

THE  
ACTS AND MONUMENTS

BY  
**JOHN FOXE.**

(1517-1587)

First published in

**1563**

*Original woodcuts are excluded*

FAMILY EDITION

**Books VII – VIII**

EDITED BY

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**1855**

**Source text:**

[http://www.archive.org/stream/actsmonumentsofcoofoxe/actsmonumentsofcoofoxe\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/actsmonumentsofcoofoxe/actsmonumentsofcoofoxe_djvu.txt)

Formatted, corrected, modernized w/Am. spelling, and annotated ([in blue](#))  
by **William H. Gross** [www.onthewing.org](http://www.onthewing.org) April 23, 2012

Last updated 8/25/2025

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## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK VII.

BEGINNING WITH

#### *The Reign of King Henry the Eighth – 1509-1547.*

King Henry VII died in the year 1509, and had four sons by Elizabeth his wife, and as many daughters. Only three survived: to wit, Prince Henry, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary. Of these, King Henry VIII succeeded his father; Lady Margaret was married to James IV, king of Scotland; and Lady Mary was affianced to Charles king of Castile.

Not long before the death of King Henry VII, Prince Arthur, his eldest son, espoused Lady Catherine, daughter to Ferdinand. He was fifteen years of age and she was about the age of seventeen. Shortly after this marriage, within five months, he died at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After his decease, the succession to the crown fell to King Henry VIII, who at the age of eighteen years, commenced his reign, A.D. 1509. Shortly after, he married Catherine, the widow of his late brother Prince Arthur, in order that her dowry, which was great, should not be transported out of the land. For this marriage, which was more political than scriptural, he received a dispensation from Pope Julius II, at the request of Ferdinand her father. The reign of this king continued with great nobleness and fame for thirty-eight years. During this time there was great alteration of things in the civil state of the realm, and especially in the ecclesiastical state, and in matters pertaining to the church. For by Henry the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was exiled and abolished out of the realm, idolatry and superstition were somewhat repressed, images defaced, pilgrimages abolished, abbeys and monasteries pulled down, monkish orders rooted out, the Scriptures translated into the vernacular tongue (English), and the state of the church and religion redressed. Concerning all of these things, we will endeavor (Christ willing) to discourse particularly and in order, after we first touch on a few matters which are to be noted in the beginning of his reign.

The first thing that comes to our hands is a turbulent tragedy and a fierce contention which had long before troubled the church. It was renewed afresh in 1509, between two orders of begging-friars — to wit, the Dominican and the Franciscan friars, about the conception of the Virgin Mary the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans held with St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called *gray-friars* or *minorites*. Their opinion was this: that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Spirit, was so sanctified that she was never subject one moment in her conception, to original sin. The Dominican friars held with Dominic, who were commonly called *black-friars*, or *preaching-friars*. Their opinion was this: that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam; so that this privilege only belongs to Christ, to be conceived without original sin. Notwithstanding, the blessed Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, as was John the Baptist, Jeremiah, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and engendering between these two orders of friars, burst out into such a flame, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost throughout whole church. Some held with Scotus on one side, some with Thomas Aquinas on the other. The Minorites who held with Scotus, their master, disputed and concluded that she was conceived without any spot or stain of original sin. And thereupon they caused the feast and service of the Conception of St. Mary the Virgin to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. On the other hand, the Dominican friars who took sides with Aquinas, preached that it was heresy to affirm that the

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blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and those who celebrated the feast of her conception, or said any masses in honor of it, grievously and mortally sinned.

At the time when this fantasy grew hot in the church, one side preaching against the other, Pope Sixtus the Fourth, A.D. 1476, joined with the Minorites or Franciscans, and first sent out his decree by authority apostolic. He willed, ordained, and commanded all men in holy church forevermore to solemnize this new-found feast of the Conception. He offered to all men and women who devoutly frequented the church, and heard mass and service from the first evensong of the feast to the octaves of the same, would receive as many days of pardon as Pope Urban IV and Pope Martin V granted for hearing the service of Corpus Christi day. This decree was given and dated at Rome, A.D. 1476.

Moreover, in order that the devotion of the people might be more encouraged in the celebration of this feast of the conception, the pope added a new clause to the Ave Maria, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all those who would invoke the blessed Virgin with the addition, saying thus: "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you, blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb, Jesus Christ; and blessed is Anna your mother, of whom your virgin's flesh has proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen."

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The reader many note for his learning, three things: first, how the pope turns that improperly into a prayer, which was sent by God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope adds to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempts Mary the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there is no original sin in her, then she does not bear the image of Adam, nor does she descend from that evil seed which proceeds upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. Paul teaches, Rom 5.14-16.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, if she does descend from that seed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed to her. If she does not descend from it, then she does not come from the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, etc. Again, seeing that death is the effect and wages of sin, by the doctrine of St. Paul, Rom 6.23, then she would not have had to suffer the curse and punishment of death, and so she should never have died if original sin had no place in her. But to return to our history, this constitution of the pope being set forth for the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin, A.D. 1476, it was not long after, that Pope Sixtus perceiving that the Dominican friars with their accomplices would not conform to this, directed by the authority apostolical, a bull which in effect is as follows:

"Whereas, the holy church of Rome has ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnization of the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary; certain orders of the Black Friars in their public sermons to the people in diverse places, have not ceased up to now to preach, and still preach daily, that all those who hold or affirm the glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, are heretics; and those who celebrate the service of her conception, or hear the sermons of those who so affirm, sin grievously. Also, not content with this, they write and publish books maintaining their assertions to the great offense and ruin of godly minds. To prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions which have risen, and may arise in the minds of the faithful hereafter, by such opinions and preachings: We therefore by the authority apostolical, condemn and reprove the same; and by

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<sup>1</sup> [Rom 5:14](#) Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned according to the likeness of the transgression of Adam, who is a type of Him who was to come, etc.

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the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain that the preachers of God's word, and all other persons, of whatever state, degree, order, or condition they may be, who presume to dare affirm or preach to the people that these opinions and assertions are true, or who read, hold, or maintain that any such books are true, having intelligence of it before, shall thereby incur the sentence of excommunication, from which they shall not be absolved other than by the bishop of Rome, except in the time of death."

This bull, being dated A.D. 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Gray-Friars Franciscans, who defended the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominican Friars, who held the contrary side. By the authority of this bull, the Gray Order had gotten such a conquest over the Black Order, that the Dominicans were compelled at length, as a perpetual memorial of the triumph, to give to the glorious Virgin every night, an anthem in praise of her conception, and to subscribe to their doctrine. In that doctrine are contained the following points, with others:

1. That the blessed Virgin Mary suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin, but only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.
2. That the Virgin, just as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin (as neither was Christ her son), so she had no need of remission of sins; but instead of that, she had the divine preservation of God's help keeping her from all sin, which was the only good she needed, and she had it.
3. That even though the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died, this is to be understood to come not for any penalty due for sin, but either for imitation of and conformity to Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents, who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, would have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and by the strength of other fruits and foods in paradise. These foods, because Mary did not have them, but ate our common foods she therefore died, and not for any necessity of original sin.
4. The universal proposition of St. Paul, who says that, "The Scripture has confined all men under sin," is to be understood thus: as speaking of all those who are not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.
5. If justification is taken as reconciliation of someone who was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous, then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not as justified by Christ, but she is just from her beginning, by preservation.
- fi. If a Savior is taken for the one who saves men fallen into perdition and condemnation, then Christ is not the Savior of Mary, but is her Savior only in this respect: as saving her from not falling into condemnation, etc.
7. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor should she do so, for expiation of her sins, but for her preservation from sinning.
8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her own sins, but she prayed many times only for the remission of other men's sins, and counted their sins as hers.
9. If the blessed Virgin had died before the passion of her Son, God would not have reposed her soul in the place among the patriarchs, or among the just, but in the same most pleasant place of paradise where Adam and Eve were before they transgressed.

These were the doting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, then commonly held in the schools. They were written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in their churches, and set forth in pictures. So that the people were taught almost

nothing else in the pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they should call to her for help, addressing her with special titles such as “The way of mercy — The mother of grace — The lover of piety — The comforter of mankind — The continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King her Son, who never ceases,” etc. Although most of the school doctors were of the contrary faction — such as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and others — yet these new papists dismissed their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions.

The Dominican Friars, for their part, were not all silent, having great authorities and also the Scripture on their side. Yet the others having the apostolical see with them, had the better hand, and got the victory triumphantly, to the high exaltation of their order. Pope Sixtus, by the authority apostolic, after he had decreed the conception-day of the Virgin was to be sanctified perpetually, and with his terrible bull had condemned as heretics all who withstood the same, the Dominican friars were driven to two inconveniences. The one was to keep silent; the other was to give way to their adversaries, the Franciscans. Although, where the mouth dared not speak, the heart would yet work; though their tongues were tied, yet their good-will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

It happened in this year 1509, after this dissension between the Dominican and the Franciscan Friars, that certain of the Dominicans, thought by subtle sleight to work in the people’s heads that which they dared not attempt by open preaching. They devised an image of the Virgin that was made so artfully, that by private springs the friars made it move, make gestures, lament, complain, weep, groan, and give answers to those who asked it questions.

[409] A.D. 1509.

So that the people were brought into a marvellous persuasion, till at length the fraud being detected, the friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at Berne in that same year.

This story partially appears in the history of John Stumsius. But in the registers and records of the city of Berne, the order and circumstance is more fully expressed and set forth, and is thus declared:

In the city of Berne, there were four principal actors and chiefs of the Dominican order, who influenced a simple poor friar, newly planted in the cloister. The friars so infatuated him with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katherine, and moreover imprinted in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he fully believed the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and offered him a red host miraculously consecrated with the blood of Christ. And also that the blessed Virgin had sent him to the senators of Berne with instructions, declaring to them from the mouth of the Virgin that, “She was conceived in sin; and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited nor allowed in the city, who were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception.” He added, moreover that, “They should resort to a certain image there of the Virgin Mary (which the friars had made to weep by crafty engines) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to that image.”

