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all those who now have such large consciences as to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, unless they repent in time, and cling inseparably to the gospel of Christ, however much at this present time both men and women otherwise flatter themselves in their own corrupt judgment. God wills us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil. And therefore Christ commands us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

"St. Paul to the Hebrews says, 'If any man draws back, my soul will have no pleasure in him. But we are not of those who draw back unto perdition; but of those who believe to the saving of the soul.' St. John in the Revelation tells us plainly that none of those who are written in the book of life will receive the mark of the beast (which is of the papistical synagogue), either on their foreheads, or on their hands — that is, obviously or obediently.

"St. Paul, in writing to the Philippians, affirms that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. Phi 2.15 Furthermore, he says that we should not touch any unclean thing, which signifies that our outward conversation should be pure and undefiled, as well as the inward, so that with a clean spirit and purified body we might serve God in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life.

"Finally, in the 18th chapter of Revelation, God plainly commands us to depart from the Babylonian synagogue, and not be partakers of her trespass. St. Paul to the Thessalonians exhorts us, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; to withdraw ourselves from every brother who walks disorderly, and not according to the institution which he has received from him.

"Therefore, ponder these Scriptures well, good brethren and sisters, which are written for your instruction and reformation, of which not one jot is written in vain. These are utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used by us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all those who have such light consciences in so doing. And if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean with the word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, He will (as signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, who is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner — that is, to the devil — and the devil will commit them to the horrible prison of hellfire (which is the portion of all hypocrites), where there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end. Yet many will say for their vain excuse, that God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the Scripture teaches us that cursed is he who sins upon the hope of forgiveness. It is true that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet it is only upon those who fear him. For it is written in the Psalms, 'The mercy of God is to those who fear him, and on those who put their trust in him.

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"There we may learn that only those who serve him put their trust in God; and to fear God is to turn from evil, and do what is good. So that those who look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in what is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

"Another sort of persons make them a cloak for their sins, under the pretense of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey even if they are wicked. But such persons must learn from Christ to give to Caesar that which is Caesar's, and to God that which is due to God; and with St. Peter, to obey the higher powers in the Lord, even if they are evil, *if* they command nothing contrary to God's word. Otherwise we should not obey their commandments, even if we should suffer death for it. We have the apostles for our example, who answered the magistrates as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, 'Whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken to you more than to God, you judge.'

"Also, Daniel chose to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, rather than obey the king's wicked commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man does it voluntarily or at commandment, even if there is great damnation to those by whom the offense comes. There are some others, who, for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, run to God's predestination and election, saying that if I am elected by God to salvation, then I will be saved whatever I do. But such persons are great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election. And they cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, so that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such truly may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, who will do evil so that good may come of it. Their damnation is just, as St. Paul says. God's predestination and election should be considered with a simple eye, to make us more warily walk in good and godly conversation according to God's word, and not set ourselves up, and charge it upon God, to do wickedly as we will. For the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness, once they are called to the true knowledge of the truth. For St. Paul says to the Ephesians (Eph 1.4), 'Just as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.'

"Therefore, St. Peter exhorts us through good works to make our calling and election sure to ourselves, which we do not know except by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel. And whoever does not conform himself to that rule in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is one of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they may fall, they do not lie still.

"Let all vain excuses be set apart, and while you have light, as Christ commands, believe the light and abide in it, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light has come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. O that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be willfully blinded! The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

"But what did I say *conscience*? Many affirm that their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; their conscience must be very large to satisfy man more than God. And even if their conscience can bear them to do so, I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them to do so. This cannot be good, unless it is directed according to the knowledge of God's word. And therefore, in Latin this feeling mind is called *conscientia*, which by interpretation, agrees with *knowledge*.

"And therefore, if our conscience is led by herself, and not according to true knowledge, we are not to be so excused, as St. Paul bears witness saying, 'Although my conscience does not accuse me, yet I am not justified in this.' He joins a good conscience with these three sisters: charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keeps God's commandments; a pure heart loves and fears God above all; and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatever damage may be suffered in body thereby. The Lord, who has revealed his holy will to us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace earnestly to so cling to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect will we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy which God abhors — so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation. Amen.

"JOHN PHILPOT, prisoner in the King's Bench
for the testimony of the truth. A.D 1555."

A Letter to John Careless, [98] profitable to be read by all those who mourn in Repentance for their Sins.

"The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send to you, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil. Amen.

"That God gives you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any other, and oftentimes to set their sins before them, so that they might be more stirred to produce the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, so that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice to God. O, that I had the like contrite heart! God soften my stony heart, which does not lament my former detestable iniquities in such a way. Praised be God that he has given you this sorrowful heart in respect to righteousness, and I pray to be a partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which are the testimony of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Did the sword of sorrow not pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did Peter not weep bitterly for his sins, who was so beloved by Christ? Did not Mary Magdalene wash the feet of our Savior with her tears, and received with it the remission of her sevenfold sins?

"Be of good comfort, therefore, my own dear heart, in this your sorrow, for it is the earnest of eternal consolation. In your sorrow be joyful, for the Spirit of God is with you: 'Blessed are those (says Christ) who mourn, for they shall be comforted.' Those who went forth and wept, says the prophet, shall come again having their hearts full of gladness.' And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of our sins, is an acceptable sacrifice before God, by which we are stirred up to more thankfulness to God, knowing that much is forgiven us so that we might love all the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in this, lest he be swallowed up by excessive sorrow. St. Paul would not have the Thessalonians be sorry like other men who have no hope, Such a sorrow is not commendable, but works damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For to this end, God by his Spirit sets the sins of his elect still before them, so that where they perceive sin to abound, they might be assured that grace will much more abound, and bring them down to hell so that he might lift them up with greater joy to heaven. Therefore, my own comfort in Christ, as long as you are not altogether void of hope, do not be dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, however huge they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin. Yes, and he will forgive the one who, with hope, is sorry for his sins.

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"But know, brother, that as often as we go about by the help of God's Spirit, to do what is good, Satan lies hard in wait to turn the good to evil. And he goes about to mire the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart, with the detestable weed of desperation. You are not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how he continually assaults that good which the grace of God plants. I see the battle between you and him; but the victory is yours, yes, and that is daily. For you have laid hold of the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, and which will not permit you to be made ashamed.

"Do not be discontented that you have this conflict. Rather, be glad that God has given it to you to test your faith, and so that daily you might appear worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you strive. God beholds your striving faith against Satan, and He is pleased with your mighty resistance. The spirit, which is in you is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt

[98] John Careless will later be martyred himself. See p. 923.

you he may, and lie wait at your heels to give you a fall unawares. But he shall not overcome. Indeed, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God forever. And those whom God has once sealed for his own, he never utterly forsakes. The just falls seven times, but he rises again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

"This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God. For if you were not, you would feel no such malice as he now troubles you with. When this strong Goliath has the hold, all things are in peace which he possesses. And because he does *not* have you, he will not allow you to be unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and strike him on the head with the sword of God's promises, so that he may receive a deadly wound and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James tells you that the devil is but a coward, saying, 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.' It is the will of God that he should tempt you this long, and not go away as yet, or else he would have been done with you long before this. He already knows that he will receive a defeat at your hands and increase the crown of your glory; for he who overcomes will be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations since they will turn to your felicity. Do not be afraid of your continual assaults which are occasions for your daily victory. The word of God abides forever. In whatever hour a sinner repents of his sins, they are forgiven. Who can lay anything to the charge of God's elect?' Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? First, your calling to the gospel, and after your calling, the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God were given to you above many others of your condition, along with godliness which believes and yields to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for them. Seeing that you are God's own child, who can hurt you? Do not be cast down for these temptations, nor make your sincere friends more sorrowful for you than need requires.

"Since God has willed you, at your baptism in Christ, to be "careless," why do you make yourself careful? Cast all your care upon him! Set the Lord before your eyes always, for He is on your right hand, so that you should not be moved. Behold the goodness of God towards *me*! I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks which pinch me for their very straitness. And would you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretends, for doubtless you have no other cause but to be so. Pray, I beseech you, that I may still be as careless in my careful estate, as you have reason to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful and put away all care, and then I will be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations. For the devil rages against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they charged me with — in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I would lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than consent to this wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful, that it has pleased Him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days.

"Commend me to Master F___, and thank him for his law books. But neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty men! I would, for your sake, that this unjust dealing were noted to the parliament house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop very plain already. And I said to him, that if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require. Otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger.[99] The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light. What I have written I cannot read myself, and God knows it is written with pain. I pray God that you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you.

[99] *Hugger-mugger*: in utter disorder and chaos; marked by hidden aims or methods.

"Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by your own in Christ.

"JOHN PHILPOT."

A Letter of John Philpot to certain Godly Brethren.

"The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Savior Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Spirit, our comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end, Amen.

"I much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received. Do not, with the worldlings, decline from the purity of it, even if you suffer grief and trouble by it, for which I praise God most heartily. The Lord of all strength, who has begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I have no doubt He will, for the faithful zeal you have toward his truth and his afflicted church. Therefore, that you may better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations which you are all likely to be assaulted with in these wicked and stormy days, I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance of this, and to desire you, with the wise man, to prepare yourselves for temptations. And beware that you, who yet stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well. But to continue in well-doing is the peculiar property of the children of God, and those who assuredly will be saved. For so says our Savior in his gospel, blessed are those who persevere to the end.

"Therefore, do not let this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world; for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone for which the wise merchant in the gospel sells all he has, and buys it. God, in the third chapter of Revelation, signifies to the church, that there will come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to test the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of this temptation, all those will be delivered who observe His word. That word there is called the word of *patience*, to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kinds of injuries and slanders for the profession of it.

"Therefore God commands us there to hold it fast, so that no man might deprive us of our crown of glory. And St. Peter tells us, 'In this you greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, you are in heaviness through manifold temptations (trials), so that the testing of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perishes, though it is tested with fire, might be found unto praise and honor and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ.' St. Paul to the Hebrews shows us that Christ our Savior was made perfect in his humanity by afflictions, so that being called to perfection in Him, we might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by which God gives all those who are exercised in it for his sake, his holiness.

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"And in the twelfth chapter of the said epistle it is written, 'And you have forgotten the exhortation which speaks to you as to children, 'My son, do not despise the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when you are rebuked by him. For whom the Lord loves he chastens, and scourges every son whom he receives,' etc. In the gospel of St. John, Christ cautions his disciples to look for afflictions, saying, 'In the world you will have tribulation, but in me you will have peace.' And therefore, in the midst of their trouble, in the 21st of St. Luke, he tells them to look up, and to lift up their heads, for their redemption drew near. And in the 22nd he says to all those who are afflicted for him, 'You are the ones who have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint to you a kingdom, as my Father has appointed to me, that you may

eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'

"Oh how glorious are the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them to so blessed an end! Will we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they are, and to judge uprightly. Then, doubtless, we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then we would joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn your statutes.' Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in his infirmities. We have the commandment of Christ to daily take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly examples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, who with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward which is laid up for all those in heaven, who unfeignedly cling to the gospel and are never ashamed of it.

"Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are its transitory delights. But the reward of the righteous, according to the word of God, incomparably excels them all, insomuch that St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, plainly affirms that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which will be shown to us.

"Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be merry and glad in these troublesome days, which are sent by God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to hasten the day of our death, in which we might set forth by true confession, His glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, who so earnestly seek our spoil and death, but do as Christ did when Judas and that wicked company came to apprehend him, saying, 'I am the one whom you seek.' It is commanded us in the gospel, not to fear those who kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. We are bound to observe this commandment as much as any other which God has given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him. Now it will appear what we love best; for we will adhere to what we love. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian unless he can find it in his heart, for Christ's sake, if the confession of His truth requires it, to renounce all that he has and follow Him. And in so doing he gains a hundredfold more in this life (as our Savior said to Peter), and in the life hereafter, eternal life.

"Behold, I pray you, what he loses, who in this life receives a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O, happy exchange! Perhaps your outward man will say, if I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all. But where is this hundredfold to be found in this life? Yes, truly; for instead of the worldly riches which you forsake, which are but temporal, you have found the everlasting riches of heaven — which are glory, honor, and praise, both before God, angels, and men — and for an earthly habitation, you have an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven. For even now you are of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is said in the 4th chapter to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, you possess the peace of God, which surpasses all understanding. And for the loss of a few friends, you are made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those who have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is this not more than a hundredfold? Is the peace of God which we have in this world through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us), not ten thousandfold more than those things which are most highly esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell, as God has recently set an

example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breeds a worm in the conscience that shall never rest.

"O, that we would weigh this with impartial balances! Then we would not be dismayed at this troublous time; neither would we sorrow in a worldly manner, for the loss which we are now likely to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, who love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which are invisible. But rather, we would heartily rejoice and be thankful that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like our Savior Christ in suffering. By this we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory. For blessed are those, says Christ, who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesses to Timothy, 'If we suffer, we shall also reign with him. If we deny him, he will also deny us.'

"O, that we would enter into the veil of God's promises! Then, as St. Paul says to the Philippians, we would reject all, and count all things but dross, so that we may gain Christ. God, who is the enlightener of all darkness, and remover of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold His glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us who abide in his testament. For blessed is that servant whom, as Christ said, the master finds faithful when he comes. Let us therefore watch and pray for one another, that we not yield in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we not be overthrown by these temptations. Stand, therefore, and do not be cowards in the cause of your salvation. For his spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the world, who now rages against us. Let us not put the Spirit of God away from us, by whose might we will overcome our enemies. And then death will be as great a gain to us as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why, then, do you mourn? Why do you weep? Why are you so careful, as though God has forsaken you? He is never more present with us, than when we are in trouble, if we do not forsake Him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He has commanded his angels to keep us, so that we will not stumble at a stone, without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father.

"Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks to God for our estate, whatever it may be. For if we murmur against it, we murmur against God, who sends it. If we do so, we but kick against the goads, and provoke more and more the wrath of God against us — which by patient suffering, would otherwise be sooner turned to our favor, through faithful prayer.

"I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies as pure and holy sacrifices to God. He has given us bodies to bestow to his glory, and not according to our own desires. If for many years God has allowed us to use our bodies, which are his temples, according to the lust of the flesh, in vain delights that are not according to his glory, then is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, to more willingly yield our bodies to God's glory, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of what we have evilly spent before?

[889] A.D. 1556.

"Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, when sorely afflicted, cause us to say, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord? Even as it has pleased the Lord, so it has come to pass. If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did for Job.

"God tempts us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to Him. This name *Isaac*, by interpretation, signifies mirth and joy. Abraham, by his obedience, preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Likewise we are all commanded to sacrifice to God our Isaac, which is

our joy and consolation. If we are ready to do this, as Abraham was, our joy will not perish, but live, and be increased, even though our ram is sacrificed for our Isaac. This signifies that the pride and desires of our flesh entangled through sin, with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

"And to withstand these present temptations with which we are now encumbered, can you have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Savior Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his example? — that if the devil himself, or anyone else by him desires you to make stones out of bread, that is, to take such a worldly wise way that you may have your fair houses, lands, and goods to live on still, then you must say, 'Man does not live only by bread, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God.'

"Again, if the devil counsels you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conduct, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content with it, then you must answer that it is written, 'A man shall not tempt the Lord his God.'

"Further, if the devil offers you large promises of honor, dignity, and possessions, so that you will worship idols in his synagogue, you must say, 'Get away from here, Satan; for it is written, You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve.'

"Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman, or friend, seek to have you do otherwise than the word of God has taught you, you must say with Christ, 'They are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, who do the will of God the Father.' To which will, the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

"Your loving and faithful brother in Christ,
in captivity, JOHN PHILPOT, A.D. 1555."

Seven Martyrs Burned at London

The History of Seven Martyrs, who suffered together at London, for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel.

The prelates of the pope's band, not yet being satisfied with their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Christ's church (of whom there were now very few, who either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for avoiding their popish rage, compelled to flee their country) still continued this next year also, which was A.D. 1556, in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people (I mean in degree, though God be praised, not in steadfastness) sometimes having yet among them those who were both learned and of good estimation, as it will appear in this history.

In the beginning of this year, about the 27th of January, seven persons were burned in Smithfield, at London; namely, Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Browne, Isabel Foster, and Joan Warne.

All seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so they were all condemned in one day on one form of articles. However, as the gifts of God in them were diverse, some were more abounding in knowledge than others; also, their dealings were diverse, as will be perceived in their several processes. And therefore, for the better understanding of this, I will first (passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house) set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles administered to them there, with their answers to them, according to what they all

agreed to, in one manner together. This will appear by the words of both the articles, and their answers underwritten here.

The Form and Words of Bonner's Articles administered to the seven Persons above-mentioned in his Consistory.

First, that you N____.[100] have firmly, steadfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so now believe at present, that there is here on earth a catholic church, in which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained by all faithful and true Christian people.

2. That you the said N____. in times past have also believed, and so believe at present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

3. That you the said N____. were in times past baptized in the faith of the said catholic church, professing by your godfathers and godmothers the faith and religion of Christ, and the observation of it, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works, and were by the said sacrament of baptism, incorporated into the catholic church, and made a faithful member of it.

4. That you the said N____. coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, did not depart from the said profession and faith, nor disliked any part of the same faith or doings; but like a faithful Christian person, abided and continued in all of the same for a certain number of years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

5. That you the said N____. notwithstanding these premises, have of late, that is to say, within these past two years, within the city and diocese of London, swerved in the least way from some part of the said catholic faith and religion; and among other things you have disliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the See of Rome, and the faith observed in that church.

6. That you the said N____. have up to now refused, and still refuse at present to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said See of Rome to be lawful.

7. That you the said N____. disliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, have refused to come to your parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, and have also expressly said that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Savior Christ, really, substantially, and truly, but have affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that, in the sacrament of the altar, there is no other substance, but only material bread, and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in no way in the said sacrament of the altar.

8. That you the said N____. being brought before certain judges or commissioners for your disorder in this, and being found obstinate, willful, and heady, were by their commandment sent to me and my prison, to be examined by me, and to have process made against you for your offense in this.

[100] As the charges were mostly the same against each of them, N____ represents their individual names.

9. That all and singular of the premises have been, and are true and manifest, and you yourself not only infamed and suspected of them, but also culpable in this; and by reason of the same, you were and are of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London, and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convened, and also to be punished and reformed by me.

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Here follow likewise their Answers, in general, made to the Articles recited above.

To the first article they agreed altogether, and affirmed the same to be true. John Tudson and Thomas Brown, added further, that the church of England, as it was used at that time, was no part of the true catholic church.

To the second article, they answered that they acknowledged only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord. John Went and Tudson affirmed that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and is no sacrament at all.

To the third article they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward, during the time of king Edward VI, hearing the gospel preached and the truth opened, they followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said King Edward.

To the fourth article they also granted and agreed. John Went added moreover, that about seven years past, then being about twenty years of age, he began to dislike certain things used in the church of England, such as the administration of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church, and likewise at that present time, he disliked them as they were used, even though his godfathers and godmothers had promised for him the contrary. [101]

John Tudson added also, nearly in the same manner, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is about nine years past, being about eighteen years of age, he disliked the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, except in King Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth. He further said that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet agreeable to the true catholic church that Christ speaks of, etc.

Isabel Foster granted these with the others, adding likewise to the four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion in which she was baptized, after she came to the years of discretion as other common people did. However, it was blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King Edward VI. At that time, hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, she thereupon received the faith and religion then taught and set forth, etc.

To the fifth article, they answered the same to be true, according to its contents. Thomas Whittle added, moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, not in whole but in part, not from the *old catholic church*, but from the *church of Rome*, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice in it, and the See of Rome.

[101] At christening, godparents pledged on behalf of the infant, to submit to and follow the teachings of the church.

Joan Warne (alias Joan Lashford) added, moreover, that she never went away from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion; but that from the time she was eleven years of age, she had disliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the See of Rome, with their doctrines, because they are against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

To the sixth article they answered and confessed the same to be true because, they said, the church and doctrine set forth and taught in it, disagrees with the unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, etc.

Bartlet Green added that he is content to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's *catholic church*, but not to the *church of Rome*.

To the seventh article they answered and confessed that the contents of it were true, giving with this the reason and cause of their doing this, for the mass with its sacrament, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, was opposed to the word of God and the teaching of the people, etc.

John Went further said, concerning the mass, that he believes no less than that the mass, which he calls the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far as he sees it. Nevertheless, he says that since the queen's coronation, he has by chance been present where the mass has been said, for which he was sorry.

Isabel Foster also answering to the said articles with the others, moreover confessed that since Queen Mary's reign, she has not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but has refused to come into the place where it was administered. for she knows no such sacrament. And being demanded about her belief in the same, she said that there is only material bread and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament. For so she has been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of King Edward, whom she believes to have preached the truth in that behalf.

To the eighth article they granted the same, and the contents to be true.

John Went said that Doctor Story, Queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament, and because he denied the real presence, he presented him to the bishop.

To the ninth article they confessed and said that, just as they believed the other premises confessed by them to be true, so they did not deny this one, and that they were of the jurisdiction of London.

Thus having expressed their articles, with their answers jointly, it further remains to fully give their histories, and the handling of all seven of the aforesaid martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with **Thomas Whittle**.

An Account of Thomas Whittle, who at first recanted, but returned again, and with great constancy and fortitude stood to the defense of Christ's Doctrine against the Papists.

In the history of John Philpot, mention was made of a married priest whom he found in the coalhouse upon his first coming there, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edward's days. His name was Thomas Whittle, of Essex. This Thomas Whittle, after being expelled from the place in Essex where he served his cure, went abroad, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length he was brought as a prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who had recently fallen sick of a disease, of

which not long after he died. Then Whittle was carried a prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom he was beaten and buffeted about the face, as appears from his own narration in a letter sent to his friend:

"On the 10th of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I all night had been lying upon the earth on a pallet. I had as painful a night of sickness as I ever had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me so grossly about many things of the sacrament, as not fit to be repeated. Among other things, he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning if he had sent for me? I answered that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your mass I have little affection. He was much displeased at this answer, and said I should be fed with bread and water. As I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the marks of my beating appeared for many days. And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw or bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

"Then, on the next Friday, I was brought to my lord, and he gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so going to Fulham,[102] he committed me to Doctor Harpsfield, so that he and I in that afternoon might commune together, and draw out certain articles, to which if I would subscribe, I would be dismissed. But Doctor Harpsfield did not send for me till night, and then he persuaded me very much to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn from it. So I thought at that time, I would have no more ado.

[891] A.D. 1556.

"But he had made a certain bill, which the register pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous. For the effect of it was to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly.

"To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled to do so. And the flesh always being desirous to have liberty, I did not consider thoroughly the inconvenience that might come by it. Now when I had done so, I had little joy from it. For by and by my mind and conscience told me, by God's word, that I had done evil, to shake off the sweet cross of Christ. And yet it was not my seeking, as God knows, but it altogether came from them. Oh! the crafty subtlety of Satan in his members! Let every man that God will deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cling fast to Christ. For they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet, let no man despair of God's help, for Peter fell and rose again. And David says, Psalm 37.23, 24, 'The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delights in His way. Though he falls, he will not be utterly cast down; for the Lord upholds him with his hand.' For my part, I have felt my infirmities, and yet I have found God's present help and comfort in time of need, for which I thank Him.

"The night after I had subscribed, I was sorely grieved, and for sorrow of conscience I could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but was still tormented more and more in my conscience, being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that through evil counsel I had done amiss. I was sickly, both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, lying upon the ground when the keeper came. And so I desired him to pray Doctor Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

[102] Fulham: a borough of southwest London.

"And when he came, and the register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me. And therefore I pray you, Master Harpsfield, I said, let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be brought, and gave it me, and allowed me to put out my name. I was right glad when I had done so, even if death would follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who tries his people, and allows them to fall, but not to be lost. For in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and He also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore. Amen.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand. I undoubtedly trust that I am one of this flock of Christ's sheep. By means of his death and blood-shedding, I will stand at his right hand at the last day, and receive with others, his blessed benediction. And now being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ. and by his grace, I am very well willing and content to give over this body to death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. Those who report otherwise of me, do not speak truly. And as for Fountain, I did not see him all this while. [103]

"By me, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister."

Concerning the words and answers of Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the bishop, on the 14th of January, Bonner, with others sitting in his consistory, first called Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as follows: "Because you are a priest," he said, "as I and other bishops here are, and received the order of priesthood according to the right and form of the catholic church, you will not think that I will administer justice to you in the same way as to others." And then Bonner charged him, that where in times past he had said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was idolatry and abomination. To which Thomas Whittle answered, saying that he was then ignorant, etc., adding that elevating the sacrament at the mass gives occasion for idolatry to the ignorant and unlearned.

After this, the bishop came to this article, "That you were in times past baptized in the faith of the catholic church."

To this Whittle answered, "I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I forsake the church of Rome. And you, my lord, call these heresies, that are no heresies, and you charge me with them as a heretic, and you ground yourself upon that religion, which is not agreeable to God's word," etc.

Then the victorious soldier and servant of our Savior, constant in the truth, was again admonished, and entreated by the bishop with persuasions. And because he would not agree, the bishop immediately proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and cleric's habit. And then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him, in their father the pope's pontifical fashion, said to them, "St. Paul and Titus did not have so much to do with their priests and bishops." And further, speaking to the bishop, he said to him, "My lord, your religion stands with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ."

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed proceedings, tested him yet again with words rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion. But Whittle

[103] There is no other reference to this person named Fountain.

refusing to do so, said, “As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God’s word.”

The bishop then asked what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar.

Whittle said, “It is not used according to Christ’s institution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And also it is administered in but one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ’s ordinance. Further, Christ never commanded it to be elevated nor adored. For the adoration and elevation cannot be proved by Scripture.”

“Well,” said Bonner, “my lords here, and other learned men, have shown great zeal for your conversion. Therefore if you will yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive you, and not commit you to the secular power,” etc. To be brief, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable. Therefore, the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so a few days later he was brought to the fire, sealing the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witness of the truth.

After the history of Thomas Whittle, next follows **Bartlet Green**, gentleman, who the day after, was likewise condemned. Bartlet Green was of a good family, whose parents both favored learning, and who were also desirous to bring up their child in the same. He was sent to the University of Oxford where, through exercise and diligent study, he so profited, that in a short time he attained the knowledge of sundry sciences, as well as now, in his last years, to the godly understanding of divinity. He was at first an utter enemy to the gospel, until such time as God in his mercy opened his eyes, by his often repairing to the lectures of Peter Martyr,[104] reader of the divinity lecture in the University.

Once he had tasted of it, it became to him like the fountain of living water that our Savior Christ spoke of to the woman of Samaria, so that he never thirsted any more, but had a well springing up to everlasting life. When he was called by his friends from the University, and was placed in the Temple at London, to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he continued in his former study and his earnest profession of the gospel.

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However, such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God’s Holy Spirit, that through his continual fellowship with such worldly young gentlemen as are commonly in that and like houses, he little by little became a partner in their follies and youthful vanities — in his apparel, and also in banquetings, and other excesses. These he afterward sorely lamented and bewailed, as it appears by his own testimony, left in a book of a friend of his a little before his death.

To better maintain himself in his studies and his other affairs, he had a large endowment from his grandfather, Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green’s imprisonment, made large offers of great livings to him if he would recant and forsake the truth and gospel of Christ, and come back to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those persuasions, the

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[104] Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562). In 1547 Vermigli accepted Archbishop Thomas Cranmer’s invitation to England and became Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Oxford. In 1549 there was a disputation on the Eucharist, at which three matters were debated: (1) transubstantiation, (2) carnal or corporeal presence, and (3) whether “the body and blood of Christ is sacramentally joined to the bread and the wine.” Vermigli’s eucharistic doctrine was close to Calvin’s.He influenced the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, and Cranmer’s Forty-two Articles written in 1553.