This feigned device was no sooner forged by the friars, than it was believed by the people. So that for a great while the red-colored host was undoubtedly taken to be the true body and blood of Christ, and certain colored drops of it were sent abroad to noble personages and states as a great relic; and that too was not without considerable cost in return. Thus the deceived people came flocking in great numbers to the image, and to the red host, and

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colored blood, with many gifts and oblations. In short, the Dominican friars had so managed the matter, and had so swept all offerings into their own order from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their reputation decaying, their kitchen growing cold, and their coffers becoming empty, they were not able to abide that misery. Not being ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeit doings (for, as the proverb says, “It is all stumbling before a cripple”) soon discovered the crafty juggling, and detected the fraudulent miracles of the Dominicans. Whereupon the four chief leaders were apprehended and burned. The provincial of that order was one of them.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedy. In this it may evidently appear to the reader how these turbulent friars could not agree among themselves, and in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. Letting these ridiculous friars pass with their trifling fantasies (which deserve to be derided by all wise men), this is to be lamented in the meantime: to behold the miserable times of the church, in which the devil kept the minds of Christ’s people so attentive and occupied in such friarly devices, that scarcely anything was taught or heard in the church, but the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary. But little mention was made of our justification by faith, of grace, and of the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horror of sin, of the difference between the law and the gospel, of the true liberty of conscience, etc.. Therefore, in so blind a time of darkness it was very needful and requisite that the Lord, of His mercy, should look upon His church and send down his gracious reformation, which He did. For shortly after this, God graciously raised up Martin Luther, which the order of history now requires that we deal with him, and we will do so (Christ willing) after the history of Richard Hunne and a few other things are premised, to better open the history that follows.

Mention was made before of the doings of Pope Julius II, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned (and not unjustly) in the Council of Tours in France (A.D. 1510). Yet all this could not assuage the furious spirit of this pope, for in the same year he invaded the city of Mutina and Mirandula in Italy, and took them by force. Pope Julius, not long after, in the year 1512, refused the peace offered by Maximilian the emperor. He was encountered by Louis the French king near Ravenna, on Easter day. There he was vanquished and had 16,000 of his army slain. The following year (A.D. 1513), this apostolic warrior, who had resigned his keys to the river Tiber before, made an end of both his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After him next succeeded Pope Leo X to the See of Rome. About this time great changes began to work in the temporal states, as well as in the state of the church. At this time the following potentates were reigning in their several kingdoms:

<b>Name</b>	<b>Kingdom</b>	<b>Began to reign.</b>	<b>Reigned.</b>
Pope Leo X.	in Rome	A.D. 1513	9 years.
Henry VIII.	king of England	A.D. 1509	38 years
James V.	king of Scotland	A.D. 1513	29 years
Francis I.	king of France	A.D. 1515	32 years
Charles V.	emperor of Germany	A.D. 1519	39 years

In the time of the above mentioned potentates, great alterations, troubles, and changes of religion were wrought in the church by the mighty operation of God’s hand — in Italy, France, Germany, England, and the rest of Europe; such as have not been seen (although



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they had been much groaned for) many hundreds of years before. This will more manifestly appear in the course of this history. But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lies before us, we will first speak of Richard Hunne, and certain other godly-minded persons here in England, who were afflicted in great multitudes for the word of Christ's gospel, as they are found and taken from the registers of Fitzjames, bishop of London.

*The History of some good Men and Women, persecuted for Religion  
in the City and Diocese of the Bishop of London; as briefly  
extracted from the Registers of Richard Fitzjames.*

Besides the great number of faithful martyrs and professors of Christ, who constantly, in the strength of the Holy Spirit, gave their lives for the testimony of his truth, I find the names of many persons recorded in the register of London, between the years 1509 and 1517, both men and women who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance also had some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for that. Notwithstanding, by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Romish see, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature (not then fully strengthened in God), they were suppressed and kept under for the time being. This appears by their several abjurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London (who was a most cruel persecutor of Christ's church), or else before his vicar-general deputed for that purpose. Many of the adversaries of God's truth have in recent days disdainfully and braggingly cried out, and demanded in their public assemblies, "Where was your church and religion fifty or sixty years ago?" And so I thought it not altogether in vain to somewhat stop such questioners, both by mentioning the names of those who suffered for the truth of this religion, and likewise revealing some of the chief and principal matters for which they were so unmercifully afflicted. Thereby I will make known the continuance and consent of the true church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our faith, and also show what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant prelates in that time of blindness were not ashamed to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offenses, yea, such as deserved death both of body and soul. They were forty in number who were persecuted in the years between 1510 and 1527; and here follows the particular examinations of them all.

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There were several particular articles they were accused of, that were privately objected either by their curate, or by their neighbors (besides the common and general sort used in such cases). As I think it superfluous to make a large recital of all and every part of their several processes, I therefore purpose only to touch briefly on as many of the articles as may be sufficient to induce the Christian reader to sooner judge the rest.

The chief objection against JOAN BAKER was that she would not reverence the crucifix herself, and had also persuaded a friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God who is in heaven — not in the dead images, which are but stocks and stones. And therefore she was sorry that she had ever gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Savior and other idols. Also, she held that the pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady Young (who was burned not long before that time) died a true martyr of God, and therefore she wished of God that she herself might do no worse than the Lady Young had done.

Against WILLIAM POTTIER, besides other false and slanderous articles (such as denying the benefit and effect of Christ's passion), it was alleged that he affirmed there were six Gods:

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the first three were the holy Trinity — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit — the fourth was a priest's concubine being kept in his chamber; the fifth was the devil; and the sixth was the thing that a man most sets his mind upon.

The first part of this article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly, the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of deity. As to the other three he answered that a priest delighting in his concubine made her like his god; likewise a wicked person, persisting in his sin without repentance, made the devil his god; and lastly, he granted that he once heard of certain men who, by the singing and chattering of birds, superstitiously sought to know what things were to happen either to themselves or others; and he said that those men esteemed their birds as gods.

Among the articles objected against THOMAS GOODRED, THOMAS WALKER, THOMAS FORGE, ALICE FORGE, JOHN FORGE, JOHN CALVERTON, JOHN WOODROF, RICHARD WOOLMAN, and ROGER HILLIAR (such as that they spoke against pilgrimages, praying to saints, and such like) this was principally charged against them: that they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. And further, they had concealed and consented to their teachers and instructors in that doctrine, and had not, according to the laws of the church, accused and presented them to the bishop or his ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against RICHARD WOOLMAN, because he called the church of St. Paul a house of thieves, affirming that the priests and other ecclesiastical persons there were not liberal givers to the poor (as they ought to be) but rather took away from them what they could get.

Likewise, THOMAS AUSTY, JOAN AUSTY, THOMAS GRANT, JOHN GARTER, CHRISTOPHER RAVINS, DYONISE RAVINS, THOMAS VINCENT, LEWIS JOHN, JOAN JOHN, and JOHN WEB, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with those recited above. And so almost all of them were apprehended about the same time, and chiefly charged with one opinion of the sacrament. That opinion declares evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God ever in mercy opened the eyes of some to behold the manifest truth, even in those things of which the papists now make the greatest vaunt and boast of long continuance. Many of them were charged with having spoken against pilgrimages, and having read and used certain English books opposing the faith of the Romish church, such as the four Gospels, *Wycliffe's Wicket*, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James, with others that those Romish divines could never abide. And there was good cause why, for just as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdom, agree with the true knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

It was further objected against JOAN JOHN, the wife of Lewis John, that she learned and maintained that God commanded no holy-days are to be kept, but only the sabbath-day, and therefore she would keep none but that; nor any fasting days, affirming that to abstain from sin was the true fast. That she had despised the pope, his pardons and pilgrimages, so that when any poor body asked alms from her in the name and for the sake of the lady of Walsingham, (*i.e.* the image of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham), she would answer, in contempt of the pilgrimage, "The lady of Walsingham help you!" And if she gave anything to him, she would then say, "Take this in the name of our lady in heaven, and let the other go." This shows that for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she ignorantly attributed too much honor to the true departed saints of God, though otherwise she abhorred the idolatrous worshipping of the dead images.

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By this example, and also by many others, I have just occasion to condemn the willful subtlety of those who, in this bright shining light of God's truth, would still maintain, under color of godly remembrance, that having images in the church, they might craftily excuse their idolatrous kneeling and praying to them, and affirm that they never worshipped these dead images, but only the things that the images represented. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having those images, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people, in their recantations, to openly abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward images only, and not against the thing represented — which many of them (as appears partly by this example) in their ignorant simplicity, confessed might be worshipped? However, God be thanked, their hypocritical excuses cannot now have that place in the hearts of the elect of God, as they had before, especially seeing that the word of God so manifestly forbids worshipping them, as well as making or having them for purposes of religion.

It was alleged against WILLIAM COWPER, and his wife ALICE COWPER, that they had spoken against pilgrimages, and worshipping images; but chiefly the woman, who having her child hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earnestly persuaded by some of her ignorant neighbors to go on pilgrimage to St. Lawrence for help to her child, said that neither St. Lawrence nor any other saint could help her child, And therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any image made with man's hands, but only to Almighty God; for pilgrimages were indeed worth nothing except to make the priests rich.

To JOHN HOUSHOLD, ROBERT RASCAL, and ELIZABETH STAMFORD, the article against the sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to saints, and had despised the authority of the bishop of Rome, and of his clergy; but especially John Houshold was charged with having called them antichrists, and the pope himself, "the great whore," who with his pardons had drowned in blindness all Christian realms for money.

Also among other articles against GEORGE BROWNE, the following things were counted very heinous and heretical. First, that he said he knew no cause why the cross should be worshipped, seeing that it was the cause of pain to our Savior Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure to him. He alleged, for example, that if he had had a friend hanged or drowned he would never after have loved that gallows or water by which his friend died. Another objection was that he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said (for so are their words), that the church was too rich.

[411] A.D. 1511.