Lord be praised, had little effect on his faithful heart, as the sequel declared. He was a man beloved by all men, except by the papists, who love none who love the truth. For he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and of a most gentle behavior to all. He was injurious to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith. This appears, among other things, by his friendly dealing with Christopher Goodman, at that time a poor exile beyond the seas. Bartlet Green had often associated with him in Oxford, in the days of good King Edward.

The cause of all his troubles was a letter which Green wrote to Goodman, containing the report of certain questions which were circulated in London, and also an answer to a question of Christopher Goodman, enquiring into the report which was generally spread among them, on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead.

These letters, with many others, written to several of the godly exiles by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the bearer, into the hands of the king and queen's council. He perused the whole of the letters, and among them saw this letter of Master Green's, written to his friend Christopher Goodman. In this letter, among other news and private matters, they found these words; "the queen is not yet dead." These words were only written as an answer to certify to Master Goodman, the truth of his former demand. However, to the council, they seemed very heinous words; indeed, they would have made them treason, if the law would have allowed. So they examined him upon his faith in religion.

His answers little pleased them. And therefore, after they had detained him in prison in the Tower of London and elsewhere, they sent him at last to Bonner, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law, as it appears by their letters to the bishop.

Now, that you may better understand his handling, after coming into Bonner's custody, I thought it good to give his own letter, containing an account of it at large. This letter he wrote to John Philpot, but he was prevented from sending it; for it came to the bishop's hands. And being delivered to his register, it was found in one of his books of record.

After a conference between Master Green and Master Welch, the bishop perceived Green's learning and constancy to be such that neither he, nor any of his doctors or chaplains could refute him by the Scriptures. The bishop began to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argumcnt, which was the rigor of the law, and cruelty of execution. It was an argument, I assure you, which, without the special grace of our God, is insupportable to the flesh. And therefore, using the law as a cloak for his tyranny, on the 28th of November, the bishop examined him on certain points of Christian religion.

They brought him to Many other conferences and public examinations after this. But in the end (seeing his steadfastness of faith to be such that neither their threatenings nor yet their flattering promises could prevail), on the 15th of January the bishop had him brought into the consistory in St. Paul's where, being set in his judgment seat, he called for Bartlet Green, and began as follows:

> "Honorable audience, I think it best to open to you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you will not charge me with going about to seek any man's blood, here you will hear the council's letters which they sent with him to me. The effect of them is that, whereas he had for long time been in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him to me to be ordered according to what the laws provide. And now to you, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles."

Then he read the articles above-mentioned, which were generally objected to by all seven of the prisoners. But when Master Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with a promise that he would have time to answer. And therefore, the bishop proceeding, said that when Green first came to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him. To which grant, Green said that if the doctors were weighed with unprejudiced judgment, they made a great deal more for him, than they did for them.

After this a long conference began between Green and Fecknam, which ended thus:

Bonner. — "When St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed that commandment, he wrote to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish the bodies of the heretics."

Green. — " But he did not order them to be put to death."

Bonner. — "He bade them to punish them."

Green. — "Yes, but not put them to death."

Bonner. — "That they should be punished."

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant and return to their Romish mother. When Green refused this, the bishop pronounced sentence against him. And so Bonner committed him to the sheriffs of London, who had him carried to Newgate.

As he was going there, two gentlemen met him, his especial friends, minding to comfort their persecuted brother. But at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts, not able to hide themselves any longer, were manifested by the abundance of their tears. When Green saw them, he said in these or like words: "Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you have come to give me, on this occasion of my heaviness?' Must I, who needed to have comfort administered to me, become now a comforter of you?" And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spoke to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered. There he remained, engaged either in prayer, or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, to the 27th of January, when he went most cheerfully to the place of suffering, often singing a Latin hymn by the way, as well as at the stake.

So great and admirable was the gift of modesty grafted in his nature, so far abhorring all pride and arrogance, that as he could not abide anything that was spoken to his advancement or praise, so neither did there appear in him any show in those things in which he might justly glory. When he was beaten and scourged with rods by Bishop Bonner, he greatly rejoiced in it, and yet his modesty was such that he would never mention any of it, lest he seem to glory too much in himself.

Thomas Brown was born in the parish of Histon, in the diocese of Ely. He came to London and dwelt in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street. He was a married man, about thirty-seven years of age. Because he did not come to his parish church, he was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. He was required upon Thursday, the 26th of September, to come to the chapel to hear mass, which he refused to do. For this he was charged by the bishop for a heinous offense, because he said it was done in spite and in contempt of their mass, which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offense. At length, being brought to his last examination before the bishop, on the 15th of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him, he was entreated with many fair words and promises to revoke his doctrine.

[893] A.D. 1556.

Bonner then proceeded to the articles. After he had read them to him again, he asked Brown whether he was content and willing to relinquish his heresies and erroneous opinions, as he called them, and return again to the unity of the catholic faith. Brown answered, saying, "If they were heresies, he would forsake them."

"They are heresies," said the bishop.

"How will you prove it?" asked Brown; "For I will not go from my answer unless you can prove them to be heresies, which you can never do. For what you call heresy, is no heresy."

Alter this Bonner read the sentence against him. He was then committed to the sheriffs, and burned on the 27th of January, constantly abiding the torments for the true confession of his Christian faith.

On the same day **John Tudson** was also produced to the same condemnation. John Tudson was born in Ipswich, and was an apprentice in London, dwelling in the parish of St. Mary Botolph.

After the articles and interrogatories were administered to him, he was brought to the consistory. There this blessed and true servant of the Lord was moved with many persuasions to depart from his opinion, but constantly persisting in what he had received by the preachers in King Edward's time, he refused, saying there was no heresy in his answers. The bishop still used his accustomed persuasions to move him, and promised that all his offenses and errors, as he called them, would be forgiven if he would return, etc. "No," said Tudson, "I have not offended; and you pretend charity, but it does not appear in your works."

Thus, after a few words, the bishop promulgated against him the sentence of condemnation; and the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power. And so, with much patience he finished this life on the 27th of January.

John Went was born in Langham in Essex, in the diocese of London; he was 27 years of age. He was first examined by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, Story sent him up to Bonner, who tempted him to recant. Went said he would not, but that, "by the grace of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said." When the bishop urged him with words and fair promises to give himself to their opinions, he could get no other answer but this: "No, I say as I have said," etc. Whereupon being condemned by the bishop, he was committed to the sheriffs, and brought to his martyrdom, which he suffered with constancy to the end.

With the five persons above mentioned, two women were also condemned at the same time, and likewise burned for the same cause. The one was a wife named **Isabel Foster**; the other was a maiden named **Joan Warne**, otherwise known as Joan Lashford.

This Isabel was born in Grafestock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and married to one John Foster, cutler, in the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street. For not coming to the church, she was sent to Bonner and imprisoned. She was several times examined by the bishop, but never overcome, nor moved from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, when brought to her final examination before the bishop in the consistory, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. She gave a resolute answer in few words: "I will not go from them, by God's grace." She was neither cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielded through his alluring enticements, who

promised her both life and liberty if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church. She said that she trusted she 'was never out of the catholic church,' etc. And so she continued constant till the sentence was pronounced. Then she was committed to the secular power, and brought a few days later to the stake, on the 27th of January. There, like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth, she ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Savior.

In a previous part of this history of martyrs (p. 804), mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne who, with her husband John Warne, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow church-yard and suffered — first the man, in the month of May, and then later the wife, in July. And now their daughter, **Joan Warne**, in the month of January, followed her parents in the same martyrdom.

Joan Warne was born in the parish of Little All-hallows in Thames-street, and was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the aforesaid Elizabeth, who afterwards was married to John Warne. Joan was about twenty years of age when, ministering to her father and mother in prison, she was suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion. So she was sent to Bonner, and committed to the Compter, where she remained five weeks, and from there to Newgate, where she continued for some months.

After that, her confession was that the whole twelve months before, and more, she came to no popish mass service in the church, nor received the sacrament of the altar, nor confessed, because her conscience would not allow her to do so. She protested that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; and that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort was not necessary; nor was the mass good, or according to the Scripture, but that both the sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all others of their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's word and institution. This godly damsel, feeble and of tender age, yet strong by grace, stood so firm in her confession and faith, that neither the flattering promises, nor the violent threats of the bishops could turn her. Rather, being moved and exhorted by Bonner to return to the catholic unity of the church, she said boldly to him, "If you will leave off your abominations I will return, but otherwise I will not."

The bishop again promised her pardon of all her errors, as he called them, if she would be conformed. But she answered, "Do as it pleases you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please God."

And thus, constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, she was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom, on the 27th of January, she was brought to the stake. There she washed her robes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom she most lovingly espoused herself.

And thus much concerning the life and condemnation of these seven holy martyrs.

Five Martyrs Burned at Canterbury

Shortly after these seven were martyred together in Smithfield, in the same month (on the 31st of January), another like fellowship of godly martyrs followed at Canterbury: four women and one man, namely, John Lomas, Anne Allbright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, and Joan Sole.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, presented for that religion which the papists call heresy, was cited to appear at Canterbury. He was examined there upon the first article,

whether he believed the catholic church or not? He answered that he "believed so much as is contained in God's book, and no more."

Then being assigned to appear again on the next Wednesday, which was the 17th of January, Lomas was examined as to whether he would be confessed to a priest or not. He answered that he did not find it written in God's book that he should be confessed to any priest, nor would he be confessed unless he were accused of sin."

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Again, when examined whether he believed the body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar, really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration or not, he answered that "he believes no reality of Christ's body is in the sacrament." Then being demanded whether he believed there is a catholic church or not, and whether he would be content to be a member of it, he answered that he "believed so much as is written in God's book." He refused to give any other answer. Sentence was pronounced against him on the 18th of January, when he was committed to the secular power, and suffered with great constancy for the conscience of a true faith, in company with the four women named above.

Agnes Snoth, widow, of the parish of Smarden, was likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's religion. When examined, she was compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as would be administered to her. First she refused to be confessed to a priest; but she did not refuse to confess her offenses as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. As to the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other received the sacrament as Christ and his apostles after him delivered it, then she and they received it to their comfort. But as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation. Afterwards being examined concerning penance, whether it was a sacrament or not, she plainly denied it, and said that the popish manner of absolution was not consonant to the word of God. The sentence being read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and suffered martyrdom, declaring herself a constant witness of Christ and of his truth.

Against **Anne Albright**, alias Champnes, it was also objected concerning the matter of confession. She answered, saying that she "would not be confessed by a priest," and she added, speaking to the priests, "You priests are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession." Likewise, speaking to the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

As to the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so she utterly denied the same as a sacrament. Thus persisting in her opinion, she was condemned on the 18th of January, with the others above mentioned, and with whom she also suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for Christ's religion.

In like manner **Joan Sole**, of the parish of Horton, was condemned by the priests, for not allowing auricular confession, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. After their sentence was promulgated, she was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the same martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God's holy grace, and the Spirit working mightily in her, to the glory of his name, and the confirmation of His truth.

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs was **Joan Catmer**, of the parish of Hithe, wife of George Catmer, who was burned before (see p. 814). Being asked what she said to confession being made to a priest, she refused to be confessed to any priest. And the

judge, speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed that she did not believe in that sacrament as it was then used, for it was made a veritable idol. For this, sentence of condemnation was passed upon her, and she suffered with the other fellow martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Savior.

These five persons were burnt together at Canterbury, at two stakes, but in one fire. When the fire was flaming about their ears, they sang psalms.

The History and Martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer

The Life, Acts, and History of the Reverend Pastor and Prelate,
Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, burned at Oxford,
for the Confession of Christ's true Doctrine,
under Queen Mary. March 21, A.D. 1556.

As concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and also of the original cause and occasion of his preferment to his archiepiscopal dignity, it is first to be observed, that Thomas Cranmer came from an ancient parentage, from the Conquest.[105] He was born in a village called Arselacton, in Nottinghamshire. Being kept at school from his infancy, and brought up, not without much civility, in process of time he came to the University of Cambridge. And there, prospering in knowledge, and among the better sort of students, he became Master of Arts, and was chosen Fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge. Having married a gentleman's daughter, he lost and gave up his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham College.

While Cranmer continued as reader in Buckingham College, his wife died in childbirth. After her death, the masters and fellows of Jesus College, desirous to have back their old companion for his learning, again chose him fellow of the college. There, remaining at his study, a few years later he became the reader of the divinity lecture in the same college, and was held in much esteem and reputation with the whole university. Being Doctor of Divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads to examine those who yearly proceed in commencement, either as Bachelors or Doctors of Divinity, by whose approval the whole university licenses them to proceed to their degree.

Now Cranmer much favored the knowledge of the Scripture, and would never allow any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially versed in the history of the Bible. By this means, certain friars and other monkish persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors, without regard to the authority of the Scriptures, were rejected by him. So that, for his severe examination, he was much hated, and held in great indignation among the monks. Yet it came to pass in the end, that some of them, being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became well learned and well affected.

As he was neither unknown in fame, nor obscure in knowledge, so he was greatly solicited by Doctor Capon to become one of the fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's College in Oxford, which he utterly refused.

At this time, Cardinal Campeggio and Cardinal Wolsey, being commissioned by the pope to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between King Henry VIII and the Queen, delayed hearing the cause all the summer, till August. When August had come, the

[105] That is, the Norman Conquest under William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066.

cardinals, little desiring to proceed to the sentence, took occasion to finish their commission, and not to further determine in this cause, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time. This sudden stoppage of the commission so moved the king, that taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, he commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to immediately dispatch Cardinal Campeggio back home to Rome. And so, in haste Cranmer removed himself from London to Waltham for a night or two, while his household removed to Greenwich. By means of this, it chanced that the harbingers, Doctor Stephens, secretary, and Doctor Foxe, almoner, lodged in the house of Master Cressey, where Cranmer also lodged. When supper time came, the three doctors met together — Doctor Stephens, and Doctor Foxe much marvelling at Doctor Cranmer's being there.[106] He declared to them the cause of his lodging there, namely, that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were old acquaintances, the secretary and almoner right well entertained Cranmer, minding to understand his opinion regarding the great business they had in hand. While they were at supper, they conferred with Cranmer about the king's cause, requesting his judgment and opinion — what he thought about it.

[895] A.D. 1556.

Cranmer answered that he could say but little to the matter, for he had not studied or looked for it. Notwithstanding, he said to them that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the ecclesiastical law than needed. "It would be better, I suppose," said Cranmer, "that the question, whether a man may marry his brother's wife or not, were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, by which the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than to thus prolong the time by delays from year to year, leaving the truth of the matter untouched by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, being well-handled by learned men, and that may be done as well in England in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation. And therefore, as I take it, you might have made an end of the matter this way long since." When Doctor Cranmer had thus ended, the other two liked his advice, and wished they had so proceeded before. They resolved to so advise the king, who was then minded to send to Rome for a new commission.

The next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, he called to him his principal advisers in his cause, namely. Doctor Stephens and Doctor Foxe, saying to them, "What now, my masters, shall we do in this endless cause of mine? I see there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we will have an end to it, God knows, and not I."

When the king had thus spoken. Doctor Foxe said, "We trust that there will be a better way devised for your majesty, than any longer travel so far as Rome in your highness' cause, which by chance was put into our heads at Waltham." The king, being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who has taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?" Then Doctor Foxe said, "It chanced for us to lodge at Waltham, in Master Cressey's house, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Doctor Cranmer, with whom having a conference concerning your highness's case, he thought that the best way to instruct and quiet your majesty's conscience was to test out your highness's question by the authority of the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence."

[106] John Foxe, the author of this book, was a close friend of Cranmer. He was not known as "Doctor Foxe" despite having a master's degree from Oxford and being a fellow there. Though he distributed alms for others, and was very generous himself, he did not hold the ecclesiastical title of *almoner*. Nonetheless, he seems to refer to himself here.

The king then asked, “Where is this Doctor Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?” They answered, that they left him there. “Goodness,” said the king, “I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for. I perceive,” continued the king, “that this man has the sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it would have saved me a great piece of money, and would also have rid me of much disquietness.”

Cranmer was accordingly sent for. Having removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so an express went for him towards his friends in Nottinghamshire. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, that because of them he was thus troubled and brought there, to be cumbered in a matter in which he had not studied. And therefore he entreated them that they would make his excuse, so that he might not be required to come into the king’s presence. They promised, and took the matter upon themselves, that by any means they might compass it. But all was in vain; for the more they began to excuse Cranmer’s absence, the more the king chided them, so that no excuse serving, Cranmer was obliged to come to court to the king. When Cranmer was introduced, the prince demanded his name, and said to him, “Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretary and my almoner?” Cranmer assented. The king said, “Did you not have conference with them concerning our matter of divorce, in this way?” repeating the manner and order of it. “That is true, if it please your highness,” said Cranmer. “Well,” said the king, “I well perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand that I have long been troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been relieved long ago, one way or other, if we had so proceeded. And therefore, Master Doctor, I pray you, and because you are a subject, I charge and command you to take pains to see this cause of mine furthered, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand what I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I do not seek to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that our matrimony was inviolable, and not against the laws of God. For otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity. Nor was there ever prince who had a gentler, more obedient and loving companion and wife, than the queen is. Nor did I ever fancy a woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not arisen. I assure you that for the singular virtues with which she is indued, besides the consideration of her noble family, I could be right well contented to remain with her, if it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God.” And thus greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, “I therefore pray you with an impartial eye, and with as much dexterity as lies in you, that for your part you handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences.”

Cranmer excused himself to meddle in so weighty a matter, and besought the king’s highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, to the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. “You say well,” said the king, “and I am content. Yet I will have you especially write your mind in this.” And so calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, he said, “I pray you, my lord, let Doctor Cranmer be entertained in your house at Durham-place for a time, so that he may be quiet there to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor anything requisite for his study.” And thus, after the king’s departure, Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire to his house, and he wrote his mind concerning the king’s question. Besides the authorities of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, he also added his opinion, which was this: “That the bishop of Rome had no such authority, as that he might dispense with the word of God and the Scriptures.” When Cranmer had made this book, and committed it to the king, the king said to him: “Will you abide by what you have written here, before the bishop of Rome?” “That will I do, by God’s grace,” answered Cranmer, “if your majesty sends me there.” “Goodness,”

said the king; "I will send you even to him in a secure embassage." And thus by means of Cranmer, not only were certain learned men sent abroad to most of the universities in Christendom to dispute the question, but also the same men were commissioned to dispute with the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. It was there concluded that no such matrimony was lawful by the word of God.

Upon this, a solemn embassage was prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome — namely, the earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Stokesley, Doctor Carne, Doctor Bennet, and other learned men.

When the time came that they were to come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their embassage, sitting on high in his cloth of state, and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, he offered his foot to be kissed by the ambassadors. The earl of Wiltshire (who stood first) disdained to do so, and stood still, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry.

They offered on the king's behalf to defend that no man, *Jure Divino*, could or ought to marry his brother's wife, and that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. Promises were made, and days appointed in which the question should be disputed. And when our embassage was ready to answer, no man appeared to dispute against them. So in the end, the pope, showing our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship,[107] dismissed them.

Upon this, the earl of Wiltshire and the other commissioners, except Cranmer, returned to England. And immediately Cranmer went to the emperor, to answer those learned men of the emperor's council, who would or could say anything against the divorce. Among the rest, was Cornelius Agrippa. a high officer in the emperor's court. Having a private conference with Cranmer on the question, he was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that there was never a disputation openly offered to Cranmer in that behalf.

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This matter thus prospering, Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, by which that dignity being in the king's gift and disposal, was immediately given to Cranmer.

At the time of the Six Articles, it was mentioned before in the history of King Henry VIII (see p. 569), how adventurously Cranmer opposed himself, standing alone, as it were, against the whole parliament, disputing and replying for three days against the said articles. It went so far that the king, when he could not dislike Cranmer's reasons, and yet needed to have these articles passed, required Cranmer to absent himself from the chamber until it was done.

After the apprehension of the lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospel thought all things were sure on their side, it was so arranged among them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, would come to the archbishop of Canterbury to establish certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the archbishop. For Lord Cromwell being gone (see p. 584), they thought all things were safe and sure forever. But Cranmer stood alone against them all, in the defense of the truth. And those that he most trusted, namely, Bishop Heath and Bishop Skip, left him. They so turned against him, that they took it upon themselves to persuade him to their purpose. Taking him from the rest of the commissioners, into his

[107] *Penitentiaryship*: the office of a priest who is authorized to administer the sacrament of penance.

garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of persuasions they entreated him to incline to the king's intentions, who was fully determined to have it. When those two, with other friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he said to them —

> "You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles enforced as you have devised them. And now that you perceive his highness is bent that way, you think it convenient to apply to his highness' mind. You are both my friends. Beware what you do. There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon. If you hide it from his highness, by consenting to a contrary doctrine, then in the process of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his highness will perceive how you have dealt with him. I know his grace's nature so well, that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, I therefore wish you to beware in time, and discharge your consciences in the maintenance of the truth."

All this would not serve, for they still persisted. But Cranmer discharged his conscience and declared the truth to the king. And God so wrought with the king, that his highness joined with Cranmer against the rest, so that the book of articles passed on his side, contrary to all their expectations.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his ancient enemy, the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, endeavored to prejudice the king against him. They plainly declared that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness to further let it go unreformed, lest perhaps by long suffering, such contention should arise and ensue among his subjects in the realm, that thereby horrible commotions might spring up, and uproars, as it did in some parts of Germany not long ago. They could not impute the enormity of this to anyone so much as to the archbishop of Canterbury. By his own preaching, and his chaplains, he had filled the whole realm full of many pernicious heresies. The king desired to know his accusers. They answered that as he was a counsellor, no man dared take it upon himself to accuse him. But if it would please his highness to commit Cranmer to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enough against him; for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear. And therefore, they said, your highness must give us liberty and leave to commit him to prison. The king, perceiving their importunate suit against the archbishop (yet not intending to have Cranmer wronged, and utterly given over into their hands), granted to them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower to have his trial. When night came, the king sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth about midnight, to the archbishop, desiring him to immediately resort to him at the court. The archbishop speedily attended at the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked and tarried for him, his highness said, "Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news! For weighty considerations, it is determined by me and the council, that tomorrow at nine o'clock you will be committed to the Tower, for you and your chaplains (as information is given to us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared the whole realm being infected, no small contentions and commotions will arise among my subjects, as of late occurred in many parts of Germany. And therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to allow them to commit you to the Tower."

When the king had spoken, the archbishop kneeled down and said, "I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go there at the command of your highness. And I most humbly thank your majesty for an opportunity to come to my trial; for there are those who have slandered me, and now I hope to prove myself not worthy of such report."

The king, perceiving the man's righteousness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord! What manner of man are you? What simplicity is in you? I thought you would rather have sued to us to take the pains to hear you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such imprisonment. Do you not know what state you are in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Do you think to have better luck that way than your master Christ had? I see by it that you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would allow you. Your enemies will not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding, tomorrow, when the council sits and sends for you, resort to them. And if in charging you with this matter, they commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a counsellor, so that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further imprisonment. And use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise. And if no entreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver to them this, my ring (which the king then delivered to the archbishop) and say to them, if there is no remedy, my lords, but that I must go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person by this, his token to you all. For," the king then said to the archbishop, "as soon as they see this ring, they know it so well, that they will understand that I have resumed the whole cause into my own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them from it."

The archbishop perceiving the king's benignity towards him, had much ado to forbear tears. "Well," said the king, "Go your ways, my lord, and do as I have bidden you.' Cranmer then with thanks took his leave of the king's highness for that night.

On the morrow, the council sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop. When Cranmer came to the council chamber-door, he could not be let in; but on purpose (it seemed) he was compelled to wait there all alone among the pages, lackeys, and serving men. Shortly, the archbishop was called into the council-chamber. The archbishop answered as the king had advised him, and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion could serve, he delivered the king's ring, referring his cause into the king's hands. The whole council, being somewhat amazed, immediately arose, and carried to the king his ring, surrendering the matter, as the custom was, into his own hands.

When they had all come into the king's presence, his highness, with a severe countenance, said to them,

[897] A.D. 1556.

> "Ah, my lords, I thought I had wiser men of my council than I now find you. What discretion was this in you, to thus make the primate of the realm, and one of you in his office, to wait at the council chamber-door among serving men? You might have considered that he was a counsellor as well as you, and you had no such commission from me to so handle him. I was content that you should try him as a counsellor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things are done against him maliciously, and if some of you could have had your wish, you would have tried him to the utmost. But I want you all to know, and I affirm, that if a prince may be beholden to his subject (he solemnly laid his hand upon his breast), then by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all others a most faithful subject to us, and one to whom we are much beholden."

Then one or two of the leaders of the council, making their excuse, declared that in requesting his imprisonment, it was meant for his trial, and for his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, rather than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my lords," said the king, "take him and use him well, as he is worthy."

With that, every man caught Cranmer by the hand. But his enemies were determined to work his ruin with the king, if possible. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire should accuse him. This in very deed was brought to pass. The articles were delivered to the king in such a manner, that there must follow to the archbishop, both the indignation of the prince, and the deserved punishment for his grievous offense committed by him and his chaplains, in preaching such erroneous doctrine within his diocese of Canterbury. This accusation was delivered to the king by some of the council. When the king had perused the document, he wrapped it up, and put it in his sleeve. Finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, he came with his barge, furnished with his musicians, along by Lambeth bridge. The noise of the musicians induced the archbishop to resort to the bridge to salute his prince. When the king perceived him standing at the bridge, he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so he came straight to the bridge.

“Ah, my chaplain,” said the king to the archbishop, “come to me into the barge.” The archbishop declared to his highness that he would take his own barge and wait upon his majesty. “No,” said the king, “you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you.” When the king and the archbishop were set together in the barge, the king said, “I have news out of Kent for you, my lord.” The archbishop answered, “Good, I hope, if it please your highness.” “Goodness (said the king), they are so good, that I now know the greatest heretic in Kent.” And with that, he pulled out of his sleeve the articles against the archbishop and his preachers, and gave them to him, desiring him to peruse them. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so discourteously handled by his own church (I mean by the prebendaries of his cathedral church, and those of his neighbors that he had obliged in many ways, I mean the justices of the peace), it greatly grieved him. Notwithstanding, he kneeled down to the king, and besought his majesty to grant a commission to whomever it pleased his highness, to try the truth of this accusation. “In very deed,” said the king, “I do so mean, and you yourself will be chief commissioner, joined with two or three more, as you think good yourself.” “Then it will be thought,” said the archbishop to the king, “that it is not impartial, if it please your grace, that I should be my own judge, and my chaplains also.”

After three weeks, it was seen that nothing could be done, and that the whole was a popish confederacy against the archbishop. So the king appointed the archbishop to name him a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, those who had discretion, wisdom, and courage, to whom he gave a commission to search the purses, chests, and chambers of all those who were suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and such letters or writings as they could find about them, and to bring them to the archbishop and the king.

These men thus appointed, proceeded immediately to the persons’ houses and places that they were appointed to. And within four hours afterwards the whole conspiracy was disclosed, by finding letters — some from the bishop of Winchester, some from Doctor London, at Oxford, and from justices of the shire, along with others — so that the beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire were also searched, where letters serving this purpose were also found. Among all others, two letters came into Cranmer’s hands, one from the suffragan of Dover, and another from Doctor Barber, a civilian, whom the archbishop continually retained with him in his household, as a counsellor in the law. These two men having been promoted by the archbishop, he had ever

held them in such intimacy, that when the suffragan, being a prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he always set him and Barber at his own table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort.