This matter, I may tell you, somewhat touched them to the quick, and therefore it is no marvel that they counted it erroneous and malicious. For take away their gain, and farewell to their religion. They also charged him with having refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise with having spoken against priests.

The greatest matter with which they charged JOHN WIKES was that he had often and for a long time kept company with persons suspected of heresy, and had received them into his house, and there he heard them read erroneous and heretical books, contrary to the faith of the Romish church; and he also consented to their doctrine, and had many times secretly conveyed them away from those who were appointed to apprehend them.

JOHN SOUTHAKE, RICHARD BUTLER, JOHN SAM, WILLIAM KING, ROBERT DURDANT, and HENRY WOOLMAN, were charged with speaking words against the literal and carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. They charged them with reading certain English heretical books, and named

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(most blasphemously) the gospel of Jesus Christ by the four evangelists, as being among them. This appears evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar-general to Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against Richard Butler. The very words of that article, for a further declaration of truth, I have thought it good to insert here:

“Also we object to you, that at diverse times, and especially upon a certain night, about three years past, in Robert Durdant’s house of Iver Court, near Staines, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant’s, all that same night, certain chapters of the gospels in English, containing diverse erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and diverse other persons suspected of heresy, then being present, and hearing your erroneous lectures and opinions.”

Some of the articles propounded against the other four tended to the same effect and purpose. Hereby we may easily judge with what reverence those who yet desire to be considered the true and only church of Christ, bow to the word and gospel of Christ, when they are not ashamed to blaspheme it with most horrible titles of “erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy.” But why should we marvel at this, when the Holy Spirit in several places of the Scripture declares that in the latter days there would come those proud and cursed talkers, who will speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences seared with a hot iron? Let us, therefore, now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them to us; and let us also pray, that of His free mercy in his Son Christ Jesus, he would, if it is to his glory, either turn and soften all their hearts, or else, for the peace and quietness of His church he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About this time, the life of Richard Fitzjames ended. After his death Cuthbert Tunstall (afterwards bishop of Durham) succeeded in the see and bishopric of London. Soon upon his first entry into that office, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, he had EDMUND SPILMAN, priest, HENRY CHAMBERS, JOHN HIGGINS, and THOMAS EGGLESTONE apprehended, and to be examined upon articles. In the end, either for fear of his cruelty and the rigor of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises (such was their weakness), he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true professed faith regarding the holy sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, which was this: that Christ’s corporal body was not in the sacrament, but in heaven; and that the sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body itself.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain articles objected against JOHN HIGGES, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the bishop’s vicar-general. Among them were these:

First, that he had affirmed that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the four evangelists in English, and often read them; and that he favored the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said that while he was alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayers and almsdeeds could little help him.

These poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged with these and like matters, and were excommunicated and imprisoned as heinous heretics. And at last they were compelled to recant. Some of them, in utter shame and reproach — besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon — were enjoined for a

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penance (as they termed it) to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves or other part of their outward garment, all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. This long, rigorous, and open punishing was meant to utterly terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, these our most lightsome days of God's glorious gospel, most joyfully declare what little effect their wicked purposes had.

Besides these, others more simple and ignorant were also troubled, who having but a very small taste of the truth, yet gladly consented to it at first. But being apprehended, they quickly yielded, and therefore only had penance assigned for them, the bearing of a little candle before the cross, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Among them I find two especially. The one was a woman called ELLEN HEYER, to whom it was objected that she had neither confessed herself to the priest, nor received the sacrament of the altar for four years, and had eaten flesh every year at Easter.

The other was a man named ROBERT BERKEWAY, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God, which he utterly denied) was charged with having spoken heinous words against the pope's holy and blessed martyr, Thomas Becket, calling him a thief, for he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus I have, as briefly as I could, summarily collected the principal articles objected against these weak and infirm earthly vessels. I do not mean hereby either to excuse or condemn them in their fearful falls and dangerous defections, but leaving them to the immeasurable rich mercies of the Lord, I wish only to make manifest the insatiable bloody cruelty of the pope's kingdom against the gospel and true church of Christ. For nothing would mitigate their envious rage which they showed even against the very simple idiots, and did that sometimes in the most frivolous and irreligious cases. But now leaving them, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other more serious matters.

### *The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting and John Brewster.*

In searching and perusing the register, for the collection of the names and articles recited before, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who once they had shown themselves as frail and inconstant as the rest (being either pricked in conscience, or otherwise overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred word), became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as they were before. And for the same profession, they were a second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Among them were WILLIAM SWEETING and JOHN BREWSTER, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the eighteenth day of October, A.D. 1511.

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The chief case alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Because it differed from the absurd and gross opinion of the new schoolmen, it was counted as the most heinous heresy. There were other things objected against them, such as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offense counted among the rest, was leaving off the painted faggots, which at their first abjuring they were enjoined to wear as badges during their lifetimes, or so long as it might please their ordinary to appoint; and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed with for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight. And yet, the

matter well and thoroughly considered, it seems by their confessions, that they were forced to it by necessity. For Sweeting, for fear of the bishop's cruelty, was constrained to wander about the country to get his living. He came at length to Colchester, where he was appointed by the parson of the parish of Magdalen to be the holy water cleric. In that consideration he had that infamous badge taken away from him. Brewster left off his at the command of the controller of the Earl of Oxford's house, who hired the poor man to labor in the earl's household business. He would not allow him to wear that badge any longer. So that the necessity of living compelled both of them to break that injunction. And therefore, if charity had borne as great sway in the hearts of the pope's clergy as did cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken as to be brought against them as an article and a cause of condemnation to death. But once tyranny takes hold, all godly love, and all human reason and duties are quite forgotten.

But to be brief, for these causes, and also because they had already once abjured, and yet (as they termed it) had fallen again into relapse, they were both burned in Smithfield. Although, as the register records, they again, before their death fearfully forsook their revived constancy, and submitted themselves to the discipline of the Romish church, craving absolution. However, as many of the registers' notes and records in such cases may well be doubted, I refer the knowledge of this to the Lord, who is the trier of all truths. Not forgetting, however, if the report is true, to charge that priesthood and their wicked laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before. For if they cease their bloody malice towards those who so willingly submit themselves to their mercies, what favor may the faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition, or rather precept, of our Savior Christ (of whose true and only church they so stoutly boast to be), who says, "If your brother trespasses against you seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turns again to you, saying, I repent, you shall forgive him." (Luk 17.4)

*John Browne, father to Richard Browne who was in prison  
in Canterbury, and would have been burned with two more,  
the day after the death of Queen Mary, but by the  
proclaiming of Queen Elizabeth they escaped.*

The occasion of the first trouble of this JOHN BROWNE, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne, being in the barge at the same time, came and sat near by him. After some communication, the priest asked him, "Do you know who I am? You sit too near me; you sit on my clothes." "No, Sir," he said, "I do not know what you are." "I tell you I am a priest." "What, sir, are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," he said again, "I am a soul-priest. I sing for a soul," "Do you, sir?" says the other. "That is well done. I pray you sir, where do you find the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell you," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it. Sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell you," said the priest. Browne says, "If you can neither tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done, then how can you save the soul?" "Go your way," said the priest; "You are a heretic, and I will get even with you." So at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter More and William More, rode straightway to the Archbishop Warham, upon which John Browne, three days later, his wife being at church the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the table of his guests, he was sent for. His feet were bound under his own horse, and so he was brought to Canterbury — neither his wife, nor any of his, knew where he was taken. There he continued from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday, his wife not knowing all this while where he was. He was set in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow he went to his death, burned at Ashford, A.D. 1517. The

same night that he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then heard of him. She came and sat by him all night before he was burned. He declared to her the whole story of how he was handled, shown and told how he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burnt to the bones. And he told her how, by the two bishops Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated on the hot coals, and burned to the bones "to make me," he said, "deny my Lord, which I will never do. For if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray you, therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as you have begun, and bring up your children virtuously in the fear of God." And so the next day, Whitsunday evening, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, he made this prayer, holding up his hands:

"O Lord, I yield me to your grace,  
Grant me mercy for my trespass;  
Let never the fiend my soul chase.  
Lord, I will bow, and you shall beat;  
Let never my soul come in hell-heat.  
Into your hands I commend my spirit;  
You have redeemed me, O Lord of truth."

And so he ended.

### ***The History of Richard Hunne.***

There was in the year 1514, one Richard Hunne, merchant-tailor, and freeman in the city of London, He was esteemed during his lifetime, and taken not only as a man of true dealing and good substance, but also as a good catholic man. This Richard Hunne had a child at nurse in Middlesex, which died. Thomas Dryfield, the priest of the parish, sued Richard Hunne in the spiritual court for a bearing-sheet, for a mortuary for the son of Richard Hunne, who died at the age of five weeks. Hunne answered that as the child had no property in the sheet, he therefore would not pay it, nor should the other have it. The priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loth to lose his pretended right, cited him to appear in the spiritual court. Richard Hunne being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law, and pursued a writ of *praemunire* against Thomas Dryfield. When the rest of the priestly order heard of it, indignant that any layman should attempt such a matter against any of them, and fearing that if they were now to allow this priest to be condemned, there would ever after be a liberty to all of the laity to do the same with the rest of the clergy in such cases. Straightway, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged upon him, they sought all the means they possibly could to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws. And so, making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all they could against him, at length they found means to accuse him of heresy to Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London. He (desiring to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains) caused the tailor to be apprehended and committed to prison in the Lollards Tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be allowed to come to him. This Richard Hunne was clapped in the Lollards' Tower shortly after. At the earnest instigation of Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor (a man more ready to prefer the clergy's cruel tyranny, than the truth of Christ's gospel) Hunne was brought before the bishop, at his manor of Fulham, the 2d day of December.

[413] A.D. 1514.

There in his chapel, the bishop Fitzjames examined him based upon these articles, collected against him by Horsey and his accomplices:

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1. That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended — against the laws of Almighty God,— that tithes, or paying tithes, was never ordained to be due, except by the covetousness of priests.
2. That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, that bishops, and priests are the scribes and Pharisees that crucified Christ and condemned him to death.
3. That he had read, taught, preached, etc., that bishops and priests are teachers and preachers, but not doers nor fulfillers of the law of God — but catching, ravening and taking all things, and ministering and giving nothing.
4. Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies, as appears by her abjuration, the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took it upon himself to say that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred marks.
5. Afterwards, when Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance, according to her demerits, the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught, and obstinately defended her, saying the bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to Joan Baker in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions are according to the laws of God: therefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she.
6. That the said Richard Hunne has in his keeping diverse English Books, prohibited and condemned by the law; such as the apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in which he has been for a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.

I find no particular answer to these several objections in the register, saving that under them there is written in his name, with a *different* hand, these words: "As to these articles, I have not spoken them as they are here laid out; however I have unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same effect, for which I am sorry, and ask God's mercy, and submit myself to my Lord's charitable and favorable correction" — which *they* affirm to be written with Hunne's own hand. But how likely that is to be the truth, let the discreet wisdom of the reader judge by the whole sequel of this process. And further, if it were his own act, then what occasion did they have to so cruelly murder him as they did, seeing that he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself to the charitable and favorable correction of the bishop?

This examination being ended, the bishop sent him back the same day to the Lollards' Tower. And then, by the appointment of Dr. Horsey his chancellor, he was committed from the custody of Charles Joseph the somner, to John Spalding the bell-ringer, a man by whose simpleness the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish homicide to pass more easily — which he most cruelly did, by his suborned ministers, two nights after. This is proved, by the inquiry and final verdict of the coroner of London and his inquest. But once this usual practice of the papists was accomplished, there were lacking no secret shifts nor worldly-wiles for the crafty coloring of this mischief. And therefore the next morning, after they had committed this murder, Spalding got himself out of the way into the city. Leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, he desired him to deliver them to the somner's boy, who used to carry to Hunne his food and other necessaries. Spalding thought that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, hanged as they left him, they might by his relating this be thought free from having any hand in this matter. This happened at the start almost as they wished. For the boy the same morning, accompanied with two of the bishop's somners, went into the prison about ten o'clock, to serve the prisoner as he usually did. And when they came up,



they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Astonished at this sight, they immediately told the chancellor, who was then in the church, and watching (I suppose) for such news. He immediately got certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see what his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was plainly proved afterwards. Although he then made a fair face to the contrary, broadcasting abroad among the people, by their officers and servants, that Hunne had hanged himself. However the people having good experience of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, and also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, rather judged that he was secretly murdered by their procurement.

**Inquest concerning Hunne's death.**

There arose great contention on this. For the bishop of London on one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hunne had hanged himself. The citizens on the other side, suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London, according to law, to hold an inquest, and to view the dead body, and so test the truth of the matter. As the bishop and his chaplains were then driven to extremity of shifts, and therefore wishing by some subtle show of justice to stop the mouths of the people, they determined that while the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop would for his part proceed *ex officio*, in case of heresy against the dead person. He supposed that once the party was condemned of heresy, the inquest dared not find anything other than him being guilty of his own death; and so it would clearly acquit them from all suspicion of murder. This determination of theirs they immediately put into practice, in the following order:

The articles mentioned before, they affirmed were objected against him in his lifetime. Dr. Horsey, the bishop of London's vicar general, now after Hunne's death collected others out of the prologue of his English Bible, which he diligently perused — not to learn any good thing, but to get from it such material as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose. This appears by the tenor of the additional articles, which are these:

1. The book condemns all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinful men, and calls the pope, Satan and antichrist.
2. It condemns the pope's pardons, saying they are but impositions.
3. The said book of Hunne says that kings and lords called Christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerics full of covetousness, heresy, and malice, to stop God's law, so that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.
4. The book says, that lords and prelates pursue fully and cruelly those who would teach truly and freely the law of God, and cherish those who preach sinful men's traditions and statutes, by which he means the holy canons of Christ's church.
5. That poor and simple men have the truth of the holy Scriptures, worth more than a thousand prelates, and religious men, and clerics of the school.
6. That Christian kings and lords set idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry.
7. That princes, lords, and prelates who do so, are worse than Herod who pursued Christ, and worse than the Jews and heathen men who crucified Christ.
8. That every man, swearing by our lady, or any other saint or creature, gives more honor to the saints than to the Holy Trinity, and so they are idolaters.
9. He says that saints should not be honored.

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10. He condemns adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calls stocks and stones.

11. He says, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men receiving it will thereby keep in mind that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

12. He condemns the university of Oxford, with all its degrees and faculties, such as arts, civil and canon laws, and divinity; saying that they hinder the true way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and holy Scripture.

16. He defends the translation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our holy mother church.

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They produced these articles thus collected, and also the others specified before, for a show of their pretended justice and innocency. They were to be openly read the next Sunday, by the preacher at Paul's Cross. Now having, they thought, sufficient material against him, they purposed to proceed to his condemnation.

Accordingly, the bishop of London, accompanied by the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, sat in judgment on Richard Hunne, the sixteenth day of December, taking as witnesses of their proceedings, six public notaries, his own register, and about twenty-five doctors, abbots, priors, and priests, with a great rabble of other common anointed catholics. After a solemn proclamation that if there were any who would defend the opinions and books of Richard Hunne, they should presently appear and be heard according to law. He commanded all the articles and objections against Hunne to be openly read before the assembled, then perceiving that none dared appear in his defense. By the advice of his assistants, he pronounced the sentence definitive against the dead carcass, condemning it of heresy, and therewith he committed the same to the secular power, to be burned by them accordingly. This ridiculous decree was accomplished in Smithfield the twentieth day of December, sixteen days after they had barbarously murdered him, to the great grief and indignation of all the people.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, and their fair show of justice, yet the inquest never stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. So that when they had been called before the king's privy council several times (his majesty himself sometimes being present), and also before the chief judges and justices of the realm, and the matter being thoroughly examined and perceived to be much bolstered by the clergy, it was wholly committed to their determination. They found by good proof and sufficient evidence, that Doctor Horsey, the chancellor; Charles Joseph, the somner; and John Spalding, the bell ringer, had secretly and maliciously committed this murder. And therefore they indicted all three as willful murderers. However, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London to Cardinal Wolsey, means were found that at the next sessions of jail delivery, the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Doctor Horsey to be false and untrue, and that he was not guilty of the murder. Yet for shame, having a guilty conscience, he never again dared come to London. But now that the truth of all this may seem more manifest and plain to all men's eyes, here will follow word for word, the whole enquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by them to the coroner of London, and so given up and signed with his own band.

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*The Minutes of the Inquest.*

“The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Henry VIII (A.D. 1514), William Barnwell, coroner of London, the day and year above said, within the ward of Castle Baynard of London, assembled an inquest, whose names afterwards appear, and has sworn them to truly inquire concerning the death of one Richard Hunne, who lately was found dead in the Lollards’ Tower within St. Paul’s church of London. Whereupon all we of the inquest together went up into the said tower, where we found the body of the said Hunne hanging upon a staple of iron, in a girdle of silk, with a fair countenance, his head fair combed, and his bonnet sitting right upon his head, with his eyes and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any driveling in any place of his body; whereupon by one assent we all agreed to take down the body of the said Hunne, and as soon as we began to heave the body it was loose, whereby we perceived that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast; and the links of an iron chain, which hung on the staple, were laid upon the girdle whereby he hung. Also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck, stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding, two small streams of blood came out of his nostrils to the quantity of four drops; except for these four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar, and shirt of the said Hunne was clean from any blood. Also we found that the skin of his both neck and throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was fretted away, with that thing which the murderers had broken his neck with. Also, the hands of the said Hunne were marked on the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound. Moreover, we found that within the prison there was no means whereby a man might hang himself, but only a stool. This stool stood on a bolster of a bed, so unsteady that no man or beast might touch it a little, without it being ready to fall. By this we perceived that it was not possible that Hunne could have hanged himself, the stool so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out of it. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle could break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we found in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he hung, a great parcel of blood. Also we found on the left side of Hunne’s jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his jacket we found a great cluster of blood, and the jacket was folded down upon it. This the said Hunne could never fold or do after he was hanged. Whereby it appears plainly to us all, that the neck of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed *before* he was hanged. Therefore we all find, by God and our consciences, that Richard Hunne was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hunne of his own death.

“Also there was an end of a wax candle which, as John the bell-ringer says, he left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday night that Hunne was murdered. This wax candle we found sticking on the stocks, fairly put out, about seven or eight feet from the place where Hunne was hanged. This candle, in our opinion, was never put out by him, for the many likelihoods which we have perceived. Also at the going up of Master Chancellor into the Lollards’ Tower, we have good proof that there lay on the stocks a gown, either of mulberry, or crimson in grain, furred with shanks. We never could prove whose gown it was, nor who carried it away. We all find that Master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, has had at his commandment, both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreover, we all find that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, has put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the said Charles has confessed, because he would not deal with and use the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would have had him do. Notwithstanding the deliverance of the keys to the chancellor by Charles on the Saturday night before Hunne’s death, and Charles riding out of the town on that Sunday morning ensuing, was but a convention made between Charles and the chancellor to color the murder. For the same Sunday that Charles rode out, he

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came back to the town at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as it appears in the depositions of Julian Little, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simonds, and Peter Turner.

“After coloring the murder, conspired between Charles and the chancellor, the chancellor called to him one John Spalding, the bell-ringer of St. Paul’s, and delivered to that same bell-ringer the keys of the Lollards’ Tower, giving the said bell-ringer a great charge, saying, ‘I charge you to keep Hunne more straitly than he has been kept, and let him have but one meal a-day. Moreover, I charge you let nobody come to him without my license, nor to bring him shirt, cap, kerchief, or any other thing, unless I see it before it comes to him.’ Also, before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to be put upon Hunne’s neck a great collar of iron, with a great chain, which is too heavy for any man or beast to wear, and too long to endure.

[415] A.D. 1514-1517.