After Cranmer had gotten their letters into his hands, one day, when the suffragan chanced to come to his house, he called him into his study, with Doctor Barber. He said, “Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter.” When they were with him in his study, he said to them,

“You are men in whom I have had much confidence. You must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or two to whom I have shown all my secrets from time to time, and trusted them as myself. The matter has so now fallen out, that they have not only disclosed my secrets, but also have taken it upon themselves to accuse me of heresy, and have become witnesses against me. I require, therefore, your good advice as to how I will behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I have always used when I needed counsel. What do you say to the matter?”

“Goodness,” said Doctor Barber, “such villains and knaves are worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law.” “Hanging would be too good,” said the suffragan, “and if there lacked someone to do the execution, I would be hangman myself.”

At these words the archbishop cast np his hands to heaven, and said, “Oh Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days?’ What is said is most true, “Cursed is man who trusts in man.” There was never man handled as I am. But, O Lord, you have evermore defended me, and given me one great friend and master (meaning the king), without whose protection I would not be able to stand upright even one day. I praise your holy name therefore.” And with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and asked, “Do you know these letters, my masters?” With that they fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how a year before they were tempted to do the same, and so very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, sought his grace to pardon and forgive them. “Well,” said the gentle archbishop, “God make you both good men; I never deserved this at your hands. But ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or trust among men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not marvel much at this, for our Savior Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercy to finish that time shortly.” And so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words. This was the last attempt that was made against the archbishop in King Henry VIII’s days. For never after did any man dare move against him. Also, after the death of King Henry VIII, under the government of his son, King Edward VI, the estate of Cranmer (who was godfather to the young king) was not impaired at all, but rather more advanced.

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During all the time of King Henry, until the entering of King Edward, it seemed that Cranmer was not yet thoroughly persuaded in the right views of the sacrament. But shortly afterwards, being more confirmed by conference with Bishop Ridley, he so profited, that at last he took upon himself the defense of that whole doctrine. That is, to refute *first* the corporeal presence; *secondly*, the fanciful transubstantiation; *thirdly*, the idolatrous adoration; *fourthly*, the false error of the papists, that wicked men can eat the natural body of Christ; and *lastly*, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. In conclusion, he wrote five

books for the public instruction of the church of England. That instruction yet stands to this day, and is received in this church of England.

Against these five books of the archbishop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy of the gospel, attempted an answer.

The archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replied to Gardiner, and published his answer abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men, in print.

Afterwards, King Edward fell sick. When he perceived that his death was at hand, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to the popish religion, he bequeathed the succession of this realm to the lady Jane Grey, a lady of great birth, but of greater learning. She was niece to King Henry VIII by his sister. This was done with the consent of the council and lawyers of this realm. To this testament of the king, when all the nobles of the realm, states and judges had subscribed, they sent for the archbishop, and required him to also subscribe. But he excused himself, saying that it was otherwise in the testament of King Henry, Edward's father, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary as then the next heir, and was so bound by this oath, that without manifest perjury, he could not go from it. The council answered that they were not ignorant of that, and they had a conscience as well as he. Moreover, they too were sworn to that testament. Therefore he should not think there was any danger in it, or that he would be in more peril of perjury than the rest of them.

To this the archbishop answered that he was judge of no man's conscience but his own. And therefore, as he would not prejudge others, so he would not commit his conscience to other men, seeing that every man should give account of his own conscience, and not of other men's. As to subscription, he utterly refused to do it before he had spoken with the king himself. The king, therefore, being asked by the archbishop concerning this matter, said that the nobles and lawyers of the realm counselled him to it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could not prevent lady Jane from succeeding him as heir, and the people acknowledge her as their queen. The archbishop then asked leave of the king, that he might first talk with some lawyers who were in the court. When they all agreed that by the law of the realm it might be so, he returned to the king, and subscribed the testament.

Not long after this. King Edward died, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity of the whole realm. He was almost sixteen years old. After his decease it was immediately commanded that the lady Jane, who was very unwilling, should be proclaimed queen. The common people were much opposed to this, not that they favored Mary, but for the hatred they conceived against some of lady Jane's supporters. [108]

Besides this, other causes of discord happened between the nobles and the commons at the same time, for injuries of commons and enclosures, with other inordinate pollings (taxes and levies), and uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants. In short, the matter so fell out, that Mary hearing of the death of her brother, was so assisted by the commons, that she soon prevailed. And being established in the possession of the realm, she not long after came to London, and had the lady Jane beheaded, together with her husband, though she was tender in age and innocent of this crime. Yet neither could she by any means be turned from the constancy of her faith, as previously narrated in this history (p. 674 ff).

[108] Her primary supporter was the fiercely Protestant Duke of Northumberland, who acted as regent. He persuaded Edward VI to alter the line of succession. He also secured the support of key nobles and officials, including the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Edward Montagu. Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, initially supported the plan, but he later abandoned her when the situation turned against her. Keep in mind that the Catholic/Protestant divide in Britain persists to this day.

The nobles, except the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, upon paying fines, were forgiven; only the archbishop of Canterbury excepted. Though he desired pardon, he could obtain none. The queen would not grant to see him, for the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorce of her mother, still remained rankling in her breast. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion, all of which she imputed to the archbishop as the cause.

While these things were going on, a rumor was extensively spread that the archbishop, to curry favor with the queen, had promised to say a dirge mass for the funeral of King Edward. Neither lacking were some who reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury. To stop this rumor, Cranmer published a writing, the tenor of which being expressed before (p. 701), I need not recite it here.

Some copies of this came into the hands of the bishops, who brought it to the council. Having sent it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and Cranmer was commanded to appear.

The archbishop accordingly appeared before the commissioners, bringing an inventory of all his goods, as he was commanded. That done, a bishop of the queen's privy council, who was one of the commissioners, after the inventory was received, mentioned the writing. "My lord," he said, "there is a bill put forth in your name, in which you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again. We do not doubt that you are sorry that it has gone abroad." The archbishop answered him, saying,

> "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, I must confess to you that I am sorry that it went from me as it did. For when I had written it, Master Story got a copy, and it has now come abroad. I understand that the city is full of it. For this I am sorry, that it so passed from my hands. For otherwise I had intended to make it in a larger and more ample manner, and was minded to set it on St. Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with my own seal joined to it."

At these words, when they saw the constancy of the man, they dismissed him, affirming that they had no more at present to say to him, but that shortly he would hear further. Not long after this, he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned for treason. Notwithstanding the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and especially seeing that he, last of all the others, subscribed to King Edward's request, and that was against his own will, released him from the charge of treason, and accused him only of heresy. This pleased the archbishop right well, because the cause was not his own, but Christ's; not the queen's, but the church's. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be taken from the Tower, where he was prisoner, and removed to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. Word was sent before to those of Oxford to prepare themselves, and make themselves ready to dispute. Although the queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that the murder of the man might be covered under some show of disputation.

It was sufficiently declared before (p. 690 f), what this disputation was, how it was handled, what the questions and reasons were on both sides, and also Cranmer's condemnation by the university and the prolocutor. Therefore we will now proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was on the 12th of September, A.D. 1555, seven days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer. The account follows here, faithfully corrected by the report and narration of one who, being both present at it, and also

a devout favorer of the See and faction of Rome, cannot but be credited by the members of that church.

After the disputations in Oxford between the doctors of both universities, and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, you heard how sentence condemnatory was passed against them, by which they were judged to be heretics, and committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But as the sentence was void in law — for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land —a new commission was therefore sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly men.

[899] A.D. 1556.

The commissioners came down on Thursday, the 12th of September A.D. 1555, in the church of St. Mary. In the east end of the church at the high altar, a solemn scaffold, ten feet high, was erected for Bishop Brooks, who represented the pope. The seat was made so that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. At the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him, sat Doctor Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, who were both doctors of the civil law. Underneath them were other doctors, scribes, and Pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a number of such like officials.

And thus these bishops, being placed in their pontifical robes, the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for. He came out of the prison to the church of St. Mary, surrounded with armed men, for fear he would escape. He was clothed in a black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university were used to wearing. After he had come into the church, and saw them sitting in their pontifical robes, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till he was called. Then one of the proctors for the pope called for Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to appear and answer to what would be laid to his charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency (lack of self-restraint), and heresy.

Upon this, he was brought nearer to the scaffold where the bishop sat, who represented the pope. He first viewed the place of judgment, and seeing where the king and queen's majesties' proctors were, putting off his cap, he then humbly bowed his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and afterwards to the other.

That done, looking the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no token of obedience to him at all. The bishop being offended, said to him that it might become him, weighing the authority he represented, to do his duty to him. Doctor Cranmer answered, "He had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to admitting the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England; that he had done it advisedly, and that he meant, by God's grace, to keep it. And therefore he would commit nothing, either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to receiving it. And so he desired the bishop to judge that he did not do it for any contempt toward his person, which he could have been content to honor as well as any other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs." This he answered both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the pope's person, which was greatly marked by the people who were present there.

When they perceived that the archbishop would not remove his bonnet, the bishop proceeded as follows:

> "My lord, at present we have come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding ourselves by our own authority, but sent by commission, partly from the pope's holiness, partly from the king and queen's most excellent majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to

your comfort if you will yourself. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of what you have been, and shall be. Neither do we come to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters, which being done, will be related to him who has power to judge you."

And then this bishop proceeded to exhort Cranmer to return to the church of Rome, and revoke the opinions he had taught. After him, Dr. Martin also addressed Cranmer on the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical power. When Doctor Martin ended his oration, the archbishop began, as follows:

Cranmer. — "Shall I then give my answer?"

Martin. — "As you think good; no man will hinder you."

Here the archbishop, kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said first the Lord's prayer, then rising up he recited the articles of the creed, which done, he commenced with his protestation in form as follows;

The Faith and Protestation of Doctor Cranmer,
Archbishop of Canterbury, before the Commissioners.

"This I profess concerning my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome will have any jurisdiction within this realm."

Story. — "Take a note of that."

Martin. — "Mark how you answer. You refuse him, by whose laws you remain in life, being otherwise condemned of high treason."

Cranmer. — "I protest, before God, I was no traitor, but at my arraignment I pleaded guilty to more than was true."

Martin. — "That is not to be reasoned about at present. You know you were condemned as a traitor; but proceed."

Cranmer. — "I will never consent to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king, by God's laws. By the Scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person is above him in his realm. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject; I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you declared in the beginning of your oration by the sword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the sword to the king. But I say the king has both. Therefore, whoever is subject to Rome and the laws of Rome, is a perjured man; for the laws of the pope and the judges are contrary to each other. A priest breaking the laws of the realm, will be sued before a temporal judge; by the pope's laws, the contrary is settled. The pope does the king injury in that the king has his power from the pope. The king is head in his own realm. But the pope claims all bishops, priests, curates, etc. So the pope in every realm, has a realm.

"Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice must be given by the *bishop*; by the laws of the realm, the *patron* gives the benefice. Here the laws are as contrary as fire and water.

"No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a *praemunire*, and thus the law of the realm is expelled, and the king stands accursed in maintaining has own laws.

"The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commands all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law. And therefore He has appointed one holy day in the week at the least, for all people to come to church and hear the word of God expounded to them. And that they might better understand it, to hear it in their mother

tongue which they know. The pope does the contrary; for he commands the service to be said in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it understood; the pope will not. When the priest gives thanks, God would that the people should do so too, and God wills them to confess altogether; the pope will not.

"Now, as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine respecting the sacrament of the altar. For if it can be proved by any doctor within a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is really present there, I will give up. My book was written seven years ago, and no man has brought any authors against it. I believe that whoever eats and drinks that sacrament, Christ is a whole Christ in them: his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that which corporeally sits in heaven.

"Now, Christ commands *all* to drink of the cup; the pope takes it away from the laymen. Christ enjoins us to obey the *king*. The bishop of Rome directs us to obey *him*; therefore, unless he is antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. For if I were to obey *him*, I cannot obey *Christ*.

"He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ; if you will fall down and worship me, I will give you all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took it upon himself to give that which was not his own.

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Even so, the bishop of Rome gives princes their crowns, which are none of his to give. For where princes obtain their crown either by election, succession, or inheritance, he says that they should have it from him.

"Christ says that antichrist will appear. And who will he be? Whoever advances himself above all other creatures. Now, if there is no one already who has advanced himself in such a way, besides the pope, then in the meantime let him be antichrist."

Story. — "Does it please you to make an end of this?"

Cranmer. — "For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yes, and with apostasy.

"Now I have declared why I cannot, with my conscience, obey the pope. I do not say this from any hatred I bear toward him who is now in his place; for I do not know him. I pray God to give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Nor do I say this for my defense; but to declare my conscience for the zeal that I bear to God's word, trodden underfoot by the bishop of Rome. I cast fear aside, for Christ said to his apostles, that in the latter days they would suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his name's sake. 'Do not fear them,' he says, 'who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.' Also Christ says, 'Whoever will save his life shall lose it; and whoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.' Moreover, he tells us to 'confess him before men, and not be afraid; for if we do so, he will stand with us; if we shrink from him he will shrink from us.' This is a comfortable and terrible saying; this makes me set all fear aside. I say, therefore, the bishop of Rome treads underfoot God's laws and the king's.

"The pope would give bishoprics; so would the king. But at last the king got the upper hand, and so all bishops are perjured (falsely sworn) *first* to the pope, and *then* to the king.

"The crown has nothing to do with the clergy! If a cleric comes before a judge, and the judge makes process against him, but not to execute any laws, then if the judge should put him to execution [of the laws], the king is accursed in having [the cleric] maintain his own laws!

Therefore, I say that the judge who first honors the pope, is neither true to God nor true to the king. But I will heartily pray for those counsellors who may inform the queen of the truth. For the king and queen, if they are well informed, will do well."

Martin. — "As you understand it, then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too."

Cranmer. — "I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths stand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory says, the one who takes it upon himself to be head of the universal church, is worse than the antichrist. If any man can show me that it is *not* against God's word to hold his stirrup when he takes his horse, and kiss his feet, as kings do, then I will kiss his feet also. And you, for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now you sit as judge for the pope, and yet you received your bishopric from the king; so you have taken an oath to be an adversary to the realm, for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm."

Gloucester. — "You were the cause that I forsook the pope, and swore that he should not be supreme head, and gave it to King Henry VIII. You made me do this."

Cranmer. — "To that I answer, you report ill of me, and do not say the truth; and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is that my predecessor, bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry VIII, and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God's word would justify him. Men were sent to both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would say concerning the supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at last both universities agreed, and set their seals to it, and sent it to King Henry to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. You were doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was given to it, as appears by your hand (signature). Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope; for it was your own act. All this was in Bishop Warham's time, and while he was alive. So that it was three quarters of a year before I had the archbishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I could do anything. So that here you have reported about me that which you cannot prove."

Gloucester. — "We come to examine you, and you, I think, examine us."

Story. — "Please it your lordship, because it has pleased the king and queen's majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your lordship, to give me leave to talk somewhat in that behalf. I know that in talking with heretics hurt comes to all men; for it wearies the steadfast, troubles the doubtful, and takes in snare the weak and simple. Yet, because he says he is not bound to answer your lordship sitting for the pope's holiness, because of a *praemunire*, and the word of God, as he terms it, I think it good to say something, so that all men may see how he runs out of his race of reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust has done much good. Just as the king and queen's majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him, so they will be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And where he alleges divinity, mingling *fas nefasque* (right and wrong) together, he should not have been heard. He has alleged many matters against the supremacy of the pope, maliciously. You say that the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was christened. Then, if it were a perfect church, it must have a head, which must be before any king was a member of it. For you know Constantiue the emperor was the first christened king who ever was. And although you are bound (as St. Paul says) to obey your rulers, and kings have rule over the people, yet it does not follow

that they have cure of souls. For, *a fortiori* (with even greater reason), the head may do what the minister cannot do; but the priest may consecrate, and the king cannot; therefore the king is not head.

"Now as concerning that talk of your conscience, that is no conscience that you profess. And as yet, for all your babble, you have not proved by God's laws that you should not answer the pope's holiness."

Doctor Story said much more to the same effect, as did Doctor Martin also, after which certain interrogatories were administered by the commissioners.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers.

First it was objected that the aforesaid Thomas Cranmer, yet being free, and before he entered into holy orders, he married one Joan, surnamed Black, or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the dolphin, in Cambridge.

To which Cranmer answered that whether she was called Black or Brown, he did not know, but that he married one Joan there, that he granted.

2. That after the death of the aforesaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that he was made archbishop by the pope.

He received, he said, a certain bull from the pope, which he delivered to the king, and was made archbishop by him.

3. That being in holy orders, he married another woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so he was twice married.

To this he acknowledged.

4. In the time of King Henry VIII. he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

To this he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

5. In the time of King Edward VI, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and publicly professing her to be his wife.

He did not deny that he did so, and lawfully might do the same, because the laws of the realm so permitted him.

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6. That he was not ashamed to openly boast, that he had his wife in secret many years.

And though he did so, he said, there was no reason why he should be ashamed of it.

7. That the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterwards into the deep bottom of errors, fled and refused the authority of the church, held and followed the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also compiled, and caused to be set abroad. several books.

When the names of the books were recited to him, he denied no such books which he was the author of. As regards the treatise of Peter Martyr on the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad; yet he approved and liked the same. As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted they were his doings.

8. That he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same articles.

He exhorted (he said) those who were willing to subscribe; but he compelled none against their wills.

9. Because he did not cease to perpetuate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from there was brought to Oxford, at which time it was commonly thought that the parliament should be held there.

To this he said, that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that he ever committed.

10. That in the said city of Oxford he openly maintained his heresy, and there he was convicted upon the same.

There he defended the cause of the sacrament, he said, but denied he was convicted in that.

11. When he persevered in the same, he was pronounced a heretic by the public censure of the University, and his books were pronounced heretical.

That he was so denounced, he did not deny; but he denied that he was a heretic, or that his books were heretical.

12. That he was and is notoriously a promoter of schism, as one who not only himself receded from the Catholic church and the See of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to do the same.

As regards his receding, that he freely granted; but such receding or departing (he said) was only from the See of Rome, and there was no matter of any schism in it.

13. That he had been twice sworn to the pope; and Doctor Martin brought out the instrument of the public notary, in which was contained his protestation made when he was to be consecrated, asking if he had protested anything else.

He answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. That he, the said archbishop of Canterbury, not only offended in the premises, but also in taking upon himself the authority of the See of Rome, in that without leave or license from the said See, he consecrated bishops and priests.

He granted that he executed things whidh were usually referred to the pope, at the time when that was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he alone still persisted in his error.

That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true, but that he erred in doing that, he denied.

16. That all and singular of the premises are true.

That likewise he granted, except those things to which he had now answered.

After he had thus answered to the objections, the judges and commissioners, now having accomplished what they came for, were about to rise up and depart. But the bishop of Gloucester, thinking it not best to so dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred by the words of the archbishop, began in the hearing of the people, to thus declaim Cranmer:

> "Master Cranmer (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obstinacy), I am right sorry, I am right heartily sorry to hear such words escape your mouth so unadvisedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I supposed that this obstinacy of yours did

not come from a vain glory, but rather from a corrupt conscience, which was the reason that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is far otherwise. You are so puffed up with vain glory, such a heresy has crept into your conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition.

"Although I would of myself reason with you, to satisfy this audience, yet I may not by our commission, nor can I find how I may do it by the Scriptures. For the apostle commands that such a one should not only not be talked with, but also shunned and avoided.

"Nevertheless, although I do not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an abject and outcast from God's favor, yet because you have uttered to the annoyance of the people, such pestilent heresies as may do harm among some who are unrefined and unlearned, I think it fitting to say something — not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple people who are present, lest being seduced by your diabolical doctrine, they may perish thereby."

He then endeavored to vindicate his own proceeding. When he ceased, Dr. Martin said:

"You, master Cranmer, have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the apostolic See. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him alone, it came to an end by his death, and so you are released from it. If you made it to his successors, the true successors have the empire, and they desire you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ's church again, and it stands well with charity."

To this the archbishop answered, but the reporter, being a papist, has omitted the answer and he returns to the words of Doctor Story, who imperiously turning to the archbishop said:

"Hold your peace, sir, and so it will right well become you, considering that I gave you license before to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath."

They then proceeded with the form of examining witnesses. The archbishop was commanded again to the place from where he came. At his departing, as at his coming in, he made obeisance to Doctor Martin, and to Doctor Story, the queen's commissioners. Then Doctor Story pointing to the bishop of Gloucester who represented the pope, said that he should rather give reverence to him. But the archbishop departed without giving any obeisance to the bishop. All the others rose up, and went every one to his own residence. And thus the session for that day broke up.

During the examination, Doctor Martin had demanded of Cranmer, who was the supreme head of the church of England?

"Goodness," said my lord of Canterbury, "Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church."

"Why,'" replied Dr. Martin, "you made king Henry VIII supreme head of the church."

"Yea," said the Archbishop, "of all the people of England, ecclesiastical as well as temporal."

"And not of the church.' 'said Martin.

"No," he said, "for Christ alone is the head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible church."

"What," said Martin, "you never dared tell the king so?"

"Yes, that I dared," replied Cranmer, "and that I did. In the publication of his style, in which he was named supreme head of the church, there was never another thing meant. '

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Doctor Thirleby, and Doctor Bonner, appointed as a new Commission to sit upon the Archbishop's case, on the 14th of February.

The letter or sentence definitive of the pope was dated about the 1st of January, and was delivered here in England about the middle of February. Upon receipt of the letter, another session was appointed, and the archbishop was summoned to appear on the 14th day of February, before certain commissioners directed down by the queen. The chief of them was the bishop of Ely, Doctor Thirleby. Concerning this Doctor Thirleby it is to be observed here, that although he was not the archbishop's household chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced by him (not like a chaplain, but rather like a brother) that there was never anything in the archbishop's house so dear — be it plate, jewel, horse, maps, books, or anything else — if Thirlbey ever so little commended it, the archbishop by and by either gave it to him, or else afterward sent it to his house. So greatly was the archbishop attached to him, that whoever would obtain anything from him, most commonly would make their suit first to Doctor Thirleby.

With the bishop of Ely, Bonner, bishop of London, was also assigned in the same commission. Coming to Oxford on St. Valentine's day as the pope's delegates, with a new commission from Rome, they commanded the archbishop to come before them in the choir of Christ's church, before the high altar, where they sat in their pontifical robes. They first began, as the custom was, to read their commission. In this it was contained how in the court of Rome, all things being examined — both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made to them, and witnesses examined on both parts — and council heard on the king and queen's behalf, as well as on behalf of Thomas Cranmer, so that he lacked nothing pertaining to his necessary defense, etc., as it was in reading. "Oh," said the archbishop, "what lies are these, that being continually in prison, and never allowed to have council or advocate at home, I should produce witnesses and appoint my council at Rome? God must punish this open and shameless lying." They read on the commission, *Plenitudine protestatis* (in full protest) supplying all manner of defects in law or process, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation. Upon excommunication, they were to deliver him up to the secular power, without any appeal.

When the commission was read, they proceeded to his degradation. They first clothed and disguised him, putting a surplice on him, and then an albe; after that the vestment of a subdeacon, and every other furnishing, as a priest ready for mass.

When they had apparelled him so far, he said, "What, I think I will say mass."

"Yes," said Cosins, one of Bonner's chaplains, "My lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this."

"Do you?" He said, "That you will never see, nor will I ever do it."

Then they invested him with all manner of robes used by a bishop and archbishop at their installation, except that because everything then is most rich and costly, so everything on this occasion was canvas and old cloth, with a miter and a pall of the same kind put on him in mockery; and then the crosier-staff was put in his hand.

This being done in the pope's pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who for many years had borne, it seemed, no great good will towards Cranmer, and now rejoicing to see this day in

which he might triumph over him and take his pleasure at full, began to use all his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly in this manner:

> "This is the man who has ever despised the pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who has pulled down so many churches, and now has come to be judged in a church. This is the man who contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now has come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man who, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now has come before an altar to be judged himself."

After all this mockery was finished, they began to degrade him. They first proceeded to take his crosier staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver. Imitating the example of Martin Luther, he pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he delivered to them there and then, saying, 'I appeal to the next general council. And in this I have comprehended my cause and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted.' He asked diverse standers-by, by name, to be witnesses of it.

This appeal being put up to the bishop of Ely, he said, "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, without any appeal, and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," Cranmer said, "then you do me even more wrong. For my case is not like every private man's case. The matter is between the pope and me, and none other. And I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause."

"Well," replied Ely, "if it may be admitted it will," and so he received it from him. And then Ely began to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider Cranmer's state, and to weigh it well while there was time, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him. And so he protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on. The archbishop gently replied, he was very well content. And so they proceeded to his degradation. The perfect form of it, with all the rites and ceremonies, was taken out of the pope's pontifical.

When they came to take off his pall (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop) Cranmer said, "Which of you has a pall, to take off my pall?" This imported as much as that being his inferiors, they could not degrade him. One of them said that, as they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges. But being the pope's delegates, they might take his pall. And so immediately they took everything from him. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, in which bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other bishop was soft and gentle. Last of all, they stripped him out of his gown to his jacket, and put a poor yeoman beadle's gown upon him, both bare and slovenly made as one could see, and a towns-man's cap on his head. And so they delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, lord Bonner spoke, "Now you are no lord any longer." And so, whenever Bonner spoke to the people of Cranmer, he used this term, "This gentleman here, etc." Thus attired, Cranmer was conveyed to prison, exciting the compassion and pity of every beholder.

While the archbishop was in prison (where he had been kept now for almost three years), the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves about him to induce him to recant, trying by all crafty practices and allurements to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent that they might win him easily, they invited him to the dean's house of Christ's-church, in the university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and

besides all this, they secretly suborned men who, when they could not refute him by arguments and disputation, would by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recant — perceiving otherwise what a great wound they would receive if the archbishop stood steadfast in his profession. And again, on the other side, they perceived how great a profit they would get if Cranmer, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. Because of this, the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating, promising, and all other means.

First, they set forth how acceptable that would be, both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him and for his soul's health. They added, moreover, how the council and the noblemen bore him good will.

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They put him in hope that he would not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying it was but a small matter, and what they required him to do was so easy: only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand. If he did that, there would be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity. Or else, if he would rather live a private life in retirement, in whatever place he desired, without any public ministry, he only need set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper. But if he refused, there was no hope of pardon; for the queen was so purposed, that she would either have Cranmer a catholic, or else have no Cranmer at all. Therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames now ready to be kindled, than to prolong his life with much honor until the course of nature called him, for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he should look to his wealth, his estimation, and quietness, saying that he was not so old, but that many years might yet remain to him in this life. If he would not do it in respect of the queen, he might do it for his own sake, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health, than he was himself. They said that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues which, being joined with his life, would be profitable both to himself and to many others. But being extinct by death would be fruitful to no man. He should take good heed that he not go too far; there was yet time enough safely to restore all things, and nothing was wanting if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they exhorted him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he refused it now while offered, he might hereafter seek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire for life did nothing to move him, he should remember that to die is grievous at all times. But especially in these years of his, in the flower of dignity, it would be more grievous. But to die in the fire and such torments, is most grievous of all. With these and like persuasions, these fair flatterers did not cease to solicit and urge him, using all means they could, to draw him to their side. His manly constancy resisted their force a great while. But at last, when they made no end of calling and enticing him, the archbishop being overcome — whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell — at length he put his hand to his recantation. The following is a copy of it:

> "I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation. And of this church I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, to whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Savior Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

"And in the other six sacraments also (just as in this) I believe and hold as the universal church holds, and the church of Rome judges and determines.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed are punished for a time, for whom the church godly and wholesomely prays, just as it honors saints and makes prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess that I do not believe otherwise than the catholic church and church of Rome holds and teaches. I am sorry that I ever held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will grant to forgive me whatever I have offended against God or his church, and I also desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

"And all those who have been deceived either by my example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, just as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head of it, so I submit myself to the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of this realm of England, etc. and to all other of their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favor or fear of any person, but willingly and of my own mind, to the discharge of my own conscience, as well as to the instruction of others."

This recantation of the archbishop was no sooner written, than the doctors and prelates without delay had it printed and sent abroad into all men's hands. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly. But she would not relent of her purpose to put him to death.

Cranmer was now in a miserable state. Inwardly, he had no quietness in his own conscience; and outwardly he had no help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger. So that, he could neither die honestly, nor yet live dishonestly. And where he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit; so that he could neither avoid secret shame with good men, nor could he avoid the note of dissimulation with evil men.

In the meantime, the queen, taking secret counsel as to how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way, appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly commanded him that against the 21st of March, he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Thame, and the Lord Chaudois, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices. They were commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death raise any tumult there.

Cole, charged by the queen's commandment, returned to Oxford. As the day of execution drew near, even the day before, he came into the prison to Cranmer, to see whether he abode in the catholic faith in which before he had left him. When Cranmer answered him, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith, Cole departed for that time. On the next day he repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death, that he was prepared. And therefore in the morning, which was the 21st day of

March appointed for Cranmer's execution, Cole came to him asking if he had any money. When he answered that he had none, Cole delivered to him fifteen crowns to give to the poor, to whom he would. After exhorting him as much as he could to constancy in faith, he departed.

By this, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about to do. Then because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights who were looked for had not yet come, the Spanish friar came to him, a witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles which Cranmer should only profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him to write the document and the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name. When Cranmer had done this, the friar desired him to write another copy which would remain with him, and that he did also. The archbishop, however, not being ignorant of what their secret devices tended to, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he secretly put in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation written on another paper. He minded to recite it to the people before he would make his last profession of his faith. He feared that if they heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have allowed him to exhort the people.

[904]

Soon after nine o'clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Browne, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen who were sent by the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train. There was also a great concourse of people of both parties, filled with great expectation. For first of all, those who were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something from Cranmer that would establish their opinion. The other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet believe that the one who by continual study and labor for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his religion. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for that which he was gathered there to hear and behold.

Cranmer at length, because it was a foul and rainy day, was brought from prison to St. Mary's church, the chief church in the university, in this order. The mayor went before, next to him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer, placed between two friars, who saying to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door. There they began the song of Simeon; and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, and left him there. A stage was set over against the pulpit where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole was ready with his sermon.

The lamentable case of this man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes who beheld him. He that of late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy counsellor, now being in a bare and ragged gown, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, admonished men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own liability, to see such a prelate, so grave a councilor, and of so long continued honor, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and to end his life in so painful a death; and also to descend from such showy and costly ornaments, to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had stood a good while upon the stage, turning to a pillar adjoining nearby, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed to God once or twice, till at length Doctor Cole coming into the pulpit, began his sermon.

It would be too long to detail this sermon, which concluded with a reference to Cranmer's recantation. He glorified God much in it, because it appeared to be only God's work, declaring what conference had been held with him to convert him, and all did not prevail till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing about this place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, so that all the time he flowed in riches and honor, Cranmer was unworthy of his life. And now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labor, he said, and also promised in the name of all the priests who were present, that immediately after Cranmer's death there should be dirges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succor of his soul.

With what great grief of mind Cranmer stood all the time hearing this sermon, the outward motions of his body and countenance better expressed than any man can declare — at one time lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image of perfect sorrow lively expressed in him. More than twenty distinct times the tears flowed abundantly, dropping down from his fatherly face. Those who were present testified that they never saw in any child more tears than burst out from him at that time, during the whole sermon; but especially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, who beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of such reverend dignity.

Cole, after he ended his sermon, called back the people who were ready to depart to prayers. "Brethren," he said, "lest any man doubt this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you will hear him speak before you. And therefore I pray you. Master Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, so that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed."

"I will do it," said the archbishop, "and do it with a good will." By and by, rising up and putting off his cap, he began to speak thus to the people:

> "I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins which I have committed above all men, both in number and greatness. But among all the rest, there is one offense which most of all at this time vexes and troubles me, of which in the process of my talk you will hear more in its proper place."

And then putting his hand into his bosom, he drew out his prayer, and added,

> "Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offenses, which are without number, and great above measure. Yet one thing grieves my conscience more than all the rest, of which, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But however great and many my sins are, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all."

And here kneeling down, he said:

> "O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Spirit, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched and miserable sinner. I have offended both

against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Where then may I go, or where shall I flee? I may be ashamed to lift up my eyes to heaven, and on earth I find no place of refuge or succor. To you, therefore, O Lord, I run. To you I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins are great, yet have mercy upon me for your great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offenses. You did not give your Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner returns to you with his whole heart, as I do here at this present time. Therefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for your great mercy. I crave nothing for my own merits, but for your name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for your dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be your name, etc."

And then rising, he said;

"Every man, good people, desires at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember it before their own death, and be the better by it. So I beseech God to grant me grace, that I may say something at this my departing, by which God may be glorified, and you be edified.

"First, it is a cause of much grief to see that so many folk dote so much upon the love of this false world, and are so careful for it, while they seem to care very little or nothing for the love of God, or the world to come. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: 'That you do not set your minds overmuch upon this deceiving world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson means which St. John teaches, That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

[905] A.D. 1556.

"The second exhortation is that, 'next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them alone, but much more for the fear of God — knowing that they are God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And therefore whoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God.'

"The third exhortation is that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alas! It is a pity to see what contention and hatred one Christian man bears to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and practice well this one lesson: 'To do good to all men, as much as it lies in you, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister.' For this you may be sure of, that whoever hates any person, and goes about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without any doubt, God is not with that man, even if he thinks himself ever so much in God's favor.

"The fourth exhortation will be to those who have great substance and riches of this world, that they well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture.

One is of our Savior Christ himself, who says, 'How hard it is for those who have riches to enter into the kingdom of God!' (Luk 18.24) A hard saying, and yet spoken by Him who knows the truth.

"The second is from St. John, who says, 'But whoever has this world's goods, and sees his brother in need, and shuts off his compassion from him, how does the love of God dwell in him?' 1Joh 3.17.

"The third is from St. James, who speaks to the covetous rich men in this manner, 'Come now, you rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that will come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the

rust of them will be a witness against you, and will eat your flesh as if it were fire. You have heaped treasure together for the last days.' (Jas 5.1-3)

Let those who are rich ponder well these three sentences. For if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

"And now, I have come to the last end of my life, upon which hangs all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ forever in joy, or else to be in pain forever with wicked devils in hell. I see before my eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up. I will therefore declare to you my very faith, how I believe, without any color of dissimulation. For now is no time to dissemble, whatever I have said or written in times past.

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, etc. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word, and sentence taught by our Savior Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the new and old testament.

"And now I come to the great thing which so much troubles my conscience, more than anything I ever did or said in my whole life. And that is setting abroad a writing contrary to the truth, which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if possible. That is, I renounce all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, in which I have written many untrue things. And because my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished for it. For when I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester. This book teaches so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it will stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine will be ashamed to show her face."

Here all the bystanders were astonished, marvelled, amazed, and looked one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Briefly, it was a victory to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more strikingly or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted that they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph, by Cranmer's recantation.

As soon, therefore, as the popish party heard these things, they began to rage, fret, and fume. And so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief. For now they could no longer threaten or hurt him. The most miserable man in the world can die but once. And whereas of necessity he must die that day, though the papists had been ever so well pleased, now being ever so much offended by him, he could not be killed twice. And so when they could do nothing else, lest they say nothing, they did not cease to object to him his falsehood and dissimulation.

To this accusation, he answered, "Ah, my masters, do not take it so. Always since I lived up to now, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity. And never before the time of my recantation have I dissembled." In saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, and especially Cole cried out upon him, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. “What madness,” they said, “has brought you back into this error by which you will draw innumerable souls with you into hell?” To them he answered nothing, but he directed all his talk to the people. He spoke to someone troubling him on the way, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply to his book diligently, saying that if he diligently called upon God, by reading more he would get knowledge.

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, he kneeled down and prayed to God. But he did not tarry long in his prayers, for he put off his garments to his shirt, and prepared himself for death. His shirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare; and his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that not one hair could be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends, and of his enemies.

Then an iron chain was tied about Cranmer. And when they perceived him to be more steadfast than to be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set to him.

When the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable, that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body so abided the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes were lifted up to heaven, and oftentimes he repeated “this unworthy right hand;” so long as his voice would allow him. And often using the words of Stephen, ‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,’ in the greatness of the flame, he gave up the ghost.

This was the end of this learned archbishop whom, lest by subscribing to evil he might have perished, but by well recanting, God preserved him. And lest he might have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of His name, and the profit of His church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying with it the testimony and blood of such a martyr, and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offenses in this world — not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert (p. 564) and Master Allen (p. 813), or if there were any others, with whose burning and blood his hands had been polluted. But especially he had to rejoice that dying in such a cause, he was numbered among Christ’s martyrs.

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Archbishop Cranmer’s Letter to the Queen’s Highness.

> “It may please your majesty to pardon my presumption that I dare be so bold to write to your highness. But very necessity constrains me, that your majesty may know my mind by my own writing, rather than by other men’s reports. So it is that upon Wednesday, being the 12th of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome on the eightieth day after, there to answer such matters as would be objected against me on behalf of the king and your most excellent majesty. The Thursday following, these matters were objected against me by Doctor Martin and Doctor Story, your majesty s proctors before the bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome. But alas! It cannot but grieve the heart of a natural subject, to be accused by the king and queen of his own realm, and especially before a foreign judge, or by authority coming from any person outside of this realm, where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, will complain and require justice at a stranger’s hands

against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. It is as though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms, against their own subjects, but they must seek it at a stranger's hands in a strange land. The like of which, I think, was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries: and, I think, that death will not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious sovereign lord and lady, to whom, under God I owe all obedience, to be my accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and foreign power. But because in the time of the prince of most famous memory, King Henry VIII, your grace's father, I was sworn never to consent to the bishop of Rome having or exercising any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England, therefore, lest I allow his authority contrary to my own oath, I refused to answer the bishop of Gloucester sitting here in judgment by the pope s authority, lest I run into perjury.

"Another reason why I refused the pope's authority is this: that his authority, as he claims it, is repugnant to the imperial crown of this realm, and to its laws, which every true subject is bound to defend. First, because the pope says that all manner of power, temporal as well as spiritual, is given first to him by God; and that he gives the temporal power to emperors and kings, to use it under him, such that it is always at his beck and command. [109]

"But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and temporal jurisdiction of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under Him alone, and is subject to none but God alone.

"Moreover, the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, are sworn to obey the imperial laws and customs of this realm, which the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary to this, the pope by his authority makes void, and commands to blot out of our books, all laws and customs that are repugnant to his laws, and he declares accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such laws or customs. This appears by many of the pope's laws, one or two of which I will recite. In the decrees, Dist. 10, is written thus, 'The constitutions or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome or their good customs, are of no effect.' Also, 'We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, whatever name they are called by, and their fathers, and preceptors, and defenders; and also those who will hereafter cause to be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, unless they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after their publication. Also we excommunicate the statute makers and writers of those statutes, and all the potentates, consuls, governors and counsellors of places where such statutes and customs are made or kept; and also those who will presume to give judgment according to them, or will notify in public form, the matter so adjudged.'

"Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority which he claims by God, is lawful, then all your grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, are naught, and your majesty, as well as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed among heretics, which God forbid! And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope has such power as he claims), until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) are taken away, and blotted out of the law books. And even though there are many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, I named but a few, so as to convict a cleric before any temporal judge of this realm, for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime. These clerics, by the pope's laws, are so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be sued nowhere except before their ordinary.

[109] To be completely subservient to someone, ready to do whatever they ask at any time.

"Also the pope, by his laws, may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual; which, by the laws of this realm, can be given only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

"By the pope s laws, the rights of the patron shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge; but by the laws of the realm, it shall be sued before the temporal judge.

"To be brief, the laws of this realm agree with the pope's laws like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *praemunire*; so that if any man has hindered the execution of the laws of this realm, by any authority from the See of Rome, he falls into *praemunire*. [110]

"But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whoever hinders the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, stands accursed by the pope's power. So that the popes power treads all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all who execute them, until such time as they give way to his laws.

"But it may be said that notwithstanding all the pope's decrees, we still execute the laws and customs of this realm. But not all quietly without any interruption from the pope. And where we do execute them, we do it unjustly if the pope's power is of force; and for doing that, we stand excommunicated, and will be until we abandon the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we are well-reconciled to Rome, by allowing such authority whereby the realm stands accursed before God, if the pope has any such authority.

"These things, I suppose, were not fully revealed in the parliament house when the pope's authority was received again within this realm. For if they had been, I do not believe that either the king or queen's majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial to the crown as well as to the laws and customs and state of this realm, as by which they must acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could reveal this matter well but the clergy, and such of them who had read the pope's laws by which the pope had made himself a god, as it were. These seek to maintain the pope, whom they desire to have as their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and with which the crown may not meddle. And so, being exempted from the laws of the realm, they might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear from any man, so long as they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration, I suppose, some who knew the truth held their peace in the parliament. Whereas, if they had done their duty to the crown and the whole realm, they would have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and shown the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm.

"And if I were to agree to allow such authority within this realm, by which I must confess that your most gracious highness, and also your realm would ever continue accursed until you cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm, then I could not think myself true either to your highness, or to this my natural country, knowing what I know.

[907] A.D. 1556.

"Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men; but whoever knows how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which the Pope claims everywhere, is to the crown, laws, and customs of this realm, and yet would allow the same, I cannot see in any way how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and state of this realm.

[110] *Praemunire*: the offense of asserting or maintaining papal jurisdiction in England.

"Another reason I alleged why I could not allow the authority of the pope is this: That by his authority he subverts not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God. So that whoever is under his authority, he does not allow them to be purely under Christ's religion, as Christ commanded. For one example, I brought forth that by God's laws all Christian people are bound diligently to learn His word, so that they may know how to believe, and how to live accordingly. For that purpose He ordained holidays, when putting aside all other business, they should give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore, God's will and commandment is that when the people are gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people may understand and profit from, or else hold their peace. For like a harp or lute, if it gives no certain sound that men may know what tune is struck, who can dance accordingly? For all the sound is in vain. So too it is in vain, and it profits nothing, says Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speaks to the people in a language which they do not know. 'Though he may edify himself, he does not edify the people.' But in this I was answered thus: that St. Paul spoke only of preaching — that the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people knew, or else his preaching avails nothing. Yet if preaching avails nothing, being spoken in a language which the people do not understand, then how would any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? St. Paul did not mean only preaching, as it appears plainly by his own words. For he expressly speaks of praying, singing, and thanking God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, to which the people say Amen. This they do not use in preaching, but in other divine service.

"So that, whether the priests recite the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God to mankind above all other creatures, or they give thanks to God, or make open profession of their faith, or a humble confession of their sins with an earnest request for mercy and forgiveness, or make suit or request to God for anything — then all the people, understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say Amen. That is to say, they might admit what the priests say, so that the reciting of God's universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and of the people, might ascend up into the ears of God altogether, and be like a sweet savor, aroma, and incense before Him; and thus it was used many hundreds of years after Christ's ascension. But the aforesaid things cannot be done when the priests speak to the people in an unknown language, and so they (or their cleric in their name) may say Amen, but they cannot tell to what. Whereas St. Paul says, how can the people say Amen, to your giving of thanks, seeing that they do not understand what you say? And thus St. Paul was understood by all interpreters, both Greek and Latin, old and new, school authors and others that I have read, until about thirty years past. At that time Eckius, with others of his sort (see p. 432), began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul to speak of preaching only.

"But when a goodly number of the best learned men reputed in this realm — some favoring the old learning, some the new, as they term it (where indeed what they call the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old) — but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy (not one saying contrary) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that St. Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of Corinthians, was to be so understood.

"And so St. Paul is to be understood in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinian, a most godly emperor in a synod, writes in this manner:

> 'We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation and prayer used in holy baptism, not in a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, so that they may be plainly heard by the faithful people, so as the hearers' minds may be lifted up thereby with

greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For St. Paul teaches also in the first epistle to the Corinthians, 14.16-17, "Otherwise, when you bless with the spirit, how will the one who occupies the place of the unlearned say Amen at your giving of thanks, seeing that he does not understand what you say? For you truly give thanks well, but the other is not edified."'

And not only the civil law, but all other writers for more than 1500 years, have expounded St. Paul as not speaking of preaching only, but of other service said in the church. Also reason testifies the same, that if men are commanded to hear anything, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand, or else (as St. Paul says) what does it avail to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church will hear they know not what, and answer they know not what to, takes it upon himself to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

"And again I said, whereas our Savior Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received by all Christian people under the forms of bread and wine, and said of the cup, 'Drink you all of it:' the pope gives quite a contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation — as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ did not pertain to laymen. Whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whose work St. Jerome translated about 1100 years past) says that, 'If Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them.' Yet the pope denies the cup of Christ to Christian people for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I obey the pope in these things, I must disobey my Savior Christ.

"But I was answered (as the papists commonly answer) that the whole of Christ's flesh and blood is contained under the form of bread. So that whoever receives the form of bread, receives Christ's blood as well as his flesh. Let it be so; yet in the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drank, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but it is eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the pope keeps from all lay persons, the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commands to be given to them.

"And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone. So that the lay people do not receive the whole sacrament by which Christ's death is represented, as he commanded.

"Moreover, as the pope takes it upon himself to give the temporal sword to kings and princes by his royal and imperial power, so he likewise takes it upon himself to depose them from their imperial states if they are disobedient to him. And he commands the subjects to disobey their princes, absolving the subjects of their obedience, as well as of their lawful oaths made to their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commands all subjects to obey their, kings, or their rulers under them.

"One John, patriarch of Constantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. St. Gregory writes to him, that in this he did injury to his three brethren who were equal with him; that is to say, the bishop of Rome, of Alexandria, and of Antioch, which were patriarchal sees, as well as Constantinople, and they were brethren to one another.

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"But," says St. Gregory, "if anyone exalts himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, he surpasses in pride. And now the bishop of Rome exalts himself not only above all kings and emperors, and above the whole world, but he takes it upon himself to give and take away, to

set up and pull down, as he thinks good. And just as the devil, having no such authority, yet took it upon himself to give to Christ all the kingdoms of the world if he would fall down and worship him, in like manner the pope takes it upon himself to give empires and kingdoms, which are none of his, to those who will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

"And moreover, his lawyers and followers so flatter him, that they pretend he may command emperors and kings to hold his stirrup when he alights from his horse, and to be his footmen. And that if any emperors or kings give him anything, they give him nothing but what is his own. And that he may dispense against God's word, against both the old and new testament, against St. Paul's epistles, and against the gospel. And furthermore, whatever he does, even if he draws innumerable people with him into hell, yet mortal man may not reprove him, because he being judge of all men, he may be judged by no man. And thus he sits in the temple of God, as if he were a god, and names himself God's vicar; and yet he dispenses against God. If this is not to play antichrist's part, I cannot tell what is antichrist — which is to say, he is Christ's enemy and adversary, who sits in the temple of God, advancing himself above all others, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion, he subverts the true religion of Christ; and under the presence and color of Christ's religion, he works against Christ. And therefore he has the name of *antichrist*. Now, if any man lifts himself higher than the pope has done, who lifts himself above the whole world; or can be a greater adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's laws; and where Christ has given any commandment, to directly command the contrary — that man must be taken for antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find antichrist.

"Therefore, seeing that the pope thus overthrows both God's laws and man's laws, and takes it upon himself to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects to him — especially the crown of this realm, with its laws and customs — I see no means how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to my oath, my obedience to God's laws, my allegiance and duty to your majesty, and my love and affection for this realm.

"What I have spoken against the power and authority of the pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) out of any malice I owe to the pope's person, whom I do not know, but I will pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote God's honor and glory, and not follow the footsteps of his predecessors in these latter days.

"Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble. But I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England, and most especially to discharge my conscience in uttering the truth, to God's glory — casting away all fear, by the comfort which I have in Christ, who says, 'Do not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.' Whoever for fear of losing this life will forsake the truth, will lose everlasting life. And whoever for the truth's sake will spend his life, will find everlasting life. Christ promises to stand fast with them before his Father, who will stand fast with him here. This comfort is so great, that whoever has his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly value this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

"And as regards the sacrament, I said that because the whole matter stands in the understanding of these words of Christ: 'This is my body, this is my blood,' I said that Christ in these words made a demonstration of the bread and wine, and spoke figuratively in calling bread his body, and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And where the papists say contrary to me in those two points, that Christ did not call bread his body, but an uncertain substance, nor did he speak figuratively, in this I said I would be judged by the old church; and whichever doctrine could be proved the elder, I would stand to it. Since I alleged in my book many old authors, both Greek and Latin, who

continually taught as I do for over a thousand years after Christ, I said that if they could bring out even one old author who says in these two points as they say — I offered this six or seven years ago, and still offer it — I will give way to them.

"But when I bring out any author who says in most plain terms as I do, the other part says that the author did not mean so; as if to say that the author spoke one thing, and meant clean contrary. On the other part, when they cannot find any author who says in words as they say, they say that the author *meant* as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose in this, I refer to the judgment of all impartial hearers. Indeed, the old church of Rome, for over a thousand years, neither believed nor used the sacrament as the church of Rome has done in recent years.

"For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of transubstantiation, with that doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament, contrary to what Christ commanded, and to what the old church of Rome used for over a thousand years. Yet to deface the old, they say that the new *is* the old. In this, for my part, I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so absurd and uncomfortable, I marvel that any man would allow it if he knew what it is. But however they hold the people in hand, what they write in their books has neither truth nor comfort in it.

"For by their doctrine, two bodies are made from one body of Christ; one is natural, having distinct members, with the form and proportion of a man's perfect body; and this body is in heaven. But the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must be a monstrous body, having neither distinct members, nor the form, fashion or proportion of a man's natural body. They teach that such a body is in the sacrament, and goes into the mouth in the form of bread, and enters no further than the form of bread goes, and stays no longer than the form of bread has been digested by natural heat. So that, when the form of bread is digested, the body of Christ is gone. And because evil men are as long in digesting food as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) enters as far, and stays as long in wicked men, as in godly men. What comfort can there be in this to any Christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and have it enter no farther than the stomach, and to depart as soon as the bread is consumed?

"It seems to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ has but one body, and that body has the form and fashion of a man's true body. That body *spiritually* enters into the whole man, body and soul. And even though the sacrament is consumed, yet the whole Christ remains, and feeds the receiver unto eternal life if he continues in godliness, and never departs until the receiver forsakes Him. As for the wicked, they do not have Christ within them at all, for he cannot be where Belial is. This is my faith, and it seems to me a sound doctrine according to God's word, and it is sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. If it can be shown to me, that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things mentioned before, or that my doctrine in the sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be shown), then I never was nor will I be so perverse as to stand willfully in my own opinion; but I will with all humility submit myself to the pope, and willingly kiss his feet.

[909] A.D. 1556.

"Another reason why I refused to accept the bishop of Gloucester as my judge, was on account of his being perjured more than once. First, for being sworn various times to never consent to the bishop of Rome having any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors as supreme heads of this realm, as they are by God's laws. Then, contrary to that lawful oath, the said bishop sat in judgment by authority from Rome, in which he perjured himself, and was not worthy to sit as a judge.

"The second perjury was that he took his bishopric both from the queen's majesty, and from the pope, making a solemn oath to each of them. These oaths are so contrary that the one must be perjured. Furthermore, in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declared himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm, by which he declares himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to accept him as my judge."

Martyrs of Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk

An Account of Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield.

In the history of Robert Samuel (p. 811), mention was made of two godly women of Ipswich, in Suffolk, who suffered likewise, and obtained the crown of martyrdom; namely, Agnes Potten, and the wife of one Trunchfield, a shoemaker. They suffered in Ipswich at about the time that Cranmer was burned at Oxford.

Their opinion was that the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion: for (they said) Jesus Christ has ascended into heaven, and is at the right hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and is not in the sacrament.

For this they were burned. Their constancy in suffering was greatly wondered at. Though but women, they so manfully stood to the confession of God's word, that when they had prepared and undressed themselves for the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earnestly required the people to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions, despising the ordinances and institutions of the Romish antichrist, with all his superstitions and false religion. And while in the midst of the fire, they held up their hands, and called to God constantly, so long as life endured.

An Account of John Maundrel, John Spicer, and William Coberley.

After these two women of Ipswich, three men succeeded them, who were burnt in the same month, at one fire, in Salisbury. They did not spare their bodies, to bring their souls to the celestial felicity of which they were thoroughly assured in Christ Jesus, by his promises, as soon as the furious flames of fire had put their body and souls asunder. Their names were, John Spicer, William Coberley, and John Maundrel.

John Maundrel was from his childhood brought up in husbandry. After he came to man's estate, he dwelt in Buchampton, in the parish of Kevil, in Wiltshire, where he had a wife and children, of good name and fame. After the Scripture was translated into English by William Tyndale, he became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion; so that he delighted in nothing so much as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. When he came into any company who could read, his book was always ready. He had a very good memory, so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament. His conversation and living also were honest and charitable.

In the days of King Henry VIII, when Doctor Trigonion and Doctor Lee visited the abbeys, John Maundrel was brought before Doctor Trigonion at an abbey called Edington, where he was accused of having spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such ceremonies. And for this was obliged to wear a white sheet around the market, bearing a candle in his hand, in the town of Devizes. [111]

[111] Edington priory is 3 miles east of Westbury in Wiltshire (southwest England). Devizes is about 10 miles from Westbury, 80 miles west of London, 50 miles east of Cardiff (Wales).

In the days of Queen Mary, when popery was restored, and God's true religion was put to silence, John Maundrel left his house, and departed into Gloucestershire, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another, to those men he knew feared God. But after a time, he returned to his county. Coming to Anthony Clee, he conferenced with him about returning home. When the other exhorted him by the words of Scripture, to flee from one city to another, he replied again by the words in the 21st chapter of the book of Revelation, of those who are "fearful," etc. He said that he must go home, and so he did. That is where he, with Spicer and Coberley, used to resort and confer together at times.

At length, on the Sunday these men agreed to go to the parish church called Kevil, where seeing the parishioners in the procession follow and worship the idol, they advised them to turn to the living God. After this, the vicar came into the pulpit. Being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory, John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said that that was the pope's pinfold,[112] the other two affirming the same. After this, by command of the priest, they were taken to the stocks, where they remained till the service was done. Then they were brought before a justice of peace, and the next day were carried to Salisbury, and presented before bishop Capon, and W. Jeffrey, chancellor of the diocese. They were imprisoned by him, and often examined about their faith.

They answered that they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy Scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow; so he opposed them in particular articles: first, whether they believed that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary. They answered, saying that, "The popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ; but confessing that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly administered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood is spiritually received by the faithful believer."

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth, they answered that the bishop of Rome usurps over emperors and kings, being antichrist and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, "Would you have the church without a head?"

They answered, "Christ was head of his church, and under Christ the queen's majesty." "What," said the chancellor, "a woman head of the church!" "Yes," they said, "within her grace's dominions."

Also, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardons, and the suffrages of the church.

They said they, "believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of those who were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they did not fear the pope's purgatory, nor esteem his pardons."

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed to and worshipped.

[112] *Pinfold*: a pen where stray animals are confined.

John Maundrel answered that, “wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but were bad in the church; whereby idolatry was committed.”

Those articles thus answered, the chancellor read their condemnation, and so he delivered them to the sheriff. Then John Spicer spoke, saying, “Oh, master Sheriff! Now you must be their butcher, that you may also be guilty with them of innocent blood before the Lord.” This was the 23rd of March A.D. 1556. On the 24th of March they were carried out of the common jail to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where two posts were set for them to be burnt at. On coming to the place, they kneeled down, and offered their prayers privately together, and then being undressed to their shirts, John Maundrel spoke with a loud voice, “Not for all Salisbury;” which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, who offered him the queen’s pardon if he would recant.