“Moreover, it is well proved, that before Hunne’s death, the said chancellor came up into the said Lollards’ Tower, and kneeled down before Hunne, holding up his hands to him, praying of him forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must do to him. And on the following Sunday, the chancellor commanded the penitentiary of St. Paul’s to go up to him, and say a gospel, and make holy water for him, and holy bread, and give it to him, which he did. Also the chancellor commanded that Hunne should have his dinner. And at the same dinner-time, Charles’ boy was shut up in prison with Hunne, which was never done before. And after dinner, when the bell-ringer let the boy out, the bell-ringer said to the same boy, “Do not come here any more with food for him till tomorrow; for my master chancellor has commanded that he should have but one meal a-day.” The same night following, Richard Hunne was murdered. This murder could not have been done without the consent and license of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of John Spalding, the bell-ringer. For no man could come into the prison except by the keys which were in John the bell-ringer’s keeping. Also, as it appears by my lord of London’s book, John the bell-ringer is a poor innocent man. Therefore we all perceive that this murder could not be done except by the commandment of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of John the bell-ringer.”

Then certain minutes of the evidence follow, and at last the following verdict:

### *The Sentence of the Inquest subscribed by the Coroner.*

“The inquisition intended and taken in the city of London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle, in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry VIII, before Thomas Barnwell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king, within the city of London aforesaid. Also before James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London, tailor, who was found hanged in the Lollards’ Tower, and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner the said Richard Hunne came by his death: and upon the oath of John Barnard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marlet, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tim: who said upon their oaths, that whereas the said Richard Hunne by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold, in a prison of the said bishop’s, called the Lollards’ Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid; William Horsey, of London, cleric, otherwise called William Heresie, chancellor to Richard, bishop of London; and one Charles Joseph, late of London, somner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise

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called John the bellringer, did feloniously, as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, on the fourth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hunne they made a fray, and the same Richard Hunne they feloniously strangled and smothered, and also they broke the neck of the said Richard Hunne, and there feloniously slew him and murdered him; and also the body of the said Richard Hunne, afterward the same fourth day, year, place, parish, and ward aforesaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hunne, of silk, black in color, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and the dignity of his crown: and so the said jury has sworn on the holy evangelists, that the said William Horsey, cleric, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hunne in the manner and form above said, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity. Subscribed in this manner: — *Thomas Barnwell, Coroner of the city of London.*

After the twenty-four had given up their verdict, sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament house, where the truth was laid so plainly before all men's faces, and the fact was so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and would no doubt have suffered what they deserved, had not the cardinal by his authority, practiced for his popish children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped and went, as was said, to Exeter, etc.

### ***Other forced abjurations and martyrdoms – 1517.***

But I will trouble the reader no further in this matter of Richard Hunne, being so clear of itself, that no impartial judge can doubt of it. Therefore, to return to the purpose of our history, among the number of those who about this time of Richard Hunne were forced to deny and abjure their professed opinions, were ELIZABETH STAMFORD, JOHN HOUSHOLD, and others, who abjured about the year of our Lord 1517. It is painful to see their weakness, yet to consider the confession of their doctrine in those days, is not unprofitable. We can see the same doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our forefathers, which is now publicly received, as well regarding the Lord's sacrament of his body, and also other specialties. Although they did not then have public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the gospel, which the Lord's merciful grace has given us now; yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or not at all inferior to our times of public reformation. This may appear by the confession of Elizabeth Stamford. It may suffice for an example, to understand what ripe knowledge of God's word was then abroad, even though not publicly preached in churches, for fear of the bishops; yet it was taught in secret and received by many.

Among the number of them, again, was this ELIZABETH STAMFORD. Being brought and examined before Fitzjames, bishop of London (A.D. 1517), she confessed that she was taught these words by one Thomas Beele, eleven years before: that Christ feeds and nourishes his church with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven. This is the worthy word that is worthily received, and joined to man to be in one body with him. This is not received by chewing with your teeth, but by hearing with your ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working after it. Therefore, St. Paul says, "I fear, brethren, that many of us are feeble and sick; therefore I counsel you, to rise and watch, so that the great day of doom does not come suddenly upon us, as the thief does upon the

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merchant.” <sup>re:1The 5.2-6</sup> Also this Thomas Beele taught and showed her that the sacrament of the altar was not the true body of Christ, but true bread: and that the sacrament was the true body of Christ put upon the cross in a divine and mystical manner. Moreover, he taught her this lesson: that she should confess her sins to God, and that the pope’s pardons and indulgences were worth nothing, and that worshipping images and pilgrimages should not be done.

To this confession of Elizabeth Stamford may also be added the doctrine and confession of JOAN SAMPSON, wife of John Sampson, carpenter, of Aldermanbury, in London. Being cited and examined before the bishop of London, certain witnesses were produced against her. Being sworn, they denounced Joan Sampson in the following articles and opinions:

1. That one of them having been in labor, and Joan Sampson being with her, she called for the help of the virgin Mary in the usual manner of women; but Joan spoke against it, and was so grieved at it that the other party was compelled to leave the house.

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2. Also, that she spoke against pilgrimages, and the worshipping of the blessed Virgin, and of all saints, affirming that there is none holy but one.

3. Also, at another time, in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when she and other women were invoking the blessed Virgin, she stood against them, and spoke against such invocations.

4. Also, that she speaking against the pilgrimage of our lady of Wilsden (as she was then called) and of St. Savior at Barmsey, called the said St. Savior, Sym Sawyer.

5. She was also accused of having two books in English, one bigger and another lesser, which she committed to one John Anstead, a cook; the books are not named in the register.

6. She was also accused that once, at a supper, in the hearing of certain men, and of a certain widow named Joan White, she spoke openly in contempt of the sacrament of the altar, saying that the priests were idolaters, who lifted up the bread over their heads, making the people worship it, and making the people believe that it was the Lord’s body; and that it was better to eat the altar cloth, if it might be eaten and digested as easily as the other.

Then in the registers follow the names of thirty-five persons who were compelled to abjure.

It was objected against one JOHN SOUTHWICK, that when a man named William Rivelay, coming from the church of the Gray-Friars, in London, had said to his wife that he had heard mass, and had seen his Lord God in the form of bread and wine over the priest’s head, John Southwick answered, “No, William, you did not see your Lord God, you saw but bread and wine and the chalice.” And when Rivelay answered in the same words as before, saying, “I trust truly that I saw my Lord God in the form of bread and wine, and this I do not doubt.” The other replied as before; “No, I tell you that you saw but a figure or sacrament of him, which is in substance bread and wine,” etc. This was A.D. 1520. In that year he was compelled to abjure.

All these persons above-named, held and agreed together in one doctrine and religion, against whom five or six special matters were objected, namely, for speaking against the worshipping of saints, against pilgrimage, against invocation of the blessed Virgin, against the sacrament of the Lord’s body, and for having Scripture books in English. These books especially I find were named as the book of the four evangelists, a book of the epistles of

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Paul and Peter, the epistle of St. James, the book of the Revelation, and of antichrist, of the ten commandments, and ‘Wycliffe’s Wicket,’ with such others.

*John Stilman, Martyr.*

It would be tedious to recite the great multitude and number of good men and women who, in those days, recanted and abjured about the beginning of King Henry’s reign and before. Among them there were some whom the Lord brought back again, and made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant to death. John Stilman was one of these. About the 24th of September, A.D. 1518, he was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, at his manor of Pulham (notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration, made about eleven years earlier, before Edmund, then bishop of Salisbury). He was there examined and charged, for speaking against worshipping, praying, and offering to images; as well as for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ’s memorial. Also, that since his former abjuration, he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse. And further, he had highly commended and praised John Wycliffe, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book, called *the Wicket*, was good and holy. Soon after his examination, he was sent from there to Lollards’ Tower at London, and on the 22nd of October next ensuing, he was brought openly into the consistory of Paul’s, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop’s vicar-general, upon the contents of the following articles:

“1. I object to you, that you have confessed before my lord of London and me, Dr. Hed, his vicar-general, that about twenty years past, one Stephen Moone, of the diocese of Winchester, (with whom you abode six or seven years after) taught you to believe that going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images, such as that of the lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen years past, read to you ‘Wycliffe’s Wicket,’ and likewise instructed you to believe that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ. All these things you have erroneously believed.

“2. You have often read the said book, called ‘Wycliffe’s Wicket,’ and another book of the ten commandments, which Richard Smart gave you, and at the time of your first apprehension you hid them in an old oak, and did not reveal them to the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years ago. There you promised, by oath upon the evangelists, to ever after believe and hold as the Christian faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you promised there to perform all such penance as the bishop of Salisbury enjoined you: who then enjoined you upon the like pain, not to depart from his diocese without his special license.

“3. It is evident that you are relapsed, by your own confession, as well as by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your books. Then taking them away with you, you departed from the diocese of Salisbury, without the license of the bishop, and brought them with you to London, where now being arrested and taken with them upon great suspicion of heresy, you are brought to the bishop of London. By reason of your demeanor, you have shown both your impenitent and dissembled conversion from your errors, and also your unfaithful abjuration and disobedience to the authority of our mother holy church, in that you did not perform the penance — in which behalf you are voluntarily perjured, and also relapsed, in that you departed the same diocese without license.

“4. You are not only impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapsed by this your heretical demeanor, but also since your last arrest upon suspicion of heresy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my lord of London, your

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ordinary, and me, judicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorry that you ever abjured your opinions, and had not at first suffered manfully for them, for they were, and are good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them, to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy father the pope and his authority, damnably saying that he is antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's vicar on earth; and that his pardons and indulgences, which he grants in the sacrament of penance, are nothing, and that you will have none of them. And likewise that the college of cardinals are limbs of antichrist: and that all other inferior prelates and priests are the synagogue of Satan. And moreover you said that the doctors of the church have subverted the truth of holy Scripture, expounding it according to their own mind. And therefore their works are nothing, and they are in hell; but that Wycliffe is a saint in heaven, and that the book called his *Wicket* is good, for in it he says the truth. Also you wish that there were 20,000 of your opinion, against us scribes and Pharisees, to see what you would do for the defense of your faith. All of these heresies you afterwards erroneously affirmed before the archbishop of Canterbury, and then said that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary. And therefore, for these premises you are evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed to the secular power."

[417] A.D. 1518.

After these articles were thus propounded, and his constant persevering in *the truth* was perceived, Dr. Hed, vicar-general, by his sentence definitive, condemned him as a relapsed heretic, on the 25th of October, and delivered him the same day to the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

### *Thomas Man, Martyr.*

Next follows in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man. On March 29, A.D. 1518, he was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years earlier (August 14, 1511), and was examined upon these articles:

1. That he had spoken against Auricular confession, and denied the corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar.
2. That he believed that all holy men were priests.
3. That he had affirmed that the Father of heaven was the altar, and the Second Person the sacrament; and that upon Ascension-day the sacrament ascended to the altar, and there abides.
4. That he did not believe aright in the sacrament of extreme unction.
5. That he had called certain priests, meanly arrayed knaves.
6. That he had said that pulpits were priest's lying stools.
7. That he believed images should not be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the crucifix, nor would he worship it.
8. That he had affirmed the word of God and God were all one, and that whoever worthily receives the word of God, receives God.
9. That he said the popish church was not the church of God, but a synagogue [of Satan]: and that holy men were the true church of God.

For these matters he was imprisoned a long time, and at last, through frailty and fear of death, he was content to abjure and yield himself to the judgment of the Romish church. Thereupon he was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also to remain as a



prisoner within the monastery of Osney, and to bear a faggot before the first cross, at the next general procession in the university. All of this, notwithstanding, he (perhaps being sorry for his offense in denying the truth, and also weary of his prison-like bondage) thought to himself how he might best escape. And therefore, seeing a good opportunity, he fled. And seeking work abroad in other counties to sustain his life, he sometimes abode in Essex, and sometimes in Suffolk. There he associated himself with such godly professors of Christ's gospel as could be heard of there. But within a few years after (such is the cruel rage of Satan and his wicked members, who never suffer the godly long to continue untroubled) he was again accused of relapse by the inquisition of London. Thereupon he was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, the bishop of London, February 9, 1518.

And although as the register notes (but how truly God only knows) he again forsook his profession of Christ's gospel, and yielded himself to the bishop of Rome, requesting to be absolved from his curse of excommunication. And he consented to do such penance as they should enjoin him. Yet he was delivered to the sheriff of London, to be burned. The bishop's chancellor who condemned him desired of the sheriff that he would receive this person as relapsed and condemned, and yet not punish him by rigorous rigor. The words in the sentence are: "We desire, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity, on you, and against you, may be so moderate, that there be no rigid rigor, nor yet loose mildness, but to the health and safety of your soul," etc.

In this, these Romish churchmen well show that the laws of their church are grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas. For as Caiaphas with his court of Pharisees cried against Christ to Pilate: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; but if you let him go, you are not Caesar's friend." *Joh 18.31;19.12* Even so, first condemning the saints of God to death, and then delivering them to the secular magistrate to be executed, they would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, who brings all things to light in his due time, and who uncovers hypocrisy at last, so that she may be seen and known in her right colors.

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned unjustly, was delivered to the sheriff of London sitting on horseback in Paternoster-row, before the bishop's door, A.D. 1518. He protested to the said sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore he desired the sheriff to take him as a relapser and condemned, to see him punished. The sheriff immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day in the forenoon he caused him to become an angel in heaven.

In the deposition of one Thomas Risby against this martyr, it appears by the registers that Thomas Man had been in many places and counties in England, and had instructed many persons at Amersham, at London, at Chelmsford, at Stratford-Langthorn, at Uxbridge, at Burnham, at Henley upon Thames, in Suffolk and Norfolk, at Newbury, and many other places. He testifies that as he went westward, he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment regarding the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that Man was of. Especially at Newbury, where there was (Risby confessed) a glorious and sweet society of faithful favorers, who had continued for fifteen years together — till at last they were betrayed by a person whom they trusted and made of their counsel. Then many of them abjured, numbering 120-140; but three or four of them were burnt. From there he came to the forest of Windsor, where hearing of the brethren who were at Amersham, he relocated there. He found a godly and a great company who had continued in that doctrine and teaching for 23 years.

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Against these faithful Christians of Amersham, there was great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about the year 1507. At that time, so many were abjured that it was called “the great abjuration.” In this congregation of faithful brethren, were four principal instructors. One was TILES WORTH, who was burned at Amersham. Another was THOMAS CHASE, who was murdered and hanged in the bishop of Lincoln’s prison at Woburn. The third was this THOMAS MAN, burned as mentioned in Smithfield, A.D. 1518. As it appears by his own confession, and no less by his labors, he was God’s champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause of God. He confesses himself in the same register, that he had turned 700 people to his religion and doctrine, for which he thanked God. He also conveyed five couples of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley upon Thames, where they dwelt, to Suffolk and Norfolk, so that they might be brought (as he termed it) out of the devil’s mouth.

### *Robert Cosin, Martyr.*

This ROBERT COSIN seems to be the same person mentioned in the former part of this history, who was named FATHER ROBERT, and was burnt in Buckingham., I find in the registers of Lincoln, that this Robert Cosin, along with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, around Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also when she had vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from it, and said that she did not need to confess to a priest, but that it was sufficient to lift up her hands to Heaven.

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Moreover, they were charged by the bishop, for teaching Joan that she might as well drink on Sunday before mass, as any other day, etc. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for which they were abjured or condemned to death in those days.

### *Christopher Shoomaker, Martyr.*

To these blessed saints we will add CHRISTOPHER SHOOMAKER, of whom I find this briefly recorded in the register of Sir John Longland: that the said Christopher Shoomaker, a parishioner of great Missenden, came to the house of JOHN SAY. After other matters, he read to him out of a little book, the words which Christ spoke to his disciples. Coming to his house about four times, each time he read something to him out of the same book. He taught him not to be deceived in the priest’s celebration of the mass, and declared that it was not the very same present body of Christ, as the priests fancied, but in substance it was bread, in remembrance of Christ. He taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping, and setting up candles to saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by JOHN OKENDEN and ROBERT POPE, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that register concerning Christopher Shoomaker. It declared further, that he was burned at Newbury about this time, which was A.D. 1518. And thus much out of the registers of London.

### *Doctor Colet.*

About this time Doctor JOHN COLET died, A.D. 1519. The men around Buckinghamshire, had a great mind to resort to his sermons. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of reading the works of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. From there he was called by the king, and made dean of St. Paul’s, where he used to preach much with a great auditory, of the king’s court, as well as the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright, in discipline he was severe. So that his canons,

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because of their stricter rule, complained that they were made like monks. He ever preferred the honest and honorable state of matrimony before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner was commonly read either some chapter of St. Paul's, or of Solomon's proverbs. And although the blindness of that time carried him away to the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed to depart from the common opinions of that age. He did not fancy the order of monks and friars; nor could he favor the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors. So that when Erasmus, praised and commended Thomas Aquinas,<sup>2</sup> Colet first supposed that Erasmus had spoken in jest. But afterwards, finding that he was in earnest, Dr. Colet burst out saying,

“Why do you tell me of the commendation of that man? If he did not have an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, he would not have defined and discussed things so boldly and rashly. And also, if he had not been more worldly-minded than heavenly, he would never have so polluted Christ's holy doctrine with man's profane doctrine, as he has done.”

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames. Bearing an old grudge and displeasure against Colet, he with other two bishops, entered a complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, then William Warham. His complaint was divided into three articles: The *first* was for speaking against worshipping images; the *second* was about hospitality, that in treating the words of the Gospel, “Feed, — feed, — feed:” Joh 21.15. when he had expounded the first two, such as feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen expound as feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The *third* crime with which they charged him, was for speaking against those who used to preach only by written sermons, preaching nothing to the people but what they brought with them in their papers. And because the bishop of London used to do this much, he took it as spoken against himself; and therefore he bore this displeasure against Dr. Colet. Archbishop Warham, weighing the matter more wisely, and being well acquainted with Colet, took his part against his accusers, and at that time Colet was gotten out of trouble.

William Tyndale, in his book *In Answer to Master More*, testifies that the bishop of London would have pronounced Colet, the dean of St. Paul's, a heretic, for translating the Lord's Prayer into English, had not the archbishop of Canterbury helped the dean.

Yet the malice of the bishop did not cease. Being thus repulsed by the archbishop, he laid by another train how to accuse Colet to the king. It happened at the time, that the king was making preparation for war against France. So the bishop with his co-adjutors taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, in which he seemed to prefer peace before war, however just, accused him of it in their sermons, and also in the presence of the king.

It so happened at this time, that on Good Friday Doctor Colet, preaching before the king, addressed the victory of Christ. He exhorted all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devil. He added moreover, what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all those who, upon private hatred or ambition, took weapons against their enemy (one Christian to slay another) did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan. And therefore he exhorted that Christian men in their wars would follow Christ their prince and captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the example of Caesar, or Alexander, etc. The king hearing Colet thus speak, and fearing lest the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his wars, which he then had in hand, took him aside and talked

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), was a scholastic who melded Aristotelian logic with catholic doctrine; this became known as *Thomism*. It distorted Scriptural truth, and was used to justify the doctrines of the Roman church.

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with him in secret conference, walking in his garden. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were Colet's enemies, thought now that he must be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the king treated Doctor Colet with great gentleness, and bid him familiarly to put on his cap. He much commended him for his learning and integrity of life, agreeing with him in all points. Only he required him (so that the soldiers would not rashly mistake what he had said) to explain his words more plainly; which he did. And so, after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying, "Let every man choose what doctor he pleases, Colet shall be my doctor;" and so he departed. So that none of his adversaries dared ever trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, Colet established a foundation<sup>3</sup> for the school of St. Paul's (I pray to God that the *fruits* of the school may correspond to the *foundation*), for nurturing youth in good letters, providing a sufficient stipend for the master, as well as for the usher, whom he wished to be appointed from the number of married men, rather than from single priests. The first moderator of this school was William Lily, a man no less notable for his learning than Colet was for his foundation.