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After that, in like manner, John Spicer spoke, saying, “This is the most joyful day that I ever saw.” Thus these three godly men were burnt at two stakes, where they most constantly gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for testimony of his truth.

As to William Coberley, this is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was detained in the keeper’s house while her husband was in prison. There the keeper’s wife, named Agnes Pcnicote, had secretly heated a key in the fire, and laid it in the grass. She then requested Alice Coberley to fetch her the key in all haste. So Alice went, and taking up the key in haste severely burned her hand; and when she cried out at the sudden burning of her hand, the other said, “Ah, you dullard! You who cannot abide the burning of the key, how will you be able to abide burning your whole body?” And so Alice afterwards recanted. But to return again to the story of Coberley, who at the stake was somewhat long in burning — after his body was scorched, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, so that the flesh was burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the chain, and with his right hand, he knocked upon his breast softly, the blood and matter issuing out of his mouth.

Six Martyrs of Essex Burned at Smithfield

About the 23rd of April (A.D. 1556), six constant martyrs of Christ were burned in Smithfield at one fire. They suffered for the profession of the gospel; namely, Robert Drakes, minister; William Tyms, curate; Richard Spurge, sheerman; Thomas Spurge, fuller; John Cavel, weaver; and George Ambrose, fuller.

They were all of Essex, and consequently of the diocese of London, and were sent up, some by the lord Rich and others, to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was then lord chancellor of England, about the 22nd of March A.D. 1556. After examination, he sent some of them to the King’s-bench, and others to the Marshalsea, where they remained almost the whole year, until the death of the bishop of Winchester. After Doctor Heath, archbishop of York, was chosen to the office of lord chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, now being weary of their long imprisonment, made a supplication to Doctor Heath for their deliverance, the copy of which is as follows:

To the right reverend Father Thomas, archbishop of York,
Lord Chancellor of England.

> “May it please your honorable good lordship, for the love of God, to tender the humble suit of your lordship’s poor petitioners whose names are subscribed, who have lain in great misery in the Marshalsea, often for months and more, at the commandment of the late lord chancellor,

to their utter undoing, with their wives and children. In consideration of this, your lordship's said petitioners most humbly pray and beseech your good lordship, to allow them to be brought before your honor. And there, if any man of good conscience can lay anything to our charge, we trust either to declare our innocence against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true, and we faulty, we are ready to satisfy the law (God helping us) with our deserved punishments, according to your wise judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy towards us and all men, according to your godly office, in which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of God, Amen."

Upon receipt of this petition. Sir Richard Read, knight, on the 16th of Jan., was sent to the Marshalsea to examine the four prisoners. And therefore, beginning with Richard Spurge, he received his answers. The effect of these was, that he with others were complained about by the parson of Bocking to the lord Rich, for not coming to their parish church of Bocking, where they resided. And for this they were sent to the late lord chancellor. And further, he said that he did not come to the church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin, because he disliked both it and the mass also, as not consonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Thomas Spurge being next examined, gave the same answer, in effect, that the other had done. He confessed that he absented himself from the church because the word of God was not truly taught there, nor were the sacraments of Christ duly administered in such a way as was prescribed by the same word. And being further examined about his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he said that, if any could accuse him in it, he would answer as God had given him knowledge.

George Ambrose gave the same answer, adding that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, entitled, "*De vera obedientia*" (Of True Obedience), with Bonner's preface, inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he was much less influenced by their doings than before.

John Cavel answered that the reason why he forbore coming to the church was that the parson there had preached two contrary doctrines. For first, in a sermon that he gave at the queen's first entry to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, for it was the truth; and if they did not believe it, they would be damned. But in a second sermon, he preached that the testament was false in forty places. This contrariety was one reason among others, for his absenting from the church.

Robert Drakes was also examined. He was parson of Thundersley in Essex, and had remained there for three years. He was first made deacon by Doctor Taylor of Hadley, at the command of Doctor Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. Within one year after, by the archbishop and Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, he was admitted minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and presented to the benefice of Thundersley by Lord Rich. At his coming to the bishop of Winchester, he was demanded by ;the bishop whether he would conform himself to the laws of this realm then in force. To this he said he would obey all laws that stood with the laws of God — and was committed to prison.

The Examination of William Tyms

It now remains to likewise declare the examination of William Tyms, deacon and curate of Hockley in Essex. But before I come to his examination, here the order and manner of his trouble is first to be opened and laid out: how and by whom he was first apprehended in Essex, and from there sent up to London.

In Queen Mary's days, two sermons were preached at Hockley in the woods, called Plumborough-wood, and Becheswood. And there was an honest man at the sermons, called John Gye, and his wife. Shortly after it was known to Master Tyrel, who owned the woods, how his woods were polluted with sermons being preached in them, he took it very badly. Shortly after, Master Tyrel came to Hockley to sift the matter, and to know who was at the preachings. Well, many were found faulty; for it is supposed there were a hundred persons at least. So it pleased him to begin first with John Gye, and he asked him where that naughty fellow was who served their parish, one Tyms, "For it is told to me," he said, "that he is the cause of bringing these fellows into the country. Therefore I charge you, Gye, to fetch me this fellow Tyms, for you know where he is." "No," said Gye, "I do not know."

Then another of Master Tyrel's men stepped forward, whose name was Richard Sheriff. He said to his Master; "Sir, I know where he is." "Well," said Master Tyrel, "go to the constables, and charge them to bring him to me."

So this Sheriff being diligent, made sure work, and had Tyms brought before his master with the constables. When he came, Master Tyrel commanded all men to depart; and this was wisely done, for he was not able to open his mouth against Tyms. He kept him there about three hours. Some who listened, heard Master Tyrel say to Tyms:

"I think," he said, "that when I see the blessed crucifix, it makes me think of God."

"Why, Sir," said Tyms, "if an idol, that is made with man's hands, makes you remember God, then how much more should the creatures of God, such as man, being His workmanship, or the grass, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?"

[911] A.D. 1556.

Tyrel ended his talk with Tyms in a heat, it appears, for he burst out and called him a traitorly knave.

"Why, Sir," said Tyms, "in king Edward's days you affirmed the truth which I do now.'"

"Affirm!" said Tyrel, "No, by God's body, I never thought it with my heart."

"Well," said Tyms, "then I pray you, Master Tyrel, to bear with me, for I have been a traitor only a while, but you have been a traitor for six years."

After this Tyms was sent to London to the bishop; and from him to the bishop of Winchester, and so from him to the King's bench.

When Tyms came before the bishop of London, the bishop of Bath was there with him at the time, and William Tyms was examined before them both. God so mightily wrought with this true-hearted man, that he had the means to answer them both; for the constables who brought him before the bishop said that they never heard the like.

Both the bishops grew weary of him, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the bishops began to flatter him, saying, "Ah, good fellow, you are bold, and you have a good fresh spirit, we would you had learning to match your spirit." "I thank you, my lords," said Tyms, "both of you are learned, and I would that you had a good spirit to match your learning." So thus they broke up.

William Tyms was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs named above. They were brought together to public examination before Bonner, on the 21st of March, first in the bishop's palace of London, where the bishop in his accustomed manner proceeded against them. He inquired about their faith concerning the sacrament of the altar. They

answered him, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and corporeally, after the words of consecration were spoken by the priest.

On the 23rd of March, the bishop sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and objected certain articles to them. On the 26th, he sent for the other four, also ministering to them the same articles.

But in conclusion, on the 28th, William Tyms and Robert Drakes, with the others, were brought to the open consistory in St. Paul's, before Bonner, to be condemned for heresy. The bishop began in this way:

> "Tyms, I will begin with you first, for you are and have been the ringleader of these companions of yours; you have taught them heresies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and have endeavored, as much as it lies in you, to make them like yourself. If your fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have used you more charitably, and not have brought you to this open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Christ in the 18th of Matthew, have told you your fault, between me and you. If you would not hear me, I would not have left you so, but with two or three others I would have exhorted you. If that would not have served, then I would have told the church, etc. But because your fault is open and manifest to the world, and you yourself remain in your error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards you. I have therefore thought it good to proceed by another rule, of which St. Paul speaks in 1Tim 5.20. — 'Rebuke those who sin, before all, so that others also may fear.' For this cause you are brought before me in the face of this people, to receive judgment according to your deserts. Let me see what you can say, why I should not proceed against you as your ordinary."

"My lord," said Tyms, "will you now give me leave to speak?"

"Yes," said the bishop.

Then Tyms said,

> "My lord, I marvel that you would begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company. But how untruly you have spoken will shortly appear; for there is none of all these my brethren, who are brought here as prisoners, that when they were at liberty and out of prison, they dissented from you and your doings as much as they do at present. And for that cause they are now prisoners. So it is evident that they did not learn their religion in prison. And as for me, I never knew them, until by your commandment I was made a prisoner with them. How then could I be their ringleader and teacher? So that, all the world may see how untruly you have spoken. As for my fault which you make so grievous, whatever you judge about me, I am well assured that I hold no other religion than Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught. For this you have cruelly burned them, and now you seek our blood also. Proceed by whatever rule you will. I will not resist; I do not refuse you as my ordinary."

Then the bishop said,

> "I perceive that you will not be counted as their ringleader. What do you say? Will you submit yourself to the catholic church as an obedient child? In so doing you will be received, and do well enough, Otherwise you will have judgment as a heretic."

Then one of the prisoners said;

> "My lord, you are no upright judge, for you judge according to your own will. But if you will judge us according to the holy testament of Christ, which is the word of truth, we will submit

to your judgment. For we wholly submit ourselves to that word. But as for your judgment, without the truth, God shall condemn it."

The bishop was offended with this, calling him a "busy knave," and commanded him to hold his tongue, or else he would be taken away to prison.

Then Tyms answered and said,

"My lord, I do not doubt that I am of the catholic church, whatever you judge about me. But as for your church, you have renounced it before this day, and by corporeal oath promised never to consent to it. Contrary to which, you have received the pope's authority into this realm, and therefore you are falsely forsworn. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that usurped power, and now you burn men who will not acknowledge the pope to be supreme head."

"Have I?" replied the bishop, "Where have I written anything against the church of Rome?"

"My lord," said Tyms, "the bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, entitled, '*De vera obedientia*,' which contains worthy matter against the Romish authority. You wrote a preface to this book, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it."

Then the bishop was somewhat abashed. Looking at those who were present, he spoke very gently, saying;

"Look, here is a goodly matter indeed. My lord of Winchester, being a great learned man, wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and I also wrote a preface to this book, tending to the same effect. And we did this because of the perilous world that then existed. For then it was made treason, by the laws of this realm, to maintain the pope's authority, and it was great danger to be suspected as a favorer of the See of Rome. And therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there would have been no way but one. You know when anyone uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope's authority, he suffered death for it."

And then turning his tale to Tyms, he said,

"But since that time, even since the coming in of the queen's majesty, when we might be allowed to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults; and my lord of Winchester himself was not ashamed to recant at St. Paul s cross. And also, you yourself see that I do not stand in it, but have willingly submitted myself. You should also do as we have done."

Tyms said,

"My lord, what you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well proved by the Scriptures. But what you do now, is against the word of God, as I can well prove."

Then Doctor Cooke said;

"Tyms, I pray you let me talk with you a little, for I think we two are learned alike. You speak much of the Scripture, and yet you do not understand it. I will tell you to whom you may be compared.

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"You are like someone who, intending to go on hunting, rises up early in the morning, takes his hounds, and out he goes, up to the hills and down into the valleys. He passes over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he searches the woods and thickets; thus he labors the whole day, without finding any game. At night he comes home, weary of his travel, not having caught anything at all. And thus it fares with you. You labor in reading the Scriptures; you take the

letter of it, but you do not know the meaning of it. And thus your reading is as unprofitable to you as hunting was to the man I spoke of just now."

Tyms replied,

"Sir, you have not well applied your similitude; for praise God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably. But God, I thank him, has revealed to me so much as I do not doubt is sufficient for my salvation."

Then the bishop said,

"You boast much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you speak much of Scripture, and you do not know what Scripture is. I pray you tell me: How do you know that thing to be the word of God, which you call Scripture?"

To this Robert Drakes answered that he knew it to be the word of God, for "it shows to men their salvation in Christ, and it calls all men back from wicked life, to a pure and undefiled conversation."

The bishop replied that the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture; and yet their writings are not esteemed to be God's word. To this Tyms answered,

"The old testament bears witness of those things which are written in the new, for there is nothing taught in the new testament, that was not foreshown in the law and the prophets."

"I will deny all," said the bishop, "I will deny all. What do you say then?"

Then the bishop spoke to Doctor Pendleton, saying,

"Master doctor, I pray you say something to these folks that may do them some good."

Doctor Pendleton covered his face with both his hands, that he might the more quietly devise what to say, but other talk was presently ministered, so he said nothing at that time.

Then the bishop, proceeding at length in form of law, had both his articles and answers openly read. After this, the bishop began to entreat and persuade Tyms to revoke his heresies (as he termed them), and to conform himself to the church of Rome; and not to stick so much to the literal sense of the Scriptures, but to use the interpretation of the old fathers.

To this Tyms answered,

"I will not conform myself to that. And I thank God for this day; for I trust he will turn your cursings into blessings. And what do you have to maintain the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, except the bare letter?"

"We have the catholic church," said the bishop.

"No," said Tyms, "you have the popish church of Rome, and the See of Rome is the see of antichrist. And therefore I will not conform myself to that church, nor once consent to it."

Then the bishop, seeing Tyms' constant boldness, proceeded to his condemnation. He pronounced sentence upon him, and gave him over to the secular power. Afterwards Bonner called for Robert Drakes, and used the same manner of exhortation towards him.

Drakes said;

"As for your church of Rome, I utterly defy and refuse it, with all its works, even as I refuse the devil and all his works."

Then the bishop, using his accustomed order of law, at last pronounced sentence upon him, and so he charged the sheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge was next demanded if he would return to the catholic church. He said as follows:

> "As for your church of Rome, I utterly deny it. But I am content to return to the true catholic church, and continue in the same, of which I believe the church of Rome is no part or member."

Then calling the rest in their order, and receiving like answers upon like demands, the bishop pronounced on them their several judgments. And so he committed them to the sheriffs of London, who sent them to Newgate. They all went there most joyfully, abiding the Lord's good time there, till they would seal their faith with the shedding of their blood, which they most firmly and willingly performed on the 11th of April.

A Letter of William Tyms to his faithful Sister in the Lord, Parishioner in the town of Hockley, named Agnes Glascock.

> "The grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you my dear sister Glascock, both now and evermore, Amen.
>
> "My most dear and entirely beloved sister, even mother I might rightly well call you, for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he has given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same. And as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire nor sword; and then I warrant you, you do not have far to run.
>
> "And now (my dear heart), remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent; no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go next Friday to the bishop of London's coal-house, which is the 20th of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. However, I trust I will not tarry there long, but shortly afterwards be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, who have gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot. Therefore I now take my leave of you, till we meet in heaven; and hasten you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you are so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You will find me merrily singing. Holy, holy, holy. Lord God of Sabaoth, at my journey's end. Therefore now, my dear heart, make good haste, and do not loiter by the way, lest night overtake you. and so you be shut out of the gate with the foolish virgins. And now (my sister), in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood, as a testimony to you that I will seal the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well. And God defend you from antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests, Amen."

The following words were written with his own blood.

> "Continue in prayer. By me, William Tyms, in the
> "Ask in Faith. King's-bench for the
> "And obtain your desire. gospel of Christ."

Another Letter of Tyms to his Sisters,
Colfox and Agnes Glascock

"Grace and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Savior Jesus Christ, be perceived and felt in your hearts, my dearly beloved sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit the comforter, both now and evermore. Amen.

"My most dear and entirely beloved sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least bound to do, that is, I give you warning of your enemies, who are the papists; take good heed to them, for they serve a crafty master. Yes, and as St. Peter says, he does not sleep, but goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they see that you will not run to the idols' temple with them, it will seem a strange thing to them, that you do not run to the same excess of riot, as St. Peter says, and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

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"But, my dear sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to test you, and do not let it seem a strange thing to you. But when they do so, remember why it is, and for whose sake, even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God — and then it is God's cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. Therefore if you are railed on and troubled for his sake, think yourselves most happy. For if you suffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, then you will be sure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Indeed, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants have always persecuted the true members of Christ, as he himself promised that they will do till the end of the world.

"By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy martyr St. Stephen who, for favoring, maintaining and defending the same doctrine that we now suffer for, was called a blasphemer, and stoned to death at Jerusalem. And Christ's apostles were variously afflicted the whole world over for the same cause, by this evil generation. Antipas, the faithful witness of Christ, was slain at Pergamos. Jason, for receiving Paul and Silas with other disciples and teachers of the gospel, was brought before the council at Thessalonica, and accused as a seditious traitor against Caesar. It is no marvel, therefore, that at this day we are vexed in the same way, for maintaining the same cause, and favoring the teachers of it. Is there any other reward following the true servants of God now, than has been in prior times? No, surely, for so Christ has promised. And if they have persecuted him, they must persecute his members. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, so will they call his household: 'You shall be hated by all men (says Christ), for my name's sake.'

"It is no new thing, my dear hearts, to see the true members of Christ handled as they are in our days, just as it is not unknown to you how they are cruelly treated, and blasphemed without any reasonable cause. They must be taken as heretics, who will not follow their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ a heretic, for he never allowed their dirty ceremonies. He never went in a procession with a cope, cross, or candlestick. He never incensed an image, or sang Latin service. He never sat in confession. He never preached of purgatory, nor of the pope's pardons. He never honored saints, nor prayed for the dead. He never said mass, matins, nor evensong. He never commanded to fast on Friday, nor Vigil, Lent or Advent. He never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palm, candles nor bells. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like things. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calls the leaven of the Pharisees, and damnable hypocrisy; admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He curses all those who add such

beggarly shadows to his word, wiping their names out of the book of life. St. Paul says they have no portion with Christ, who entangle themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

"Therefore, my dear hearts, seeing that our good God has, by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made you free, and do not entangle yourselves again in the yoke of bondage But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ who, as St. Peter says, 'will come like a thief in the night.' And our captain Christ says, 'If the good man of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have allowed his house to be broken into.'

"Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage never so sore against you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who, according to his promise for the weakness of our nature, has so assuaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren who are gone before us, in the sight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you surely God will be as merciful unto you, as he has been unto them; and say with St. Paul, Rom 8.35-37. 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, for your sake we are killed all day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us.'

"Therefore (my dear sisters), if to save your lives, any dissembling gospellers would have you go to the idols' temple with them, say to them; No, for my master Christ says, 'whoever would save his life, will lose it.' And in another place, to comfort us he says, not one hair will fall from our head, unless it is our heavenly Father's will. And therefore, say that you will not be of that sort who are neither hot nor cold, lest God utterly reject you. But give them this answer, saying as St. Paul says in 2Cor 6.14-18 'Do not be unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion has light with darkness? And what concord has Christ with Belial? Or what part has he who believes, with an infidel? And what agreement has the temple of God with idols? For you are the temple of the living God; as God has said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Therefore come out from among them, and be separate, says the Lord, and do not touch the unclean thing; and I will receive you. And I will be a Father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty.'

"Thus, my own comfort in the Lord, as I began, so I make an end, bidding you to beware of your enemies, and take up your cross, and follow your captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by persecution. Then you will be sure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlasting kingdom, which he himself has purchased with his own most precious blood — to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honor both now and forever, Amen.

"By me, WILLIAM TYMS."

About this time, certain commissioners came down to Norfolk and Suffolk, to enquire about matters of religion. There was a supplication to these commissioners then exhibited by some good and well disposed men dwelling about those parts, well worthy the perusal of every Christian man. It follows here, showing the godly nature of the reformation wrought in king Edward's days.

A Letter of Supplication to the Commissioners

A Supplication submitted by certain Inhabitants of the County of Norfolk, to the Commissioners.

"Inmost humble and lowly wise, we beseech your honors, right honorable commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor men, and true, faithful, and obedient subjects who, as we have ever up to now, so we intend, with God's grace, to continue in Christian obedience to the end (and according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those superior powers, whom God has appointed over us, doing as St. Paul says in Rom 13,1,2, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that exist are ordained of God. Whoever therefore resists the power, resists the ordinance of God. And those who resist will receive to themselves damnation.' These lessons, right honorable commissioners, we have learned from the holy word of God, in our mother tongue.

"First, That the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for man to be governed by, and that the same is from God, the fountain and author of righteousness.

"Secondly, That to obey the same in all things that are not against God, is to obey God; and to resist them, is to resist God. Therefore, just as to obey God in his ministers and magistrates brings life; so to resist God in them, brings punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned from St. Peter, 1Pet 2.13-16, saying, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it is to the king, as supreme, or to governors, as to those who are sent by Him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of those who do well.

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"For so is the will of God, that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.'

"Therefore considering with ourselves, both that the magistrate's power is from God, and that for the Lord's sake we are bound to Christian obedience to them, having now presently a commandment, as though it were from the queen's majesty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained by God, which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her grace, and with due reverence to you her grace's commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer to this commandment now given to us.

"First, right honorable commissioners, we have considered ourselves to be not only Englishmen, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptism, to prefer God's honor in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly spirits) is due to God's word; in so far that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that does not wholly and fully agree with God's word.

"Then we have weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the previously abolished Latin service, and believe it to dissent and disagree from God's word, and to command manifest impiety, and the overthrow of godliness and true religion, and to impart a subversion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, by bringing in the Romish bishop's supremacy, with all its errors, superstitions, and idolatry, the wasting of our goods and bodies, destroying of our souls, and bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear lest the same be more fiercely kindled upon us. Therefore we humbly protest that we cannot be persuaded that the same wicked

commandment should come from the queen's majesty, but rather from some other person, abusing the queen's goodness and favor, and endeavoring to work some design against the queen, her crown, and the realm, and to please the Roman bishop, at whose hands the same person thinks to be advanced hereafter.

"As Haman wrought maliciously against the noble king, Ahasuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought against the good king Darius, so we think the queen's most gentle heart is abused by some, who seeking themselves and their own vain glory, procure commandments which are against the glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an opinion of her majesty, that she would subvert the most godly and holy religion (so according to God's word set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent king, a very saint of God, our late most dear king Edward, her grace's brother) unless she were shockingly abused. But the authors of this commandment hating reformation, will the destruction of all others, rather than acknowledge their errors and conform according to God's word. For truly, the religion lately set forth by king Edward, is such as every Christian man is bound to confess to be the truth of God, and every member of Christ's church here in England must embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth, and if need requires it, lose and forsake not only house, land and possessions, riches, wife, children and friends; but also, if God so calls them, to gladly suffer all manner of persecution, and lose their lives in the defense of God's word and truth set out among us.

"For our Savior, Christ, requires the same of us, saying, 'Whoever therefore is ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when He comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels,' Mark 8.38. And again, he says, 'Whoever therefore confesses me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven. But whoever denies me before men, I will also deny him before my Father who is in heaven,' Mat 10.32-33. 'And whoever speaks a word against the Son of man, it will be forgiven him; but whoever speaks against the Holy Ghost, it will not be forgiven him, either in this world, or in the world to come,' Mat 12.32.

"We humbly beseech the queen's majesty, and you her honorable commissioners, do not be offended with us for confessing this truth of God, so strictly given us in charge by Christ; neither bring upon us that great sin that shall never be forgiven, and will cause our Savior Jesus Christ, in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the blessed price and ransom of his blood-shedding, with which we are redeemed.

"For in that day, neither the queen's highness, neither you, nor any man will be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a pardon from Christ for this horrible sin and blasphemy of casting aside and condemning His word. We cannot agree nor consent to so horrible a sin as this. But we beseech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace to most earnestly flee from it, and rather, if the will of God is so, to suffer all extremity and punishment in this world, rather than to incur such damnation before God.

"Manasseh, who restored again the wickedness of idolatrous religion (put down before by Hezekiah his father) brought the wrath of God upon the people. As the Scripture says. 'Notwithstanding, the Lord did not turn from the fierceness of his great wrath, with which His anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him with. And the Lord said, I will also remove Judah out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and I will cast off this city Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I said, my name shall be there." — 2Kng 23.26-27. Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected a new found service of God, not only sinned himself, but also made all Israel sin with him, so that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Israel for obeying his ungodly commandment. Yet it was not so heinous an offense to bring in an idolatry that was never yet heard of, as after reformation was made by the godly kings and

princes, by the virtuous and holy bishops, by the prophets and servants of God, to reject and cast off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a damned impiety.

"This most heinous offense is now offered to us, even though it is painted and colored with the name of *reformation*, the *restoring* of religion, the *ancient faith*, with the name of *catholic church*, of *unity*, *catholic truth*, and with the cloak of *feigned* holiness. These are sheepskins, under which, as Christ says, ravening wolves cover themselves. But Christ desires us to look upon their fruits, by which we may know them. And truly, that is no good fruit, to cast aside God's word, and to banish the English service out of the churches, and in its place to bring in a Latin tongue that is unknown to the people. This, as it edifies no man, so it has been the occasion of all blindness and error among the people. For before the blessed reformation begun by the most noble prince of godly memory, the queen's good father; and finished by our late holy and innocent king, her good brother, it is not unknown what blindness and error we were all in; when not one man in all this realm who was unlearned in the Latin, could say the Lord's prayer in English, or knew any one article of his belief, or recite any one of the ten commandments. And that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of all idolatry, unclean monkery, and immorality of unmarried priests, of all vice, drunkenness, covetousness, swearing and blasphemy, with all other wicked sinful living. These brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing us with famine and pestilence. At last the sword consumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living; and it is greatly to be feared that the same or more grievous plagues will now again follow.

"We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our English tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and in its place a Latin service, we know not what (for none of us understand it) is to be brought in among us again, especially seeing that Christ has said, 'My sheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlasting life.'

[915] A.D. 1556.

"The service in English teaches us that we are the Lord's people, and the sheep of his pasture, and commands that we do not harden our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's wrath in the wilderness, lest He swore to us, as he swore to them, that they would not enter into His rest.

"The service in Latin is a confused noise; which even if it is good (as they say it is) yet to us who lack understanding, what goodness can it bring? St. Paul commands that in the churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is God's commandment. But in the Latin service nothing is done to edifying, but all is contrary, to destroy those who are already edified, and to drive us from God's word and truth, and from believing the same, and so to bring us to believe lies and fables, that by tempting and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that St. Paul speaks of, saying: 'Even him, whose coming is according to the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all unrighteous deception among those who perish, because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this reason God will send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who do not believe the truth, but took pleasure in unrighteousness.' 2The 2.9-12.

"Thus, altogether withdrawn from God, we will fall into His wrath through unbelief, till He swears to us as he did to the unfaithful Jews, that such infidels shall not enter into His rest.

"In the administration of the Lord's supper, which we confess to be the holy communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy congregation, we have learned God's holy commandments, and at the repeating of every one of them, to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them, and to ask grace from God, to keep them in time to come, that

the same may not only outwardly sound in our ears, but also inwardly be written in our hearts by the Holy Spirit.

"We have learned also the holy prayer made for the queen's majesty, in which we learn that her power and authority is from God. Therefore we pray to God for her, that she and all magistrates under her, may rule according to God's word, and we her subjects obey according to the same.

"Truly most honorable commissioners, we cannot think these things are evil, but we think them most worthy to be retained in our churches. And we should think ourselves not to have the hearts of true subjects if we were to go about to put away such godly prayers as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For as we think at present, the unquiet multitude have more need to have these things more often and earnestly inculcated upon them, specially given, as they are used in many places to stir and trouble, than to take from them that blessed doctrine by which alone they may be kept in quiet to their salvation.

"Furthermore, we cannot forsake that blessed partaking of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ's institution, administered with such godly prayers, exhortations and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Christ, breaking his body upon the cross for our sins, and shedding his most precious blood for our redemption — which in eating of that blessed bread, and drinking of the blessed cup, we assuredly believe that we receive, and are perfectly joined with Christ and his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, by which each member faithfully embraces another. We must confess this institution of Christ to be most holy and godly, from which we have the only comfort in conscience against sin and damnation, with the assurance of salvation, and from which has ensued reformation of many heinous sins; much quarrelling, strife, and contention is ended; drunkenness and other vices are reformed in some; and goodness and virtue are increased and nourished.

"In the Latin mass we never had such edifying, but we saw only a great many ceremonies and strange gestures, such as the turning of the priest, crossings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we do not understand. And concerning the Latin tongue, in which the priest prays, we do not know whether he blesses or curses us. We are not partakers of the sacrament, as Christ's institution appoints we should be.

"In the administering of the sacrament, the priests alter the institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Christ's blood, contrary to Christ's commandment, saying, 'Drink you all of this.'

"They also rob us of God's word, speaking all things in Latin, which does not edify us either in faith or manners. Christ does not command that his supper should be administered in an unknown tongue, but because faith comes by hearing, and hearing comes by God's word, how can we believe Christ's word and promise made to us in his holy sacrament, saying, 'This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins,' if the same promises of Christ either are not recited at all, or else are so recited in Latin, that the congregation does not understand, and does not hear what is spoken? St. Paul says, reciting the saying of Isaiah, 'As I live, says the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.' He also says, 'All tongues must confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father.' The Holy Spirit came upon the apostles in fiery tongues, so that they spoke the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul administered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother tongue, and rebuked bringing strange tongues into the congregation. We cannot think that to be well,

which so holy an apostle rebuked. And whatever virtue the Latin tongue has to those who understand it, to us Englishmen, not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unfit for our churches.

"The priests complain that we laymen do not love them, nor honor them, but it is their own fault. For how would we love those who only seek to keep us in blindness and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to rob and spoil our goods and substance, under a color of pretended holiness? We know, right honorable commissioners, what honor is due to such wolves, and how by the authority of God's word, they are to be fled from, as pestilences to the Lord's lambs, whom daily they miserably murder.

"But we have rather chosen by this, our meek supplication, to humbly desire the queen's majesty, and you her honorable commissioners, to again render God's word to the churches, and permit us to freely enjoy the same. For we certainly know that the whole religion lately set out by the holy saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, is Christ's true religion written in the holy Scripture of God, and taught by Christ and his apostles to his church. Therefore we cannot with safe consciences allow this refusal of it, and casting it out of our churches. For to refuse, cast off, and reject it, is to cast off Christ himself, and to refuse our part in his blessed body broken for our sins, and his blood shed for our redemption. Whoever does this thing, without repentance, can look for no sacrifice for his sins, but most fearfully wait for the judgment, and for that vehement fire which shall destroy Christ's adversaries. For if the one who despised the law of Moses was put to death without mercy under two or three witnesses, how much more grievous torments shall one suffer who treads under foot the Son of God, and esteems the blood of the testament (by which he was sanctified) as a profane thing, and contemptuously uses the spirit of grace?

"Therefore, we most humbly pray and beseech the queen's gracious majesty, to have mercy and pity upon us, her poor and faithful subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is against our consciences, and that will so incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin mass and service, so that nothing edifies us, and casting out of Christ's holy communion the English service, thus causing us to sin against our Redeemer.

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"For those who willingly and wittingly, against their consciences, do so (as it is to be feared many do) they are in a miserable state, until the mercy of God turns them. Which, if he does not, we certainly believe that they will be eternally damned. And just as in this world they deny Christ's holy word and communion before men, so shall Christ deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

"And whereas it is very earnestly required that we go in procession (as they call it), at which time the priests say things in Latin that we are ignorant of, it edifies nothing at all unto godliness. We have learned that to follow Christ's cross is another matter: namely, to take up our cross and follow Christ in patient suffering for his love, tribulations, sickness, poverty, prison, or any other adversity, whenever it is God's holy will and pleasure to lay the same upon us. The triumphant passion and death of Christ, by which in his own person he conquered death, sin, and hell, has been most stirringly preached to us, and the glory of Christ's cross declared by our preachers. We thereby learned the causes and effects of it more vividly in one sermon, than in all the processions we ever went in, or ever will go in.

"When we worshipped the divine Trinity kneeling, and invocated the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in the Litany, by asking mercy for our sins, and desiring such petitions as the need of our frail estate and this mortal Life requires, we were edified both to know to whom all Christian prayers should be directed, and also to know it is from God's hand that we receive all things to the salvation of our souls, and the relief of our mortal necessities. And so we humbly

beseech the queen's majesty, that the same most holy prayers may be continued among us — that having our ministers praying in our mother-tongue, and we understanding their prayers and petitions, may answer Amen to them. At evening service we understood our minister's prayers. We were taught and admonished by the Scriptures that were read at that time. In the Latin even-song all this is gone.

"At the ministration of holy baptism, we learned what league and covenant God had made with us, and what vows and promises we had made on our part; namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

"The Christian catechism continually taught and called these things to remembrance, whereas before no man knew anything at all; and many good men of forty years, who had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, than to wash their hands before they departed the church, or else to fast five Fridays with bread and water.

"O, merciful God! have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether cast from your presence? We may well lament our miserable estate, to receive such a commandment to reject and cast out of our churches all these most godly prayers, instructions, admonitions and doctrines; and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Christ our Savior, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our salvation — the candle to our feet, and the light to our steps — the bread coming down from heaven that gives life, which whoever eats it, it will be in him a well-spring, streaming unto eternal life. By this we have learned all righteousness, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity towards one another, all good works that God would have us walk in, what punishment abides the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to those who reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

"Therefore, right honorable commissioners, we cannot without impiety, refuse and cast from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn anything set forth by our most godly late king Edward, and his virtuous proceedings, so agreeable to God's word. And our most humble suit is that this commandment may be revoked, so that we are not constrained to it. For we protest before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken some root among us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in assisting the queen, our most dear sovereign, against her grace's mortal foe who then sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service.

"And we meekly pray and beseech the queen's majesty, for the dear passion of Jesus Christ, that the same word not be taken away from her churches, nor from us her loving, faithful and true subjects, lest if the same necessity should chance later (which God for his mercy's sake forbid, and ever save and defend her grace, and us all) the lack of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occasion of great ruin to an infinite number of her grace's true subjects. And truly, we judge this to be one subtle part of the devil, enemy to all godly peace and quietness, that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way for all mischief and wickedness. And by banishing the holy gospel of peace, he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues, such as death, strange sickness, pestilence, murrain (animal plague), most terrible uproars, commotions and seditions. The Lord threatened these things to the Jews for refusing his word, saying,

> 'Go, and tell this people, You hear indeed, but do not understand; and you see indeed, but do not perceive. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed. Then I said, Lord, how long? And he answered, until the cities are wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without a man, and the land is utterly desolate.' Isa 6.9-11.

And the prophet Micah, considering the contempt of God's word among the Israelites, threatened them thus:

> 'The day of your watchmen and your visitation comes; now shall be their perplexity. Do not trust in a friend, put no confidence in a guide; keep the doors of your mouth from her who lies in your bosom. For the son dishonors the father, the daughter rises up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: a man's enemies are the men of his own house.' Mic 7.4-6.

Christ threatened the same plague to the Jews, for refusing his peace proffered them in the gospel. And he wept over the city Jerusalem, which murdered the prophets, and stoned those who were sent to her.

"We are afraid the same plagues will also fall upon us. For whereas up to now, with the receiving of Christ's word and peaceable gospel, we had great blessings from God, especially this Christian concord and holy peace. So that all were at a full and perfect stay in religion; no man offended another; but as the sons of peace, each of us embraced the other with Christian charity. Now, alas for pity, the devil (riding upon the red horse, shown to St. John in the Revelation), has come forth, and power is given to him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can go no place without having malicious busy-bodies curiously search out his deeds, and mark his words. And if he does not agree with them in despising God's word, then they will spitefully and hatefully rail against him and that word, calling it error and heresy, and the professors of it heretics and schismatics, with other odious and spiteful names, such as traitors and not the queen's friends, not favorers of the queen's proceedings. It is as if to love God's word was heresy; and as though to talk of Christ was schismatic; as though none could be true to the queen, who were not false to God; as though none were the queen's friends, but those who despitefully rail on her grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they set forth; as though none favored the queen's majesty, but those who hate all godly knowledge.

"And in very deed, these things that all this turmoil is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church by their own imaginations, without commandment or example either from Christ, or from his apostles. There is not one word in the Bible, being truly alleged, that maintains them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Augustine's days, as it has been sufficiently proved diverse times before the whole parliament and convocation of this realm.

[917] A.D. 1556.

"Yet these, being mere traditions of bishops, are set out for God's commandments; and the queen's authority (given to her by God to maintain his word) must be abused to put down God's word. And you, right honorable justices, and keepers of laws and righteousness, are also abused and made the bishops apparitors,[113] to set forth such Romish trash as is to Christ's dishonor, and against the supreme authority of the regal estate of this realm. And we poor subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted as being seditious, and not the queen's friends.

"But God who is blessed for ever, knows that they slander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot and put it in ours. For the searcher of hearts knows that we bear a faithful and true heart toward her grace, and to all her proceedings that are not against God and his holy word. And we daily pray to the heavenly Father, to enlighten her grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the gospel, that she may establish and confirm that religion, that her grace's brother, our most dear king, set out among us; and so governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, she may long live, and reign over us with prosperity, peace, and honor.

[113] *Apparitors*: officers who attend upon a magistrate or judge to execute their orders, or in an ecclesiastical context, officers of a spiritual court who serve citations and execute the mandates of the judge.

"But we cannot think that those men seek either God's honor, or her grace's prosperity, or wealth of the realm, who take God's word from her grace's faithful subjects, which alone is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her grace, and of all honesty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear, lest the root being taken away, the branches will soon wither and be fruitless. When the Philistines have stopped up the well-spring, the fair streams that should flow will soon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers, have taught us that as long as we retained God's word, we would have God our gracious merciful Father. But if we refused and cast off the Lord's yoke of his doctrine, then we should look for the Lord's wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offenses. And St. Paul says, Rom 11.8. 'God has given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, to this day.' And as David said; Psa 69.22-23. 'Let their table become a snare before them; and let what should have been for their welfare, become a trap. Let their eyes be darkened so that they do not see, and make their loins shake continually.'

"O, merciful God! All this has now come upon us, and daily increased more and more, and we fear that at last it will so bow down our backs, that we will utterly be destroyed. The troublesome spirit of uproars and disquietness daily trouble men's hearts, and works such disquietness in all places, that no man who loves quietness, can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes, and do no see how grievous an offense it is to cast off the yoke of God's doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and do not hear the warning of God's word, calling us to true repentance; nor his threats against our impiety. Our most sweet table of Christ's word and His most holy communion is taken away, and turned to a most perilous snare, through the brawling disputations of men. And just as the idol of abomination betokened final subversion to the Jewish nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the gospel and holy communion of Christ, and the placing in of a Romish religion, betokens that desolation of this noble realm of England is at hand.

"For the plagues of hunger, pestilence and sword, cannot tarry long. Unless we repent and turn back to the Lord, our backs will be so bowed, that like horrible plagues will ensue which were never seen. And this is no marvel. For the like offense was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his word, and to say in plain English, 'We will not have him to reign over us.' O Lord, how terrible it is, what follows in the gospel. 'Those enemies of mine who would not have me reign over them, bring them here, and slay them before me,' Luk 19.27. God be merciful to us, and move the queen's majesty's heart, and the hearts of her honorable council, and your hearts, right honorable commissioners, to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call God's word into your council. And then you will see how it agrees with this bishop-like commandment. And be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God and the dangers of doing so, as you are prudent and wise in matters of this world. Lest if the Almighty is despised, he will stretch out his arm, which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, which no man can quench.

"We have humbly opened our consciences to you, doubtless sorely wounded and grieved by this commandment. And we meekly pray and beseech the queen's majesty, for the precious death and blood-shedding of Jesus Christ our Savior, to have mercy and pity upon us, her grace's poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic of which her grace is supreme head. All our bodies, goods, lands and lives, are ready to do her grace faithful obedience and true service of all commandments that are not against God and his word. But in things that import a denial of Christ, and a refusal of his word and holy communion, we cannot consent nor agree to it. For we have bound ourselves in baptism to be Christ's disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels in the day of judgment. We trust her benign grace will not require this of us.

"And we humbly beseech her majesty, that we not be forced to it. But as we serve her grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God's commandment, so we may be permitted to freely serve God, and Christ our Savior, and keep for Him our souls, which he has redeemed with his precious blood, so that as Christ teaches, we may render to Caesar what is due to Caesar, and to God what is due to God.

"For we think it is not true obedience to the queen's highness, nor to any other magistrate ordained by God under her, to obey in the things contrary to God's word, even if the same is ever so strictly charged in her grace's name. The bishop of Winchester has truly taught on that point, in his book 'Of True Obedience,' [114] that true obedience is *in* the Lord, and not *against* the Lord; as the apostles answered before the council at Jerusalem, which commanded them never more to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus. 'Whether it is right,' they said, 'in the sight of God, to hearken to you more than to God, you judge.' And again they said, 'We must obey God rather than man.' Therefore we learn that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords; and for Him, in Him, and not against him and his word, to obey the princes and magistrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet are they disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

"Tobias (Tobit) did not disobey his king, even though he acted contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the usage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel, and he went to Jerusalem and worshipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refusing Nebuchadnezzar's commandment, pleased God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel, who prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius's commandment, bore a truer and more faithful heart to the king than those wicked councilors who procured that wicked law, or those who obeyed it for fear or flattery. These two pestilences — fear and flattery — have ever destroyed true obedience to God and man. When wicked, godless men, who do not care if the devil is worshipped, so long as they might get and obtain riches, promotions, dignity, and worldly glory — turn to and fro, as every wind blows. And weak and frail men, fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body what their hearts and consciences inwardly abhor. And so they outwardly disobey God, and in their hearts they dissemble with man. This dissimulation we think is worthy of the hatred of all men, and is most unbecoming for Christian men.

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"Therefore, we humbly beseech the queen's majesty, with pity and mercy, to tender the lamentable suit of us her poor subjects who are sorely hurt by this commandment, and wounded in our consciences, and driven to many miseries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, slanders, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think it is not good to seek remedy by any unlawful stir or commotion; but we intend, by God's grace, to obey her majesty in all things that are not against God and his holy word. But to such ungodly commandments as are against God, we answer with the apostles — God must be obeyed rather than man. If persecution ensues, which some threaten us with, we desire our heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our adversaries, and to give us faith, strength, and patience to continue faithful to the end, and to shorten these evil days for his chosen's sake. And so we faithfully believe he will.

"Notwithstanding, we trust the queen's gracious and merciful heart will not allow such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient subjects, who daily pray to God for her; who have no remedy in this world, but to sue to her highness, our most gracious and benign sovereign; whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our

[114] *De Vera Obedientia,* mentioned several times earler, with Bonner's *Preface* (see p. 910).

lamentable case and hurt of conscience, and to call back all such commandments as are against God's honor, as the good kings Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, Theodosius, and diverse others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion — set forth by our most holy and innocent king Edward, a true saint of God — to be restored again to our churches, to be frequented among us. So we will grow and increase in the knowledge of God and of Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life; so will we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates, and all superiors ordained by God; so will love and charity, of late decayed through this commandment, again be restored; the honor of her regal estate be more confirmed and established; and godliness and virtuous life among her loving subjects be increased and maintained.

"And we most heartily pray you — the right honorable commissioners — to be means to the queen's highness, and to her honorable council, that this humble suit of ours may be favorably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we will not cease day and night to pray to the heavenly Father, to long preserve her grace and all other magistrates in His fear and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honor, Amen.

"Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christ's true religion,
in Norfolk and Suffolk."

An Account of John Harpole and Joan Beach.

Joan Beach, widow, of Tunbridge, and John Harpole, of Rochester, were examined by Maurice, bishop of the diocese, who condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence. And thus these two Christian martyrs joined in one confession, being condemned by the bishop, suffered together at one fire in the town of Rochester, where they ended their lives about the 1st of April.

Next after these followed the martyrdom of John Hullier, minister, who first being brought up in the school of Eton, was afterwards a scholar, and in the king's college at Cambridge, he suffered under Doctor Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for sincerely setting out the light of God's gracious gospel revealed in these our days. In his behalf, this is to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and stirring pens in that university, so little is left as to the process of his judgment and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life in such a cause in the midst of them. By certain letters which he himself left behind, it appears that he was zealous and earnest in the doctrine of truth which every true Christian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was about the 2d of April.

Martyrdom of six godly Professors at Colchester.

Not long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Essex martyrs executed in Smithfield, as mentioned before, the martyrdom of six other blessed martyrs followed at one fire in Colchester; namely, Christopher Lyster, husbandman; John Mace, apothecary; John Spencer, weaver; Simon Joyne, sawyer; Richard Nichols, weaver; and John Hamond, tanner.

With these six was joined another whose name was Roger Grasbroke; but afterwards he submitted himself. Of those above named, the bishop, because he now grew weary, made a very quick dispatch. He had them brought to his house at Fulham. There in the open church, the same articles were administered to them that were propounded to others. They gave their several answers to these, agreeing altogether in one truth, namely, that they believed that the church of Rome is no part of Christ's catholic church, and that in the true catholic church of Christ there are but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. They confessed that they were baptized in the

faith and belief of the catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had so professed and promised for them. They confessed that they always were, and still continued in the faith and profession in which they were baptized; and that they neither swerved nor went away from the catholic faith of Christ. However, they confessed that they had disliked and earnestly spoke against the sacrifice of the mass, and against the sacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers of it because they believed that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory. Moreover, that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christ's church and gospel, and that he should not have any authority in England, and that they never refused, nor then refused to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church. But they said they had, and then did, and would ever hereafter utterly refuse to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge its authority, for putting down the book of God, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonish mass, with all the rest of antichrist's merchandise.

These answers being made by them, the bishop dismissed them till the afternoon. At that time, standing most firmly to their Christian profession, they were tested by various ways and means, if they would revoke their professed faith and return to the unity of antichrist's church. When they refused this, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, committing them to the temporal power. On receipt of the king and queen's writ, they were accordingly sent to Colchester. On the 28th of April, they most cheerfully ended their lives to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

An Account of Hugh Laverock, an old man, and John Apprice, a blind man, Martyrs.

In treating this part of the history, I do not know whether to marvel more at the great and unsearchable mercies of God, with whom there is no respect of persons — for He chooses the poor, lame, and blind, as well as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to set forth his glory — or else to note the unreasonable, or rather unnatural doing of these unmerciful papists (I mean Bishop Bonner and his accomplices) in whom there was so little favor or mercy to all conditions of men, that they spared neither impotent age, nor lame nor blind. This will appear by the following poor creatures, whose names were Hugh Laverock, of the parish of Barking, painter, aged 68, a lame cripple; and John Apprice, a blind man.

These two poor and simple creatures being accused by some neighbor of theirs to the bishop, were sent for by their officer. And so being delivered into the hands of the bishop, on the 1st of May they were examined in his palace at London. There he first propounded and objected against them nine articles, similar to those administered to Bartlet Green and many others, to which they answered with all Christian faithfulness.

Upon this they were again sent to prison, and beside other times, on the 9th of the month, in the consistory of St. Paul's, they were again publicly produced, and there they were labored with to recant their opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

[919] A.D. 1556.

Hugh Laverock said, "I will stand to my answers, and to what I have confessed. I cannot find in the Scriptures, that the priests should lift a cake of bread up over their head."

The bishop then turned to John Apprice, and asked what he would say.

He answered; "Your doctrine that you set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and embraced by the world, that it cannot be agreeable with the Scriptures of God. And you

are not of the catholic church, for you make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman."

At these words the bishop, somewhat irritated, and therefore very loath to delay their condemnation any longer, commanded that they be brought after him to Fulham. There, in the afternoon, in his solemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them. And so delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, he thought to rid himself of them. But he could not so satisfy his conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent blood.

The poor men now being in the temporal officer's hands, were not allowed to remain there long. And therefore, on the 15th of May, very early in the morning, they were carried from Newgate in a cart, to Stratford-le-Bow. Most quietly in the fire, they yielded up their souls into God's hands, praising Him through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom they constantly confessed to the end.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice his fellow-martyr, said to him; "Be of good comfort, my brother. For my lord of London is our good physician. He will heal us both shortly — you of your blindness, and me of my lameness." And so these two good saints of God patiently suffered together.

Three Women burned in Smithfield.

The next day after the martyrdom of this lame and blind man, three women were brought to the fire. With them also was joined another, who being of the same opinion and constancy with them, was likewise partaker of the same condemnation. Their names were Katharine Hut, widow; Joan Horns, maiden; Margaret Ellis, maiden; and Elizabeth Tackvell, maiden.

When Bishop Bonner entered into an examination of these four women, he objected the same articles to them that he usually administered, as expressed before. The women likewise agreeing in the same unity of spirit and doctrine, accorded in their answers, much agreeing to the others before them. Namely, they answered that matrimony, and baptism, and the Lord's Supper were sacraments ordained in the church. But whether the others specified in the articles were sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. And they said that they were baptized by their godfathers and godmothers, who did not then know so much. But what their godfathers and godmothers then promised in their names they could not tell. They further answered and confessed that as to the mass, they knew no goodness in it; and as to the sacrament of the altar, they believed that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar; and as concerning the See of Rome, they acknowledged no such supremacy in that See, nor did they have anything to do with it. They all refused to be reconciled or united to the church of Rome, or any other church, contrary to that church in which they now stood and professed. They answered likewise that neither the service in Latin, the mass, the matins and evensong, nor the sacraments, were used and administered according to God's word. And furthermore, that the mass is an idol; nor is the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they make men believe.

After their answers were received, they were produced again about the 13th of April, and at length were brought to their final judgment. There **Katharine Hut**, standing before the bishop, boldly and constantly maintained what she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror. Being required to speak her mind about the sacrament, and to return to the fellowship of the church of Rome, she openly protested, saying, "I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with men's hands." This

good and faithful martyr of Christ firmly persisting in this, so received her sentence, being condemned by Bonner to the fire. With great constancy she sustained this by the grace and strength of the Lord, and abided for the cause and love of Christ.

Joan Horns, brought likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and Christian fortitude, declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's testament, giving no place to the adversary. Instead, being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself — of which sacrament, contrary to the nature of a sacrament, the adversaries are accustomed to make an idol-service — to this she openly protested her mind, saying, "If you can make your God to shed blood, or to show any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you. And in the way which you call heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God," etc.

And as to the Romish see, she said, 'My lord (speaking to Bonner) I forsake all her abominations, and may the good Lord deliver us from them.", when the bishop was too weak to remove her from this, her stable and constant assertion, and too ignorant to convince her, he passed sentence upon her. And so this holy virgin and martyr was committed to the secular power, and was offered up with her fellows, a burnt-sacrifice to the Lord.

As to **Margaret Ellis**, she likewise persevered in her confession, and resisted the false errors and heresies of the papists. She was adjudged and condemned by Bonner. But before the time of her burning arrived, she died in Newgate, and thus she departed and slept in the Lord.

The same strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maiden **Elizabeth Tackvell**, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, and so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could not convince her by any sufficient knowledge of Scripture, so by no forcible attempts could they remove her confession. Whereupon standing to the death, being condemned in the same way, she gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and sealing of the sincere truth of God's word.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully condemned for the just cause of God's gospel, were conveyed to Smithfield on the 16th of May, and there were cruelly bound to the stake. They gave their bodies to the tormentors, but their spirits they commended to God. For His glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, than some of those who burned them did in their beds. Such a Lord is God: glorious and wonderful in all his saints.

An Account of Thomas Drowry and Thomas Croker.

You heard a little earlier of two men, the one blind and the other lame, who suffered about the 15th of May. Here is not to be forgotten another as godly a pair, who suffered the like martyrdom for the same cause of religion at Gloucester. Of these two, the one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry. The virtuous Bishop Hooper (mentioned before, p. 725) had confirmed Thomas in the Lord, and in the doctrine of His word.

With Thomas Drowry, another was also burned in the same place, and at the same fire in Gloucester, about the 5th of May. His name was Thomas Croker, bricklayer.

Concerning the blind boy, I am not certain how long he was in prison. At his examination and final condemnation, he was brought before Doctor Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially with the register in the consistory. There the chancellor

administered to the boy the usual articles; among which he chiefly urged the article of transubstantiation, saying in effect as follows

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“Do you not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remains the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?”

Thomas. — “No, I do not.”

Chancellor. — “Then you are a heretic, and will be burned: but who has taught you this heresy?”

Thomas. — “Yourself, Master Chancellor.”‘

Chancellor. — “Where, I pray you?”

Thomas. — “Even in yonder place (pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church).

Chancellor. — “When did I teach you so?”

Thomas. — “When you preached there” (naming the day) “a sermon to all men as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have taught before now.”

Chancellor. — “Then do as I have done, and you will live as I live, and escape burning.”

Thomas. — “Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your conscience, yet will I not do so.”

Chancellor. — “Then God have mercy upon you; for I will read the condemnation sentence against you.”

Thomas. — “God’s will be fulfilled.”

The registrar being somewhat moved by this, stood up, and said to the chancellor:

“Fie, for shame, man; will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment.”

Chancellor. — “No, registrar, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself; according to my office.”

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, delivering him over to the secular power. On the 5th day of May, he brought the blind boy to the place of execution at Gloucester, together with one Thomas Croker a bricklayer, also condemned for the like testimony of the truth. Both together in one fire, they most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

Three Persons burned at Beccles.

After the death of those mentioned above, three men were burnt at Beccles in Suffolk, in one fire, about the 21st of May, namely, Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Poole.

Thomas Spicer was a single man, nineteen years of age, dwelling in Winston in Suffolk. The occasion of his being taken was that he would not go to the popish church to hear mass and receive their idol. This was at the command of Sir John Tyrrel, who sent both Spicer and the other two to a dungeon, till they were all brought together before the chancellor of Norwich, and the registrar at the town of Beccles.

And there the chancellor, after endeavoring all he could to turn them from the truth, and could by no means prevail, minding to give sentence, he burst out into tears, entreating them to remember themselves, and to turn back to the holy mother church, for they were deceived and outside of the truth, and that they should not willfully cast themselves away, with other like words.

Now as he was thus exhorting them, and seemed very loath to read the sentence, the registrar sitting by, being weary of tarrying, called upon the chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end of it. At these words, the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the secular power.

The articles objected were that they did not believe the pope of Rome to be the supreme head of the universal catholic church on earth, immediately under Christ. That they did not believe holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and all other like ceremonies used in the church, were good and laudable to stir up the people to devotion. That they did not believe, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, are in the sacrament of the altar. That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar. That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion. That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest. That they affirmed no mortal man has in himself the free-will to do good or evil. For this doctrine, these three were condemned, and committed to the secular power. The next day they were all burnt together in the town of Beccles.

While these good men were at the stake, and had prayed, they stated their beliefs. When they came to "the catholic church," Sir John Silliard said to them, "That is well said, sirs. I am glad to hear you say you believe in the catholic church. That is the best word I have heard from you yet."

To this Edmund Poole answered that, "though they believe in the catholic church, yet they do not believe in the *popish* church, which is no part of Christ's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief."

When they arose from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake. Being bound, and the fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those who stood by and heard them.

The Persecutions in Suffolk.