In turning over the registers and records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to A.D. 1520 and 1521, I find that as the light of the gospel began to appear more, and the number of professors began to increase, so the vehemency of persecution and the stir of the bishops also began to increase. Upon which great trouble and grievous affliction then ensued in many quarters of this realm, especially about Buckinghamshire and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the diocese of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and other places. And this was before the name of Luther was heard among the people in these countries. So that those who condemn this doctrine as a *novelty*, were much deceived and misinformed, asking where was this church and religion before Luther's time? To them it may be answered that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops.

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Afterwards it decayed, and is now reformed again. Although it was not received or admitted by the pope's clergy before Luther's time (nor is it now), it was received by others, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work. There were a great number who both professed and suffered for it. And if they think this doctrine is so new that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how did such great persecution come before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession as the pope's clergy, was their cruelty so unreasonable as to persecute their own fraternity? And if they were otherwise, then how is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or its professors so lately sprung up, as they pretend? But this comes only from ignorance, and through not knowing and well considering the times and antiquities of the church which have gone before us. For if they did, they would see and confess that the church of England has not lacked great multitudes who tasted and followed the sweetness of God's holy word almost in as ample a manner as now, for the number of well-disposed hearts. Although public authority then was lacking to maintain the *open* preaching of the gospel, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much unequal. Certainly the fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to our own days and times, as may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing, also by the expenses and charges they incurred in buying books in English. Some of them paid five marks for a book,

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<sup>3</sup> *Foundation*: here it refers to a trust fund or educational endowment.

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some more, some less.<sup>4</sup> Some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English. In that time of scarcity of books, and lack of teachers, I greatly marvel at this one thing, to note in the registers, and to consider how notwithstanding, the word of truth multiplied so exceedingly as it did among them. In this is to be seen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty power; for I find and observe in considering the registers, how one neighbor resorting and conferring with another, soon with a few words won and turned their minds to the truth of God's word and His sacraments. To see their labors, their earnest seeking, their burning zeals, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful — these may make us blush for shame now, in our days of free profession. There were four principal points in which they stood against the church of Rome: in pilgrimages, the adoration of saints, reading Scripture books in English, and the carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

They were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings. But the crafty serpent being more wily than they, so circumvented them by fraudulent subtlety, that the popish clergy caused the wife to disclose the husband, the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother his brother, and the neighbor his neighbor. Nor were any assemblies or readings kept, without both the persons and the books being known; nor was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, that it was not discovered. So subtly did these prelates use their inquisitions and examinations,<sup>5</sup> that nothing was so covertly done or said among these men, fifteen or twenty years before, that it was not at length brought to their intelligence. They had such captious interrogatories; so many articles and suspicions; such spies and secret scouts sent abroad by them; such authority and credit with the king, and in the king's name; such diligence they showed; so violently and impudently they abused the book of the peaceable evangelists — wresting men's consciences upon their oath, swearing them upon it — to expose themselves, their fathers and mothers, and others of their kindred, along with their friends and neighbors, even to death.

To better declare all of this, first to be noted here touches the see of Lincoln. After bishop William Smith, succeeded John Longland. Smith was not so bloody and cruel as Longland. For I find that in the time of "the great abjuration" and affliction of the Buckinghamshire men, where many abjured, and some were burned (c. 1507), Smith sent several quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home and live as good Christian men should do. And many who were enjoined penance, he released. This Smith died about the year 1515. The college of Brazen Nose in Oxford was built by him.

Again, after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful servants of Christ. To renew again the old persecution, which had not yet been utterly quenched, he began with one or two of those who had abjured, and caused them by oath to detect and betray not only their own opinions, but also to discover all others who were suspected. By this, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens, were brought to examination, and strictly handled. Those who were found in relapse, were burned.

The rest were so burdened with superstitions and idolatrous penance and injunction, that either they shortly afterwards died through grief of conscience, or else lived with shame.

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<sup>4</sup> Five marks was worth 2/3 of a pound in 1520. A pound was worth nearly a year's wages.

<sup>5</sup> Not to mention auricular confessions.

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One ROBERT BARTLET, and Richard his brother, were detected as having abjured before, in the time of William Smith bishop of Lincoln.

Being sworn, and confessing nothing before the bishop, they were at last convicted by witness. Therefore they were constrained at their next examination to utter themselves, and confess what they had both done and said — that is, that Robert had read to Richard his brother a parcel of Scripture beginning thus: “James the servant of God, to the twelve tribes,” etc. That he heard William Tylsworth say that images of saints were but stocks and stones, and dead things; and that he taught the same to his brother Richard, and concealed the words of Tylsworth. That he partly believed THOMAS MASTAL, teaching him that the true presence of Christ was not in the sacrament; and likewise about images and pilgrimages; for receiving the communion at Easter without confession, etc..

Robert Bartlet was obliged to prove against AGNES WELLIS, his own sister, that he had twice instructed her not to worship images, and also had taught her in the epistle of St. James.

The following interrogatories were put to this Agnes Wellis:—

1. Whether she knew that some of the parish of Amersham were brought before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?
2. Whether she knew that some of them erred in the sacrament of the altar, or in other sacraments, and what errors they were, and in what?
3. Whether she knew any others to be suspected of the same heresy besides those of Amersham, who they were, and how many?
4. Whether she had been in the same company, or held the same opinions with them.
5. Whether she at any time had any conversation with THURSTAN LITTLEPAGE, and if she had, how often she had been in his company, how, what time, in what place, who else were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him to be suspected for heresy?
6. Whether she knew and at any time had any conversation with ALEXANDER MASTAL? and if she had, how, when, in what place, who were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him to be suspected for heresy?
7. Whether she was ever detected to the office of William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, at what time? and whether she was then called before the bishop for heresy or not?
8. Whether she had been reputed to be of the same sect with Thurstan Littlepage?
9. Whether she had been present at any time at the readings or conferrings between Thurstan Littlepage and other convicts?
10. Whether Thurstan Littlepage ever taught her the epistle of St. James, or the epistles of St. Peter or Paul in English? and whether she had repeated the epistle of St. James to Thurstan, in the presence of Richard Bartlet her brother.
11. Whether Richard Bartlet her brother taught her at any time the epistle of St. James? and if he did, how often, and in what place?

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12. Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or by any other, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the true body of Christ, but only the substance of bread?

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13. Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, that pilgrimage was not to be used, nor the images of saints to be adored?

14. Whether she credited Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premises? and whether she believed or expressly agreed with them in these articles?

15. Whether Robert Bartlet her brother ever taught her the epistle of St. James; and if he did, how often, and where?

16. Whether Robert Bartlet had taught her, that pilgrimage was not to be used, and that images were not to be adored?

17. Whether she knew such a law or custom among them, that those who were of that sort contracted matrimony only with themselves, and not with other Christians?

18. Whether she ever heard Thurstan or any other say, that only those who were of their doctrine were true Christians?

19. When she came to receive, and was confessed, whether she uttered and confessed her heresies to the priest?

Agnes Wellis answered negatively to almost all of these captious and cruel interrogatories, refusing to name any person to the bishop. But soon after being otherwise schooled, I cannot tell how, she was compelled to detect both herself, her brother Robert Bartlet, Thurstan Littlepage, and also ISABEL MORWIN, wife of John Morwin, and others.

By this system of examination, brother was compelled to inform against brother, sister, or neighbor, until evidence was thus craftily obtained against several hundred godly men and women, that they used to assemble together and read portions of the holy Scriptures in the English tongue.

The reader may thus learn the number of the good men and women, who were troubled and molested by the church of Rome, and all in one year. Few or none of them were learned, being simple laborers and artificers. But it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledge and understanding, by reading a few English books, such as they could get. And here is to be noted the blind ignorance and discourteous dealing of the bishops against them, not only by their violent oath and captious interrogatories, constraining the children to accuse their parents, and parents the children, the husband the wife, and the wife the husband, etc. But especially in most wrongfully afflicting them, only for believing God's word, and the reading of the holy Scriptures.

Now it remains that we show the reasons and scriptures upon which they grounded their views. First, against pilgrimage and against worshipping images, they used this text of the Revelation, chapter 9:

“I saw the horses in the vision, and those who sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were like the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone. By these three a third of men were killed by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths. For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like serpents, and had heads, and with them they do harm. And the rest of the men who were not killed by these plagues did not repent of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood,” etc. (Ex Regist. Longland. fol. 72.)

Also they alleged the first commandment, that there is but one God, and that they should not worship more gods than one.

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As to the sacrament, they had their instruction partly out of “Wycliffe’s Wicket,” partly out of the “Shepherd’s Calendar,” where they read that the sacrament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his body, etc. They also alleged the words of Christ spoken at the supper, when sitting with his disciples. He took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, “Eat: this (reaching out his arm, and showing the bread in his hand, and then noting his own natural body, and touching the same, and not the consecrated bread) is my body which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of me.” And he likewise took the wine cup and bid them drink, saying, “This cup is the new testament in my blood: do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.” (1Cor 11.24, etc.)

That Christ our Savior sits at the right hand of the Father, and there He shall be till the day of judgment. Therefore, they believed that in the sacrament of the altar the very body of Christ was not there.

Such reasons as these, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the “Shepherd’s Calendar,” “Wycliffe’s Wicket,” and out of their books that they had among them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in their doctrine, yet communing and conferring together among themselves, they converted one another, the Lord’s hand working with them. So that in a short time, the number of these men increased exceedingly. So that the bishop, seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the king, and require his aid for suppression of these men. Whereupon, King Henry, then being young and inexpert in the bloody practices and blind leadings of these apostolical prelates, directed the following letter to the sheriffs, bailiffs, officers, and others, for the aid of the bishop in this behalf.