By the procurement of Sir John Tyrrel and others of his colleagues, 13 persons were persecuted and driven out of the town of Winston in Suffolk;, and 21 persons out of Mendlesham in this same year. The charge against them was that they believed the holy word of God is sufficient to their salvation, they denied the pope's usurped authority, and held that the whole church of antichrist were Christ's adversaries. They refused the abused sacraments, defied the mass, and all popish service and ceremonies, saying that they robbed God of his honor, and Christ of his death and glory. They held, too, that the ministers of the church, by God's word, might lawfully marry. They held the queen to be the chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague sent by God on account of sin. They denied man's freewill, and held that the pope's church erred in that point, and many others with them, rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in man's righteousness.

The Death of William Sleech.

On the last day of May 1556, William Sleech, in prison for the doctrine of the Lord's gospel and the confession of his truth, died in the King's Bench. He was buried at the back of the

prison, for the Romish spiritualty did not think him worthy to come within their holy church-yards, in any Christian burial.

Four Men Condemned at Levies.

The following June, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes: namely, Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, and Thomas Read.

In the bishop of London's registers, I find it objected to Thomas Harland, for not coming to church. He answered that, "After the mass was restored, he never had the will to hear it because it was in Latin, which he did not understand."

John Oswald, refused to answer anything, until his accusers were brought face to face before him. He said, "That fire and faggots could not make him afraid. But just as the good preachers who were in King Edward's time had suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after."

These four, after long imprisonment in the King's Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Sussex, in one fire, on the 6th of June.

In the same town of Lewes, were burned Thomas Wood, minister, and Thomas Miles, about the 29th of the same month, for resisting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic church of Rome.

[921] A.D. 1556.

In that month also, William Adherall, minister, imprisoned in the King's Bench, died there and was buried in the back of the prison. Also John Clement, wheelwright, dying in the prison, was buried in the same way on the 25th of June.

The next day, we read of a young man, a merchants servant, who suffered cruel persecution by the papists, and was burnt at Leicester on the 26th of June.

Not long after the death of this servant, eleven men and two women were burned in one fire at Stratford-le-Bow, near London. Their dwellings were in sundry places in Essex. On the 6th of June, Doctor Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, ministered the usual articles to them, to which they gave their answers in simplicity and in a good conscience.

When these thirteen persons were condemned, the day was appointed when they would suffer, which was the 27th of June 1556. They were carried from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, and there were separated into two separate chambers. Afterwards, the sheriff came to one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore would be saved, exhorting them to do the same, and not to cast themselves away. They answered that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified. Then the sheriff, perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said the same to them, that those whom he had been with before, had recanted, and would therefore not suffer death. He counselling them to do the same, and not willfully kill themselves, but to act the part of wise men, etc. They answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his word, etc. When he saw it did not avail to persuade them (for they were, God be praised, firmly grounded on the rock Jesus Christ) he then led them to the place where they would suffer. And being all there together, they earnestly prayed to God, and joyfully went to the stake, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three stakes, but the two women were loose in the midst, without any stake, and so they were all burnt in one fire, with such love to each other, and

constancy in our Savior Christ, that it made all the lookers on marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will! Amen.

In the company of these thirteen, three more were condemned to die. They answered to the articles that were propounded to the thirteen, in effect as the others did. And thus being in the hands of the secular power, Cardinal Poole sent his dispensation for their lives, by means of which they then escaped.

The Sunday after these sixteen were condemned, Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, preached at St. Paul's Cross, where he declared that these sixteen had as many opinions as there were persons. At hearing of this sermon, they drew up their faith in writing, and signed their names, and directed it to their friends and to the faithful congregation, as follows:

"To all our dearly beloved friends, and the holy congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

"Let it be manifest to all by whom this, our certificate, will be seen, that where on Saturday, the 13th of June, at Fulham, before the bishop of London, sixteen of us, whose names are subscribed hereunder, were condemned to die for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's truth. This most godly truth has been continually defaced from the beginning by the wicked adversaries of it, and it is even at present likewise daily slandered by the devil and his agents. On this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, indeed constrained in the ears of all men, to manifest our belief and also briefly the articles for which we are condemned, to avoid false reports and slanderous tongues which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable sermon recently preached at St. Paul's Cross, on Sunday the 14th of June, by Master Fecknam, now dean of the same church. There, in that most worthy audience, he defamed us to be in sixteen differing opinions, which would be a prejudicial thing to all Christian truth. And for a testimonial of this, what is written hereunder will answer our cause. Therefore we pray you who are of God, to judge.

"First, we believe we were baptized in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporated to Him, and made members of his church, in which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, who has reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we persist in it, and will persist, by God's assistance, to the end. Now mark that although the minister was of the malignant church, his wickedness did not hurt us, for he baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

"There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renounced for us the devil and all his works, and they confessed the articles of the Christian faith for us, and were also witnesses that we are baptized, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith of Christ's church.

"There are but two sacraments in Christ's church; that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel is remission of sins.

"2. We believe that there is a visible church in which the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments are truly administered, visible to the wicked world, even if it is not credited and confirmed by the death of saints, as it was in the time of Elijah the prophet as well as now.

"3. The See of Rome is the See of antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, etc., of which the pope is head under the devil.

"4. The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

"5. God is neither spiritually nor corporeally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remains no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"For these, the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all assenting and consenting to it with one voice, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles.

"It is also apparent, let it be known, that being examined about the former articles before the bloody bishop, at the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the Scripture. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics. He said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else be cut off like withered branches.

"Signed, Ralph Jackson, Edmund Hurst.
Henry Adlington. Laurence Parnam.
Lyon Cawch. Thomas Bowyer.
William Halliwell. Elizabeth Pepper.
George Searles. Agnes George.
John Routh. Thomas Freeman.
John Derifall. William Stannard.
Henry Wye. William Adams."

In the diocese of Lichfield, about the 14th of June in the same year, **John Colstock** who had recently come from London, and was now dwelling at Wellington, though he did not suffer martyrdom, he sustained some trouble. He was attached and examined by the bishop, especially for two points: in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against auricular confession made to the priest. Being compelled to recant these, he was enjoined, in the church of St. Cedde, to bear a faggot before the cross, bare-beaded, having a taper in the one hand, and a pair of beads in the other, etc.

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Among many others who in the same diocese and at the same time were suspected and troubled for the same beliefs, were **Thomas Flier** and **Nicholas Ball** of Uttoxeter, **Thomas Pyot** of Chedull, and others.

In the same month, in the prison of the King's-bench in Southwark, one **Thomas Parret** died. He was buried in the back of the prison, on the 27th of June.

Also **Martin Hunt**, in the same prison, died through hunger on the 29th. Likewise dying at that time in the same prison, as I find it recorded, was one **John Norice**, and in the same manner as the other. He was buried at the back of the prison.

After the death of Thomas Parret, Martin Hunt, and John Norice, three were martyred in one fire at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk; namely, Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson.

When **Roger Bernard** came before the bishop, he was asked whether he had been with the priest at Easter to be absolved, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar, or not? Roger Bernard answered, "No: I have not been with the priest, nor confessed to him, but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust He has forgiven me. I will not need to go to the priest for such matters, who cannot help himself."

Bishop. — "Surely, Bernard, you must go and confess yourself to him."

Roger. — "That I will not do, by God's grace, while I live."

Bishop. — “What a stout heretic this is! How pertly he answers ‘.”

Roger.--” My lord, it does not grieve me to be called a heretic at your hands, for so your forefathers called the prophets and confessors of Christ, long before this time.”

At these words the bishop rose up in a great passion, and bade Bernard to follow him. Then the bishop went and kneeled before what they call the sacrament of the altar. As he was in his prayers, kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he did not come and do as he did? Bernard answered, “I cannot tell why I should do so.” “Why you stupid fellow,” the bishop said, pointing to the pix over the altar, “whom do you see yonder?”.

Roger. — “I see no body there. Do you, my lord.’”

Bishop. — “Why, naughty man, do you not see your Maker?”

Roger — “My Maker! No, I see nothing but a few clothes hanging together.”

With that, the bishop rose up sorely displeased, and commanded the jailor to take him away, and to lay enough irons on him. “For,” he said, “I will tame him before he goes from me,” and so he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the bishop, who asked him if he remembered himself since the day before, when he was before him?

Roger. — “Yes, my lord, I have remembered myself very well, for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me about.”

Then one of the guard standing by, said, “My lord, I pray you, do not trouble yourself any more with him, but let me examine of him. I will handle him in another way, I trust, and make him a fair child before he goes, you will see.” So he was committed to him.

The guard brought Bernard to an inn, where were a great number of priests assembled together, and there they commenced flattering him, and persuading him with enticing words, whatever they could. But when they could not prevail, for the Lord assisted the good poor man, they began to threaten him with whipping, stocking, burning, and such like. Bernard said, “Friends, I am not better than my master Christ and the prophets, which your fathers served in such a way. And for His name’s sake, I am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God so permits, trusting that He will strengthen me in it according to his promise, in spite of the devil and all his ministers.” So when they could not make him relent or yield, they carried him to the bishop, who immediately condemned him as a heretic, and delivered him to the secular power.

Adam Foster, 26 years of age, was taken at home in his house, because he would not go to church and hear mass, and receive at Easter, unless he might have it according to Christ’s holy ordinance. Accordingly, he was sent to Norwich, and there he was condemned by bishop Hopton.

Robert Lawson was a single man, 30 years of age, a linen weaver by vocation. He was apprehended because he would not go to church to hear mass, and receive their popish idol.

When these three aforesaid martyrs were carried to their deaths at Edmund’s-bury, after they had offered their prayer at the stake, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such a happy and blessed condition, as notably set forth their constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in Him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same cause.

John Fortune, otherwise called Cutler, of Hintlesham in Suffolk, was a blacksmith by occupation. They had him in examination before them a little before, on the 20th of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in prison, I cannot certainly find. It is certain, however, that he was taken away, and he never yielded. You will hear what his examinations and answers were before Doctor Parker and Master Foster, written with his own hand.

The Examination of John Fortune
before Doctor Parker and Master Foster.

"First Doctor Parker asked me 'if I believed in the catholic faith!'

"And I asked him 'which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen held, or the faith of those who put Stephen to death? '

"Doctor Parker being incited, said, 'What a naughty fellow this is! You will soon see he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.'

"Then Master Foster said, 'I know you well. You are a busy merchant. What do you say about the blessed mass?'

"I stood still, and made no answer.

"Then Master Foster asked, 'Why do you not speak, and give the gentleman an answer?'

"And I said, 'Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.'

"Then the Doctor said, 'I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also.'

"And I said, 'I know of none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Then he said, 'You deny the order of the seven sacraments. Why do you not believe in the sacrament of the altar?'

"And I said, 'because it is not written in God's book,'

"Then he said, 'You will not believe unwritten truths.'

"And I said, 'I will believe that those unwritten truths which agree with the written truth are true. But those unwritten things that are of your own making, and invented from your own brain, I do not believe.'

"'Well,' said Master Forster, 'you will be whipped and burned for this.'

"When I came before the bishop of Norwich, he asked me if I did not believe in the catholic church. I said I believed in that church of which Christ is the head.

"Then the bishop said, 'Do you not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?' And I said, 'No, Christ is the head of the true church.'

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"Bishop. — 'So I believe also. But the pope is God's vicar on earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he has power to forgive sins also.'

"Then I said, 'The pope is but a man, and the prophet David says. Psa 49.7-8, None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him. For the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceases forever.'

"'Well,' he said, 'what do you say to the ceremonies of the church?'

"And I answered, 'All things which my heavenly Father has not planted, shall be plucked up by the roots,' says Christ, 'for they are not from the beginning, nor shall they continue to the end.'

"Bishop. — 'They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.'

"'Saint Paul called them weak and beggarly.'

"Bishop. — 'No, that is a lie.'

"Hearing that, I said, 'St. Paul writes thus to the Galatians, 'Foolish Galatians who has bewitched you, that you seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies? Now which of you lie? You, or St. Paul? And also it is said that works instituted and enjoined without the commandment of God, do not pertain to the worship of God. According to the text, Mat 15.9. 'In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, Pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of no effect, to support their own tradition.'

"Bishop. — 'You lie! There is no such word in all the Scriptures, you naughty heretic. You are worse than all other heretics, for Hooper and Bradford admitted them to be good, and you do not. Away with him!'

"The bishop again asked, 'What do you believe about the sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?'

"And I answered him, 'That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.'

"Bishop. — 'Why so?'

"I said, 'If I were a bishop, and you were a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question. If it is not God *before* the consecration, then it is not God *after*. For God is without beginning and without ending.'

"Then he said, 'Behold, what a stiff heretic this is! He has denied all of these together. What do you say? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament, or not?'

"'God is a Spirit, and He will be worshipped in spirit and in truth.'

"Bishop. — 'I asked you no such question. Answer me directly.'

"'I answer that this is the God Mauzzim,[115] that robs God of his honor.'

"Bishop. — 'It is a pity that the ground bears you, or that you have a tongue to speak. Away with him; for he has spoken too much.'"

In the register of Norwich I find that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but it is not said whether it was pronounced.

The Death of John Careless in the King's Bench.

About the 1st of July, among other prisoners who died in the same year in the King's-bench, was one John Careless, of Coventry, a weaver. Though by the secret judgment of Almighty God, he was prevented by death from coming to the full martyrdom of his body, yet he is no

[115] *Mauzzim, or Muhuzzim*: god of fortresses, so named in Dan 11.38-39.

less worthy to be counted in honor and place among Christ's martyrs, than others who suffered most cruel torments.

The Martyrdom of Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin.

About the 16th of July, three godly and constant martyrs suffered at Newbury, among whom was **Julius Palmer**, sometime student and fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and afterwards schoolmaster in the town of Reading. There is no one example, in the whole godly fellowship of martyrs, more to be marked, indeed, more to be wondered at than this one, who all King Edward's days was a papist in the University of Oxford. He was so obstinate that he utterly abhorred all godly prayer, and sincere preaching. And he was likewise abhorred by almost all with whom he lived, and (as I deny) pointed at with the finger. Yet afterward, iu Queen Mary's time, he suffered a most cruel death at the hands of the papists, at Newbury in Berkshire, for the zealous profession of the blessed truth.

Palmer was born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His father had been mayor of the city, and followed merchandise. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, we do not know, but he was at one time a scholar to one Harley, who taught the free-school of Magdalen College in Oxford. He had a very prompt and ready memory, and a sound and vigorous judgment. He spoke Latin with great facility of utterance, and did not lack competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; so that many times he supplied the place of the Greek reader in his house. He was a subtle disputer, both in the public schools, and also at home. He used to say that he was never so pleasantly occupied as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in philosophy. So that he has oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the discussing and searching out the truth of deep and abstruse questions. He greatly abhorred all cavilling, and all frivolous talk. He was not captious (critical), but would reason so soberly and with such probability, that even his adversaries would marvel no less at the dexterity of his invention, than at his propriety and decent behavior. Although he applied to divinity very late, it appears that he recompensed the short time of his study with the greatness of his diligence.

And to speak somewhat of his civil behavior, he was of courteous manners, without curiosity, of a cheerful countenance without high looks, of pleasant speech without affectation; he was affable and humble as any child, and yet quick spirited, and vehement in reasoning. He practiced no deceit towards any man, for he was of such simplicity, that he was more apt to be deceived than to deceive, and he was so great a despiser of all reproaches and injuries, that he would say, 'None were to be counted valiant, but those who could despise injury.'

In private study he was so indefatigable, that ordinarily he rose every morning at four o'clock, and usually did not go to bed before ten at night. As he grew in years and understanding, he came to a bachelor of arts, and at length, to a fellowship in Magdalen College. There he was also admitted to the office of a reader in logic, A.D. 1550. Now, if he had at the first favored sincere religion so much that he followed his book, then we would have had less matter to note in him. But, indeed, he was so addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation was altogether with those who were utter enemies to the gospel of Christ. If he came lo common prayer at any time, it was by force and compulsion, for otherwise he did not come. He would not hear sermons himself, nor yet allow his scholars to resort to them, for he was fully persuaded that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themselves he both disdained and despised, and all those who set forth sound doctrine. So, for his popish pranks he was afterwards expelled from the house.

After this, he was obliged, for his maintenance, to apply himself to be a teacher of children in the house of Sir Francis Knolles. He continued in this avocation till the coming in of Queen Mary. And when her visitors were sent to Magdalen College to displace the fellows who were learned, and to put right catholics (as they called them) in their places, then came this Julius Palmer. He expected to be restored to his living, of which he had been deprived before, thinking that those would restore him, whose faith and religion he defended and maintained to the utmost of his power. And indeed he obtained it. Then, after he was restored to his house in Queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end, from an obstinate papist, he became an earnest and zealous gospeller.

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When he was restored to his college, even though he began to somewhat favor and taste God's truth by conference and company with certain godly and zealous men, he was not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points, he continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Yet he continually discussed in private reasoning, both whatever points he was fully resolved in, and also whatever points he doubted. For such was always his nature, both in papistry and in the gospel, to utterly detest all dissimulation. So that, because of his plainspokenness, he suffered much both in King Edward's, and also in Queen Mary's time.

Now, within a short time, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive, and careful to hear and understand how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were used, and in what way they took their death. It went so far that he did not spare, at his own expense, to send one of his scholars in the company of a bachelor of that house, over to Gloucester to see and understand the whole order of bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him a true report. Some think he did this, because in King Edward's time he used to say that none of them would stand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great extreme and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kinds of torments to the end. He had more experience of this himself afterwards, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and martyrs who were burned at Oxford before his eyes. So that the first hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer. Then, in the hearing of his friends, he broke out into these and similar words; "Oh raging cruelty! O tragic tyranny, and more than barbarous!"

From that day forward he studiously sought to understand the truth. And therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyr's commentaries, and other good books. And so through hearty prayer, and diligent search and meditation on the Scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy. And he so profited in it, that he daily more and more declared it both in word and deed.

At length through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he did not spare to show it in his outward behavior and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at the Confiteor [116] (as the custom was) in turning himself to and fro, sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, and afterwards knock his breast at the elevation time — his heart so vehemently rose against these idolatrous adorations, that sometimes he would absent himself from them; and sometimes, being there, he would, even at the sacring or consecrating time (as they termed it) get himself out of the church to avoid those ungodly gestures and idolatrous adoration. To be short, seeing that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he resolved to depart the house. Being asked by a special

[116] *Confiteor*: a prayer of confession of sinfulness, used at the beginning of Mass and on other occasions.

friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) where he would go, or how he would live, he gave this answer: “The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof. Let the Lord work; I will commit myself to God, and the wide world.”

Shortly after he had yielded up his fellowship in Oxford, through God’s providence, who never fails those who first seek his glory, he was placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading. There he was well-accepted by all those who feared God, and favored his word, for his good learning and knowledge, as well as for his earnest zeal and profession of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and prosperous success in these things, would not allow him to long be quiet there. Therefore he stirred up certain doubled-faced hypocrites against him, who had crept in by dissimulation and crafty insinuation, to understand his secrets, under the pretense of a zeal for the Gospel. Suspecting no deceit, he joyfully embraced these men, making them privy to all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, so he had a great desire, by all means possible, to allure and encourage others to the profession of the love of doctrine.

These “faithful and trusty brethren,” as soon as they found a good opportunity, did not spare in his absence to rifle his study of godly books and writings. Among these were Palmer’s arguments, written against the popish proceedings, and especially against the unnatural and brutish tyranny executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had done this, they were not ashamed to threaten him, that they would exhibit them to the council unless he would, depart from their coasts without delay, and give over the school to a friend of theirs. The truth of this story appears in part by a letter written with his own hand, from prison, eight days before he was burned.

Thus this young man, to save his life, was forced to depart from Reading. And so he took his journey towards Ensham, where his mother dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands, certain legacies due to him by his father’s last will. His mother, understanding his state, as soon as she beheld him on his knees, asking for her blessing as he had been accustomed to do, spoke thus to him: “You will have Christ’s curse and mine, wherever you go.”

Pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting, at length he said, “Oh mother! Your own curse you may give me, which God knows I never deserved; but God’s curse you cannot give me, for he has already blessed me.’

“No,” she says, “You went from God’s blessing into the warm sun, when you were banished as a heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford. And now for the same knavery, you are driven out of Reading too.”

“Alas, mother,” he said, “you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of my own accord. And I am no heretic, for I do not stand stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure, they usually do not expel or banish, but burn heretics, as they term them.”

“Well,” she replied, “I am sure you do not believe as your father and I do, and as all our forefathers have done. But as we were taught by the new law in King Edward’s days, which is damnable heresy.”

“Indeed, I confess,” he said, “that I believe that doctrine which was taught in King Edward’s time, which is not heresy but truth; nor is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles.”

“If you are at that point,” she said, “I require you to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for your mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have

none of yours, your father bequeathed nothing for heretics. I have faggots to burn you; more you will not get at my hands. “

“Mother,” he said, “as you have cursed me, I pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long.” And with sweet words and an abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her.

Thus poor Palmer, being destitute of worldly friendship, did not know which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had thought to himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalen college, on the assured trust and affiance that he had a friend or two in that house.

Afterwards, as he went along, musing and pondering about matters, it came into his head (as he writes in an epistle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and return secretly to Reading, trusting there, by the help of friends, to receive his quarter’s stipend, and convey his property to the custody of some trusty body. He did not come so secretly that his enemies did not have knowledge of it. Without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him. Soon it was concluded that one Master Hampton should resort to him under the pretense of friendship.

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and without any guile, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, and went away. Palmer not suspecting mischief, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed.

[925] A.D.1556.

But he could not quietly rest there long, for shortly after, the officers came rushing in with lanterns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen’s name to make himself ready, and to quietly depart with them. So this young man, perceiving that he was thus betrayed (without opening his lips) was led away as a lamb to the slaughter. He was committed to prison, whom the keeper, like a ravening wolf, greedy for his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and dark dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers. And there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks.

In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days, under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

After this he was brought before the mayor, and there many grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, such as treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery.

Palmer answered that if such horrible and heinous crimes could be proved against him, he would patiently submit himself to all kinds of torments that could be devised.

He so clearly overthrew their evidence, and defended his own innocence, that the mayor himself was ashamed that he had given credit to them, so that he sought how they might convey him out of the country secretly.

Then his enemies, afraid that he would escape their hands, charged him with the letters and papers which had been stolen from his study, and they accused him of heresy. Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor and two other justices, to render an account of his faith, and to answer to such articles as were laid against him. It was concluded that he should be sent over to Newbury, to the visitation about to be held there.

On the 16th of July, four or five seats were prepared in the choir of the parish church of Newbury for the visitors, whose names were Doctor Jeffrey, for the bishop of Sarum; Sir Richard Abridges, knight and then high sheriff of the shire; Sir William Ramsford, knight;

John Winchcomb esquire, and the parson of Inglefield. After the prisoners were presented, the commission was read, and other things done in order accordingly. Doctor Jeffrey called to Palmer, and said; "Are you that jolly writer of three half-penny books that we hear of?"

Palmer. — "I know not what you mean."

Jeffrey. — "Have you taught Latin so long, that now you do not understand English?"

To this he answered nothing.

Then Doctor Jeffrey standing up, said, "We have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, by which we understand that you were convicted of certain heresies.

1. That you deny the pope's holiness' supremacy.
2. That you hold there are but two sacraments.
3. That the priest holds up an idol at mass; and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.
4. That there is no purgatory.
5. That you are a sower of sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the queen's subjects.

Tell me, Palmer, are you the one who wrote this volume?"

Palmer. — "I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture."

Jeffrey. — "Are you not ashamed to own it? It came from no good spirit, that you both railed at the dead, and slandered a learned and catholic man who is yet alive."

Palmer. — "If it is a slander, he has slandered himself. For I but report his own writing, and expose the folly in it. And I reckon it is no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas being dead."

Jeffrey. — "Do you say so? I will make you recant it, and wring peccavi [117] out of your lying lips before I am done with you."

Palmer. — "But I know that although of myself I am not able to do anything, yet if you and all my enemies, both bodily and spiritually, would do your worst, you will not be able to bring that to pass. Nor will you prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly."

Jeffrey. — "Ah, are you full of the Spirit? Are you inspired with the Holy Spirit?"

Palmer. — "Sir, no man can believe except by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God's Holy Spirit, I would not be a true Christian. 'He that does not have the .Spirit of Christ, is none of his.' "

Jeffrey. — "I perceive you lack no words."

Palmer. — "Christ has promised not only to give us a store of necessary words, but with them, such force of matter as the gates of hell shall not be able to confound or prevail against it."

Register. — "Sir, if you allow him to impudently trifle with you thus, he will never be done."

[117] *Peccavi*: an acknowledgment of one's error or guilt.

Jeffrey. — “Well, you will understand, that I do not I have it in commission at present to dispute with you, nor would it be appropriate that we call again into question those articles wish were already discussed and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the creed tells us. But the reason why you are now called here, is that you might be examined upon such articles as are administered against you, about your own hand-writing, so that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or not. What do you say to this?”

Palmer. — “By your holy church you mean the synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a *particular* church. I believe the catholic church, yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy — that is to say, a church that has grounded her belief upon the word of her spouse Christ.”

Jeffrey. — “Answer my question directly — Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?”

Palmer. — “If you prove any sentence comprised in it, not to stand with God’s word, I will quickly recant it.”

Jeffrey. — “You impudent fellow, have I not told you that I did not come to dispute with you, but to examine you?”

Here the parson of Inglefield, pointing to the pix, said, “What do you see over there?”

Palmer. — “A canopy of silk broidered with gold.”

Parson. — “Yea, but what is within it?”

Palmer. — “A piece of bread.”

Parson. — “You are as froward a heretic as I ever talked with!” (Here much was spoken concerning confession, and other parts of the mass.)

Parson. — “Do you not believe that those who receive the holy sacrament of the altar, truly eat Christ’s natural body?”

Palmer. — “If the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is administered as Christ ordained it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ’s very natural body and blood.”

Parson. — “The faithful receivers? You cannot blind our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in the form of bread?”

Palmer. — “No, Sir.”

Parson. — “How do you prove that?”

Palmer. — “By this verse, ‘He that eats me, even he shall live by me.’”

Parson. — “See that silly fellow. Do you not read likewise, ‘Whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved?’ Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore mark how St. Paul answers you. He says that the wicked eat the true body to their condemnation.”

Palmer. — “I say that St. Paul has no such words.”

Parson. — “See, the impudent fellow denies the plain text. ‘He that eats and drinks *the body* of the Lord unworthily, etc.”

Palmer. — “I beseech you lend me your book.’

Parson. — “No. “

The Sheriff. — “I pray you lend him your book.” (So the book was given over to him.)

Palmer. — “Your own book has, ‘He that eats ‘*this bread*,’ not ‘*this body*.’ I have shut your lips with your own book.”

Jeffrey. — “It is no matter whether you write bread or body, for we are able to prove that he meant the body. And where you say they eat it spiritually, that is but a blind shift.”

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Palmer. — “What else should I say?”

Jeffrey. — “As holy church says, really, carnally, substantially.”

Palmer. — “And with as good Scripture, I may say *grossly* or *monstrously*.”

Jeffrey. — “You speak wickedly. But tell me, is Christ present in the sacrament or not?”

Palmer. — “He is present.”

Jeffrey. — “How is he present?”

Palmer. — “The doctors say, in an ineffable way. Therefore why do you ask me?”

Sir Richard Abridges, on the same day after dinner, sent for Palmer to come to his lodging. There he exhorted him to revoke his opinions, to spare his young years, wit, and learning, saying, “If you will be conformable, and show yourself repentant, I promise you I will give you food and drink, and books, and ten pounds yearly. And if you will set your mind to marriage, I will procure you a wife and a farm, and help to furnish your farm for you.”

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and answered concerning his religion somewhat at large, but very modestly and reverently. He concluded in the end, that as he had already renounced his living in two places for Christ’s sake, so he would with God’s grace, be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God might send time.

Sir Richard. — “Well, Palmer, then I perceive one of us two will be damned. For we are of two faiths, and I am certain there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation.”

Palmer. — “O, Sir, I hope that we both will be saved.”

Sir Richard. — “How may that be?”

Palmer. — “Right well, Sir. For as it has pleased our merciful Savior, according to the parable in the gospel, to call me at the third hour of the day, at the age of twenty-four years, even so I trust he has called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion.”

Sir Richard. — “Do you say so? Well, Palmer, well, I wish I might have you but one month in my house. I have no doubt that I would convert you, or you would convert me.”

Winchcomb. — “Take pity on your golden years, and pleasant flowers of youth, before it is too late.”

Palmer. — “Sir, I long for those springing flowers that will never fade away.”

Winchcomb. — “If you are at that point, I am done with you.”

The next morning, the 16th of July, Palmer was required to subscribe to certain articles which they had drawn out, as the cause of his condemnation. In the front of them many heinous terms were collected together, such as “horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish and execrable doctrine.” Palmer refused to subscribe to these words, affirming that the doctrine which he professed was not such, but good and sound doctrine.

Jeffrey. — “You may see, good people, what shifts these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice administered to them. But I tell you, this style is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it.”

Palmer. — “Then I cannot subscribe to it.”

Jeffrey. — “Will you then crave mercy, if you do not like justice, and revoke your heresy?”

Palmer. — “I forsake the pope, and his popelings, with all popish heresy.”

Jeffrey. — “Then subscribe to the articles.”

Palmer. — “Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe.”

Jeffrey. — “Subscribe, and qualify the matter with your own pen.”

So he subscribed. Whereupon Doctor Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation, and so he was delivered to the charge of the secular power, and was burned the same day in the afternoon, about five o’clock, together with John Quin and Thomas Askew.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people, comforted his fellows with these words. “Brethren,” he said, “be of good cheer in the Lord, and do not faint. Remember the words of our Savior Christ, where he says, ‘Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness’ sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not those who kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul. God is faithful, and will not allow us to be tempted above what we are able to bear.’ We will not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Indeed, for coals we will receive pearls. For God’s Holy Spirit certifies our spirit, that he has even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven for His sake who suffered first for us.”

With these and similar words, he not only comforted the hearts of his brethren who were with him, appointed as sheep to be slain, but he also drew plentiful tears from the eyes of many who heard him. And as they were singing a psalm, the sheriff, Sir Richard Abridges, and the bailiffs of the town, came with a great company of men in armor, to conduct them to the fire. When they had come to the place where they would suffer, all three fell to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voice pronounced the 31st psalm. But the other two who were brought out with him from prison, made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

As Palmer began to arise, two popish priests came behind him, exhorting him yet to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered and said, “Away! away! tempt me no longer. Away from me, I say, all you who work iniquity! For the Lord has heard the voice of my crying.” And so with that they put off their raiment, and went to the stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post. Palmer said, “Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for Christ’s sake, beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you.”

As he spoke this, a servant of one of the bailiffs, threw a faggot at his face, so that blood gushed out. The sheriff’ reviled him for this, calling him a cruel tormentor, and with his walking staff he broke his head, so that the blood likewise ran about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as though they had felt no pain, they cried: “Lord Jesus, strengthen us. Lord Jesus assist us. Lord Jesus receive our souls.” And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

An Account of a cruel and tyrannical Murder, done by the pretended Catholics, on three Women and an Infant, to wit, the Mother, two Daughters, and the Child, in the Isle of Guernsey, for Christ's true Religion, July 8th, A.D. 1556.

Among all the histories narrated in this book, though there are many pitiful, several lamentable, others horrible and tragic, yet is there none to be compared either for cruelty, or so far off from all compassion and sense of humanity, as this merciless act of the papists. It was done in the Isle of Guernsey, on three women and an infant; namely, Katherine Cawches, the mother; Willemine Gilbert, the daughter; Perotine Massey, the other daughter; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

But before I come to the purpose of this history, it may be necessary to better explain the matter, to begin first with the origin of this tragic cruelty. The case was this:

On the 17th of May A.D. 1556, in the Isle of Guernsey, in a town called St. Peter's Port, there was a wicked woman named Vincent Gosset. She went to the house of a person dwelling in the town, and entered into a chamber where she saw a cup of silver, and took it away. Immediately after this act was done, she brought the cup to one Perotine Massey, an honest woman dwelling in the town, desiring her to lend her sixpence for it. Perotine seeing the cup or goblet, and suspecting it to be stolen, answered that she would not take it. Nevertheless, knowing of its owner, she took it to restore it to the one it belonged to. And so the woman would not carry it to another, she gave her sixpence.

[927] A.D. 1556.

The next day, the king's officers assembled the justices to enquire about and examine the act of Vincent Gosset, as well as other things. So that, after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justice, for the constable reported to have found the vessel in the house of Perotine Massey, who then dwelt with her mother, Catherine Cawches, and her sister, Willemine Gilbert, their bodies were arrested upon the report, and put in prison, and their moveable goods were taken by inventory. A few days after, these three women, thus abiding in confinement in the castle, made their supplication to the justices to have justice administered to them, if they had offended the law. If not, they beseeched to grant them the benefit of subjects, etc. This supplication put up, they were thereupon appointed to come to their answer on the 5th day of June, in the year aforesaid. On that day, after strictly examining the matter, it was proved that they lived truly and honestly, as became Christian women.

They were found by the neighbors not guilty of what they were charged with, but had always lived as honest women among them — except that they had not been obedient to the commandments of holy church, etc. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbors, it was adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Gosset, being attainted of felony, and condemned for it, she would be whipped, and after her ear was nailed to the pillory, she would be banished out of the isle without further punishment. As regards the three women, the mother with her two daughters, for not coming to the church, they were returned as prisoners into the castle, on the 1st of July. This is the true account in every point as the case stood, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue. In this you see what false surmised matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved; and how by the attestation of their neighbors, they were fully cleared of the act, and would have been dismissed by the temporal court, had

not the clergy brought matter of religion against them. The clergy exercised such extremity in persecuting these four women, that in no case would they escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you will hear) to their final end. For after this declaration (mentioned above) was made known, of their not coming to the church, they were sent to the clergy, with letters of mandate to the dean under their signets, as follows:

> "Master dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, may it please you to know that we are informed by the deposition of certain honest men, passed before us in the manner of an inquiry, in which inquiry Catherine Cawches and her two daughters have submitted themselves in a certain criminal matter. In this, we are informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in despising and forsaking the mass and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and the queen. For which we send you the said matter, in that is a spiritual matter, to the end that you may proceed in this according to your good discretions, and as briefly as you possibly can, and also that it pertained to your office, recommending you to God, who gives you grace to do that which pertains to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July A.D. 1556."

After these letters, the women were again brought before the justice, with his assistants. In his presence, being examined about their faith concerning the ordinances of the Romish church, they gave their answers that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done to the contrary in the time of king Edward VI, in showing obedience to his ordinances and commandments. After which they were returned to prison. The dean and curate gave their information touching the women, and delivered it to the bailiff and jurats, condemning and reputing them to be heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, nor yet being ever examined as to their faith and religion. When the bailiff and jurats understood that the dean and curates had not examined the women as to their faith, they would not sit in judgment, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be examined about their faith. And so the officers, at the command of the justices, presented them before the dean and curates. This being accomplished, they were examined separately one from another. After this examination, they were returned again into prison.

Then on the 14th of July 1556, after examination, the dean and the curates delivered before the justice, under the seal of the dean, and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum of which was that Catherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and they reputed them as such, and have delivered them to justice, the execution to be done according to the sentence.

When this was done, command was given to the king's officers to go to the castle to bring the women to hear the sentence against them. They said in the ears of all the listeners, that they would see their accusers, and know those who had deposed against them, for they did not know that they had offended the majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church — but they would entirely obey, serve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true subjects are bound to do. Notwithstanding this, the poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burned until they were consumed to ashes.

After sentence was pronounced, the women appealed to the king and queen, and their honorable council, saying that they were condemned against reason and right, and for that cause they made their appeal. Notwithstanding, they could not be heard, but were delivered by the bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the sentence.

When the time arrived that these three good servants and holy saints of God, the innocent mother with her two daughters, would suffer, there were three stakes set up in the place where they were to consummate their martyrdom. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope broke before they were dead; and so the poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, one of the daughters then being pregnant, to the great horror of those who were present, gave birth to an infant in the midst of the flames, who was taken out of the fire by one W. House, and laid on the grass.

Then the child was carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave sentence that it should be carried back and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle in which all may see the Herodian cruelty of this generation of popish tormentors.

Now, as this history, for the horrible strangeness of the act, will be hardly believed by some, I have therefore annexed the supplication of the inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the two sisters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act. That supplication follows here:

To the Right Honorable, and the Queen's Highness' most gracious Commissioners, for hearing and determining matters of Religion, and Ecclesiastical causes.

"Most lamentably and woefully complaining, Matthew Cawches, of the isle of Guernsey, your poor and humble petitioner, shows to your gracious and honorable lordships, that whereas Jaques Amy, clerk, dean of the isle aforesaid, assisted by the curates there, against all order, law, and reason, by color of a sentence of heresy, pronounced against Catherine Cawches, the sister of your honors' said supplicant, and Perotine and Willemine her two daughters, caused the said Catherine, being a poor widow, and her said two daughters, to be burned most cruelly.

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"This was done even though none of the said persons held, maintained, or defended anything directly against the ecclesiastical laws then in being, under the reign of the late queen Mary, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the laws then in force. And yet the cruelty of the said dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating such murder as aforesaid, raged so far that while the said persons were consumed with violent fire, the said Perotine being burned, she gave birth to a goodly man-child. It was taken up and handled by the officers, and afterwards, in a most despiteful manner, was thrown into the tire, and there it was most cruelly burned with the holy mother. In tender consideration of this, and because this inhuman murder was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to justice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the said dean and his accomplices, here ready to be shown to your honors, will make very plain and manifest: It may, therefore, please your good and gracious lordships, for the zeal that you bear to justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, to have due consideration in justice of such a horrible murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit of it. And that it may please your honorable lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretense aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor petitioner, to whom of right they belong. And your honors' said supplicant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to His glory, and your everlasting health."

This supplication being presented to the queen's honorable commissioners, in the year 1562 such order was taken that the matter being returned again to Guernsey to be further

examined, the dean was committed to prison and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he and all other partakers in that inhuman murder, whether of conscience or for fear of the law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the Queen's pardon. This submission is still on the rolls, and for this submission they received the pardon of the queen for the horrid act.

Three Martyrs burned at Greenstead, in Sussex.

Near about the same time that these three women with the infant were burned at Guernsey, three others likewise suffered at Greenstead, in Sussex, two men and one woman, on the 18th of July 1556. Their names were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mistress Tree. For righteousness' sake they submitted themselves to death and torment of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them.

The burning of Thomas Moor, in Leicester.

As the rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman nor child, wife nor maiden, lame, blind, nor cripple, and as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected. But whoever he was that did not hold to the pope and the sacrament of the altar, whether learned or unlearned, wise, or unwise, all went to the fire. This may appear by this simple and innocent creature named Thomas Moor, a servant in the town of Leicester, about the age of twenty-four. For speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven and not in the pix,[118] he was apprehended. Being brought before his ordinary, he was asked whether he did not believe his Maker to be there, pointing to the high altar. This he denied.

Then the bishop asked, "What then do you believe?"

The young man answered back; "As his creed taught him."

The bishop said to him; "And what is over there that you see above the altar?" Answering, he said; "I cannot tell what you would have me see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay trappings hanging about the pix."

"Why, do you not believe Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?' asked the bishop.

"No, that I do not," he said.

Upon this, the ordinary making short with him, read the sentence, and condemned this true and faithful servant of Christ to death, in St. Margaret's church in Leicester. He was burnt and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom, for the testimony of righteousness, about the 26th of June, 1556.

To this examination of Thomas Moor, we have annexed the answers and examination of one John Jackson, before Doctor Cook, one of the commissioners, for it belongs much to the same time.

The Examination of John Jackson before Doctor Cook, on the 11th of March A.D. 1556.

"First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me a heretic. I answered and said, 'I am no heretic.'

[118] *Pix*: any receptacle in which wafers for the Eucharist are kept.

"'Yes,' he said. 'For Master Read told me that you were the rankest heretic of all in the King's bench.'

"I said 'I do not know him.'

"'No,' he said. 'Why, he examined you at the King's bench.'

"I answered him, and said, 'He examined five others, but not me.'

"Cook. — Then answer me: 'what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.'

"I answered, 'It is a difficult question to ask me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me.'

"'What a heretic is this?' he said.

"I said, 'It is easier to call a man a heretic, than to prove him one.'

"Then he said, 'What church are you of?'

"'What church?' I asked. 'I am of the same church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone.'

"'You are a heretic,' he said.

"'Indeed,' I answered. 'How can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.'

"'No,' he said, 'Keeper, away with him.'

"Yet I tarried there long, and talked with him. I said, 'Sir, I can be content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.'

"He answered and said to me that, 'I did not know what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it was true or not.'

"I answered and said to him, 'Yes, that I do.'

"'By what?' he asked.

"'Hereby,' I said. 'Our Savior Christ says, 'Search the Scriptures; for in them you think you have eternal life, and it is they that testify of me.'

"' This is a wise proof,' he answered.

"' Is it so?' I asked, 'What do you say then to these words that the prophet David said? 'What man is he that fears the Lord? Him he shall teach in the way that He chooses. His soul will dwell at ease; and his seed shall inherit the earth. The secret of the Lord is with those who fear him; and he will show them his covenant.' Psa 25.12-14.

"Cook. — 'I pray you tell me, who is the head of the Church?'

"I answered, and said, 'Christ is the head.'

"'But who is head on earth?'

"I said, 'Christ has members here on earth.'

"'Who are they?' he asked.

"I replied, 'those who are ruled by the word of God.'

"'You are a good fellow,' he said.

"'I am what I am,' I answered.

"Then he said to my keeper, 'Take him back to prison.'

"'I am content with that,' I said; and so we parted."

[929] A.D. 1556

The Martyrdom of Joan Waste, a blind woman.

On the first day of August 1556, there likewise suffered at the town of Derby, a certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of twenty-two, named Joan Waste, of the parish of Allhallows. Of those who sat upon this innocent woman's blood, the chief ones were Ralph Baine, bishop of the diocese, and Doctor Draicot, his chancellor, with others. After the bishop and Doctor Draicot had Joan Waste apprehended in the town of Derby, suspecting her to be guilty of certain heresies, she was privately examined, in prison as well as out of prison. After that, being brought to public examination before the bishop, she was burnt in Derby.

This Joan Waste was the daughter of one William Waste, an honest poor man . She was born blind, and continued with her father and mother, during their lives. After their death she lived with Roger Waste, her brother. And in the time of King Edward VI, of blessed memory, she went daily to the church to hear divine service read in the vulgar tongue. And thus by hearing homilies and sermons, she became well-affected to the religion then taught. So at length, having gotten and saved so much money by her labor as would buy her a New Testament, she had one provided for her. Though she was herself unlearned, and unable to read because of her blindness, yet for the great desire she had to understand, and to have imprinted in her memory the sayings of the holy Scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted herself chiefly with one John Hurt, then prisoner in the common hall of Derby for debts.

John Hurt was a sober grave man, seventy years of age. By her earnest entreaty — being a prisoner, and many times idle and without company — for his exercise he daily read to her some chapter of the New Testament. If at any time he were otherwise occupied or prevented through sickness, she would repair to one John Pemerton, cleric of the parish church of All-Saints in Derby, or to some other person who could read. Sometimes she would give a penny or two to those persons who would not freely read to her, appointing to them beforehand how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter for a price.

She so profited by this, that she was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Testament without a book, but could also aptly reprove sin by various places of Scripture, as well as such abuses in religion, that were then too much in use in many persons.

Not long after, through the death of blessed King Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion in the reign of queen Mary his sister. In this alteration, notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greater part of the whole realm into the old papism again, this poor blind woman continued in a constant consciences. She was zealous in what she had learned, and also refused to communicate in religion with those who taught contrary doctrine to what she had learned in King Edward's time.

For this she was called before the bishop and Doctor Draicot, who objected against her the usual articles.

She answered that she believed so much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached by many learned men. Some of them suffered imprisonment, and some suffered death for that same doctrine, and she asked of them, if they would do so for their doctrine. If they would not, she desired them for God's sake not to trouble her,

being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, saying that by God's assistance she was ready to yield up her life in that faith.

And yet notwithstanding, she was pressed by the bishop and Doctor Draicot, with many arguments from Christ's omnipotence, and many times was threatened with grievous imprisonments, torments, and death. The poor woman, desirous to prolong her life, offered to the bishop that if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her believe concerning the sacrament was *true*, and that at the dreadful day of judgment he would answer for her in this, then she would further answer them.

The bishop answered, "he would." But Doctor Draicot his chancellor, hearing that, said, "My lord, you do not know what you do; you may in no case answer for a heretic." Immediately he asked the poor woman whether she would recant or not, and said she should answer for herself.

The poor woman perceiving this, answered that if they refused to take upon their conscience that what they would have her believe was true, she would answer no further, but desired them to do their pleasure. And so, after certain persuasions, they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her to the bailiffs of Derby. After they had kept her about a month or five weeks, at length a writ *De haeretico comburendo* (to burn a heretic) came to them. By virtue of this writ, they were appointed by the bishop to bring her to the parish church of All Saints at an appointed day, where Doctor Draicot would give a sermon.

When the day and time had come that this innocent martyr would suffer, Doctor Draicot first came to the church, accompanied with several gentlemen. This done, and all things now in readiness, at last the poor blind servant of God was brought and set before the pulpit, where the doctor having commenced his sermon, and there inveighing against many matters which he called heresies, he declared to the people that this woman was condemned for denying the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church. And he said that she was not only blind in her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her soul. And he said, that as her body would presently be consumed with material fire, so her soul would be burned in hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it will be separated from the body, and there remain, world without end. He said it was not lawful for the people to pray for her. And so with many terrible threats, he made an end of his sermon, and commanded the bailiffs and those gentlemen to see her executed. The sermon thus ended, the blessed servant of God was carried away from the church, to a place called the Windmill-pit, near the town. And holding her brother Roger Waste by the hand, she prepared herself, and desired the people to pray with her, and said such prayers as she had learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as life served. In the meantime, Doctor Draicot went to his inn, and there laid down and slept during the whole time of her execution.

About the beginning of the next month, which was September, a certain godly and devout person, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltshire, named **Edward Sharp**, forty years of age or thereabouts, was condemned to martyrdom at Bristol. There he constantly and manfully persisted in the just cause of Christ's gospel, for disliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romish church. He was tried like pure gold, and made a lively sacrifice in the fire. In his death, as in the death of all his other saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy, to whom be praise forever. Amen.

Next after the martyrdom of Edward Sharp, followed four who suffered at MAYFIELD, in Sussex, on the 24th of Sept., A.D. 1556. These four, being at the place where they were to suffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the stake ready to abide the force of the fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

The day after the martyrdom of these at Mayfield, a young man was put to death at BRISTOL, for the like testimony of Jesus Christ. There he yielded himself to the torments of the fire, giving up his life into the hands of the Lord with such joyful constancy and triumph, that all the church of Christ have just cause to praise God for him.

In the same month, two more godly martyrs were consumed by fire at Wotton Underhedge in GLOUCESTERSHIRE. They died very gloriously in a constant faith, to the terror of the wicked, and the comfort of the godly. So gloriously did the Lord work in them, that death to them was life, and life with an evil conscience was death.

[930]

An affecting Account of the unmerciful handling of William Dangerfield, and Joan his Wife, who with their young infant, fourteen days old, were taken out of their House, and laid in the common jail among thieves and murderers.

When I had written the history of the Guernsey women, with the young infant burned with them, and reviewed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waste at Derby, I well hoped I would find no more such histories of unmerciful cruelty shown upon weak women, with their children and young infants. But now, coming to the persecution of Gloucestershire, around the parts of Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness shown against another woman, which was as far from all charity and humanity as has yet been recited in any other history.

In the parish of Wotton Underhedge, not far from Bristol, one William Dangerfield was dwelling, a right honest and godly poor man. He had nine children by his wife Joan, and she was then lying in childbed with the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his house a certain time for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her and to see his children, she now being delivered four days before.

The return of this man was no sooner known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbors, than they beset the house, incensed with the spirit of papistry, and took William Dangerfield, and carried him to prison. At length he was brought to the bishop, named Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained for so long, that his legs were almost fretted off with irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife was likewise taken, with her young child being but fourteen days old, and carried into the common jail. There she was placed among thieves and murderers, where both she and her poor innocent child found so little charity among the papists, that she could never come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that she put about the child, in her bosom.

While the husband and the wife were thus confined in separate prisons, the bishop began to deal not with the woman first, as the serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glossing words, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted. He asked William why he should stand more in his own conceit, than she did. And so he subtly drew out a form of recantation, with which he deceived the simple soul. Once

William had said he would consent, even though he had not yet recanted, they allowed him to go to his wife, where she lay in the common jail.

Then with melting hearts, opening their minds one to another, when he saw that his wife was not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared to her the whole matter. He told her how he was falsely circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the bishop, saying that she had certainly recanted. And thus deceiving me (he said), he brought this to me — and so he plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation. The wife hearing what her husband had done, was sorely grieved, and exclaimed, "Alas! This long have we continued as one, and has Satan so prevailed to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism?" And so William and his wife Joan parted, with what hearts the Lord knows. Then he began not a little to bewail his promise made to the bishop; and he made his prayer to Almighty God, desiring that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, and darkness light. And so he departed home towards his house. On the way homeward, it is affirmed that he took his own life, and shortly after departed according to his prayer, having endured in prison for twelve weeks.

After this, his wife Joan continued in prison with her tender infant, till at last she was brought before the bishop to be examined. What her answers were, is not known. However, they did not please the bishop, as it appeared by his increased anger against the poor woman. And also by her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which remained with her in the jail. The babe was a partaker of her martyrdom, so long ad her milk would serve to suckle it, till at length the child — being starved for cold and famine — was sent away when it was past all remedy. And so it died shortly after. The mother followed not long after. Besides them, the mother of the husband, over eighty years old, being left in the house after their apprehension, also perished there for lack of comfort.

And thus you have in one history the death of four together: first of the husband; after that of the innocent child, then of the old wife; and lastly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly sure.

In the month of October following, a shoemaker was burned at the town of Northampton, a true witness and disciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given to him, adhered firmly to the sound doctrine and preaching of God's word, and renounced the false religion of the Romish See.

After him, not long after in the same month of October, three godly confessors also died in the castle of Chichester, being there in bonds for the like cause of Christ's gospel. They would also have suffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather the cruel handling of the papists, taken them away before, who afterwards buried them in the fields.

I read moreover that in this present year, A.D. 1556, a person called Hooke, a true witness of the Lord's truth was burnt at Chester.

An Account of five Persons famished in Canterbury Castle.

Among all the bishops, Bonner, bishop of London, principally excelled in persecuting the poor members and saints of Christ. So too, of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, was the sorest and of least compassion (with only Dunning of Norwich excepted). By his unmerciful nature, very many were put to death in the diocese of Canterbury, not only in the time of Queen Mary, but also some in the blessed beginning of our most renowned Queen Elizabeth, as will hereafter appear by the grace of Christ.

Of those who suffered in Queen Mary's time within the diocese of Canterbury, some have bee recited already, with the order and form set down of such articles as were then most commonly administered to them.

Now to proceed in order of time where we left off, next follows the month of November.

In the beginning of it, there were together in the castle of Canterbury, fifteen godly and innocent martyrs. Of that number not one escaped with life, but they were either burned, or else famished in prison. Which is the easier death of these two sorts, God knows; it is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is that, of these fifteen, ten were burned and suffered in the fire. More about them will follow in the next book. The other five were starved most unmercifully in prison.

The Persecution in the Diocese of Lichfield.

The months of September, November, and December, just as they were troublesome to other places, and especially to the diocese of Canterbury because of the archdeacon, so likewise these months brought no little trouble in the country of LICHFIELD and COVENTRY, through a cruel bishop there called Ralph Baine, and a crueler chancellor named Doctor Draicot. Through their fierce inquisition, there was a great stir among the people, being called to an examination of their faith; many were forced to bear faggots, though they were not put to the torment of death.

[931] A.D. 1556.

Yet, because it may appear what a large number there is in the countries of England abroad, who dislike the pope's Romish laws and religion in their hearts (if they dared utter their minds), I thought to recite the names of those in the aforesaid diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, who were taken in suspicion, and examined for their religion.

First among those who were detected and enjoined to the popish penance — that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in procession —were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and convicted by witness, and bore a faggot on the 12th of September. Likewise eight others for seldom coming to the church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the sacrament, but looking upon their book, etc. Besides them, eleven priests were deprived of their livings for the like causes: —

> Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Juridan, priest; Edmund Crokel, priest; Thomas Whitehead, priest; William Taylor, priest; Anselme Sele, priest: Richard Slavy, priest, married; Edward Hawkes, priest, married; Robert Aston, priest, deprived; Henry Tecka, priest, deprived; Robert Massey, priest, married and deprived.

Besides these, thirty-three others were detected, accused and examined, although they bore no faggot, but were dismissed.

These persons, with many more following in the next year, although they subscribed and recanted through fear of death, I recite them here so that it might appear what a number there were, not only in the county of Lichfield, but also in other parts, who were set in heart against the pope's proceedings, if fear rather than conscience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The Conclusion of this Eleventh Book.

And thus, Christian reader, you have the whole persecution of the year 1556, and the fourth year of Queen Mary's reign, with the names and causes of all who suffered martyrdom

within the compass of that year. The number of all slain and martyred in diverse places of England this year, came to over eighty-four persons, of whom many were wives, widows, and maidens — besides those who otherwise by secret practice were made away or driven out of goods and houses, or out of the realm; or else within the realm, were put to penance, and induced to recant by forcible violence. I have only omitted the account of Sir John Cheeke, knight and schoolmaster for some time, of King Edward. The worthiness of this man deserves to have much said of him; but his fall should rather be covered in silence and oblivion. We will only note a word or two about a few things which principally pertain to the present history.

First, Master Cheeke being in Germany, out of all danger of persecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in safety, but also esteemed among the Germans, and also well placed in the city of Strasburg. If he had remained there, giving way to time, rather than to presume upon adventures, perhaps it would have been better for him. But what fatal instigation wrought in his mind I do not know. In the end, it so fell out, that he would take his journey with Sir Peter Carew, from High Germany to Brussels. Having, it is said, King Philip's safe conduct to pass and repass, he came to Brussels to see the Queen's ambassadors. Having brought the Lord Paget on his way towards England, upon returning, between Brussels and Antwerp, he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the provost marshal, spoiled of their horses, and put into a cart. Their legs, arms, and bodies were tied with halters to the body of the cart, and blindfolded. They were then conveyed to a ship and put under the hatches. And so they were brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being entrapped, and now in the hands of his enemies, he had but one of these two ways to take: either to change his religion, or to exchange his life. There was no other remedy with those papists. Neither could his conscience excuse him, nor truth defend him, nor learning help him.

Although Master Fecknam, whether influenced by the queen, or for his own friendship towards his old acquaintance, took upon himself the defense and commendation of Master Cheeke, speaking in his behalf. Yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he must recant, and so he did.

Then after his recantation, he was, through the crafty handling of the papists, allured first to dine in company with them, and at length drawn unawares to sit in the council when the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other bishops to be condemned. The remorse he felt, so mightily wrought in his heart that not long after he left this mortal life. His fall, although it was full of infirmity, his rising again by repentance was great, and his end was comfortable, the Lord be praised.

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.