*The Copy of the King’s Letter for the aid of John Longland,  
bishop of Lincoln, against the Servants of Christ,  
then falsely called Heretics.*

“Henry VIII, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, and to all other of our officers, ministers, and subjects, hearing or seeing these letters, and to every one them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, the bishop of Lincoln, has now within his diocese no small number of heretics, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heaviness: We, therefore, being in will and mind to safely provide for the said right reverend father in God and his officers, that they, or none of them, shall be bodily hurt or damaged by any of the said heretics or their favorers, in executing and ministering justice to the said heretics, according to the laws of holy church; do straitly charge and command you, and every of you, as you regard our high displeasure, to aid, help, and assist the said right reverend father in God, and his said officers, in the executing of justice in the premises, as they or any of them shall require you so to do; not failing to accomplish our commandment and pleasure in the premises, as you intend to please us, and will answer to the contrary at your uttermost peril. Given under our signet at our castle at Windsor, the twentieth day of October, the thirteenth year of our reign.” (A.D. 1522)

The bishop thus being armed with the authority of the king’s letter, and incited by his own fierceness, lost no time. But to accomplish his violence upon the poor flock of Christ, he called before him all those in his diocese, who were suspected of inclining toward those opinions. To those who had been but newly taken, and had not abjured before, he enjoined the most rigorous penance. The others in whom he could find any relapse, yes, even if they submitted themselves ever so humbly to his favorable courtesy — and even if at his request,



and for hope of pardon, they had shown themselves great detectors of their brethren — yet contrary to his fair words and their expectation, he did not spare them, but read the sentence of relapse against them, committing them to the secular arm to be burnt.

The books and opinions which these persons were charged with, and for the which they were abjured, were partly expressed earlier. Here follows a brief summary of them.

[421] A.D. 1521.

*A brief Summary of their Opinions.*

The opinions of many of these persons were,

- That he or she never believed in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would.
- That he was known by his neighbors to be a good fellow, meaning that he was one of this sect or company.
- For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a person knew as much as he knew.
- Some for saying that those of Amersham, who had abjured before by Bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folk who could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by the power of the bishop.
- Some, for hiding others in their barns.
- Some, for *reading* the Scriptures, or treatises of Scripture, in English: some for *hearing* them read.
- Some, for defending; some for marrying with those who had abjured.
- Some, for saying that matrimony was not a sacrament.
- Some, for saying that worshipping images was mummery (meaningless ceremony); some, for calling images carpenters' chips; some, for calling them stocks and stones; some, for calling them dead things.
- Some, for saying that money spent on pilgrimage, served but to maintain thieves and harlots.
- Others, for saying that nothing graven with man's hand was to be worshipped.
- Another, for calling his vicar a head-shorn priest.
- Another, for calling a certain blind chapel in ruin, an old fair milk-house.
- Another, for saying that alms should not be given before it sweat in a man's hand.
- Some, for saying that those who die, pass straight either to heaven hell.
- Isobel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured for lamenting her husband when the bishop's man came for him, and saying that he was an undone man, and she was a dead woman.
- For saying that Christ, departing from his disciples into heaven, said that once he was in sinners' hands, he would come there no more.
- Some were condemned for receiving the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their spiritual Father.
- Some, for reading the gospels — the epistles — and Revelation. Some, for having the creed and Lord's prayer in English.
- Some, for saying that the pope had no authority to give pardon, nor to release man's soul from sin; and that it was nothing but blinding the people to get their money.

The penance enjoined upon these parties by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was almost uniform, save that they were separately committed to several monasteries, there to be kept all their life, unless they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop.

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And at the same time, they were all compelled to abjure. This word “abjure” meant they were constrained by their oath, swearing upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a cross to the same, to say that they utterly and voluntarily renounced, detested, and forsaken, and would never after hold these opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome; and further, that they would detect to their ordinary, whomever they might see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain these opinions.

Among the forenamed persons who thus submitted themselves and were put to penance, there were some who, because they had been abjured before, were now condemned for their relapse, and had sentence read against them. And so they were committed to the secular arm to be burned. Their names follow here: THOMAS BERNARD, JAMES MORDEN, ROBERT RAVE, and JOHN SCRIVENER, martyrs (A.D. 1521). Mention was made of these before (p. 393), regarding both their abjuration and their martyrdom. To these we may add, JOAN NORMAN and THOMAS HOLMES.

This Thomas Holmes, although he had disclosed and detected many of his brethren; thinking thereby to please the bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a man paid by the bishop for that purpose: yet, in the bishop’s register appears the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most probable it is that he was also adjudged and executed with the others.

Regarding the burning of John Scrivener, it is to be observed here, that his children were compelled to set fire to their father; and in like manner, Joan Clerke, daughter of William Tylsworth, was also constrained to apply the fire to the burning of her own father.

The example of such cruelty is not only contrary both to God and nature, but it has not even been seen or heard of in the memory of the heathen.

### ***THE REFORMATION.***

Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with the tongue, or with the pen of man, into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those later days, yet partly by reading these histories, some intelligence may be given to those who have the judgment to mark, or the eyes to see in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned for upwards of four hundred years. By viewing and considering these times and histories, you may understand (gentle reader) how the religion of Christ, which only consists in spirit and truth, was wholly turned into outward observances, ceremonies, and idolatry. We had so many saints, so many gods, so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages. We had as many churches, and as many relics forged and feigned — again, we believed in so many relics, so many lying miracles. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones. In place of immortal Christ, we adored mortal bread. No care was taken how the people were led, only that the priests were fed. Instead of God’s word, man’s word was set up. Instead of Christ’s testament, the pope’s testament, that is the canon-law. Instead of St. Paul, Aquinas took his place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, and the use and end of it was less known. And as the end of the law was unknown, so the difference between the Law and the Gospel was not understood, the benefit of Christ was not considered, and the effect of faith was not examined. Through this ignorance it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel; for where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand or prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this: the promise of God in the blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising light to all

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who believe in him. Giving *to us* (says the Scripture), and not bargaining or contracting *with us*. And that is freely for Christ's sake, and not conditionally for our merits' sake.

Furthermore, it is freely by grace (says the Scripture), so that the promise might be firm and sure, and not by the works that we do, which are always doubtful. By grace (says the Scripture) through promise, to all and upon all those who believe, and not by the law upon those who deserve. For if it come by deserving, then it is not of grace; if it is not of grace, then it is not of promise; and contrariwise, if it is of grace and promise, then it is not of works, says St. Paul. <sup>Rom 11.6</sup> The patriarchs, kings, and prophets first built on the foundation of God's free promises and grace. Upon this same foundation, Christ the Lord also built his church. Upon this foundation the apostles likewise built the apostolic or catholic church.

So long as the church retained this apostolical and catholic foundation, so long it continued pure and sound, which endured a long time after the apostles' time.

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But afterwards in the process of years, through wealth and negligence, as soon as this foundation began to be lost, new builders came in, who would build a new church upon a new foundation, which we now call the church of Rome. Not being content with the old foundation, and the head cornerstone, which the Lord had laid by his word, they laid the groundwork upon the condition and strength of the law and works. It is not to be denied that the doctrine of God's holy law, and of good works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned and followed by all men. Yet it is not that foundation in which our salvation consists, nor is that foundation able to bear the weight of the kingdom of heaven. But rather, it is the thing which is built on the foundation which is Jesus Christ, as we are taught by St. Paul, saying, "Another foundation no man can lay than is laid, which is Jesus Christ," etc. <sup>1Cor 3.11</sup>

But this ancient foundation, which the ancient church of Christ laid, has now been long forsaken. And instead of it, a new church with a new foundation has been erected, not upon God's promise, and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon the merits and deserts of men's working. And here they have planted all their new devices, so infinite that they cannot well be numbered — such as masses, tricenaries, dirges, obsequies, matins, and hours-singing-service, vigils, midnight-rising, going barefoot, fish-tasting, Lenten-fast, Ember-fast, stations, rogations, jubilees, advocacy of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage-walking, works of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, sects of religion, vows of celibacy, willful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgences, penance, and satisfaction, with auricular confession, founding abbeys, etc. And who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Moreover, note that just as this new-found church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, so it was corrupt in order of life and deep hypocrisy, doing all things only under pretenses and dissembled titles. So under the pretense of Peter's chair, they exercised a majesty above emperors and kings. Under the visor of their vowed celibacy, adultery reigned; under the cloak of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporality; under the title of being dead to the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world; under the color of the keys of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences. They heard their confessions; they knew their secrets; they dispensed as they were disposed, and absolved what they chose; and finally, when they had brought the whole

world under their subjection, their pride neither ceased, nor could their avarice ever be satisfied.

In these so blind and miserably corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, you can see, good reader, how necessary it was, and high time, that the reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work through the merciful providence of Almighty God. He allowed his church to wander and start aside for a long time, through the seduction of pride and prosperity. Yet at length it pleased His goodness to regard His people, and to reduce his church back to its pristine foundation and frame, from which it had piteously decayed. I now have to treat this, intending by the grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means this reformation of the church first began, and how it proceeded, increasing little by little to this perfection which we now see.

And here we first have to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For just as the decay and ruin of the church began by rude ignorance, and lack of knowledge in teachers, so to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, shortly after the burning of John Huss and Jerome. Printing opened to the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge, which were good books and authors who before lay hidden and unknown. The science of printing being found, the grace of God immediately followed, which stirred up good understandings to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment. By this light, darkness began to be seen, and ignorance to be detected; truth to be discerned from error, and religion from superstition.

After these men, stirred up by God, others followed, increasing daily more and more in science, in languages, and the perfection of knowledge. Being so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, they encountered the adversary, sustaining the cause and defense of learning against barbarity; of truth against error; of true religion against superstition. Here began the first assault against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the pope's church. After these men had opened a window of light to the world by their learned writings and laborious travel, making (as it were) a readier way for others to come after them, then according to God's gracious appointment, Martin Luther immediately followed, with others after him, by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a fuller reformation of his church.

***The History of Dr. Martin Luther – 1483-1546.***

Martin Luther, born at Isleben in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was sent to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurth. In this university of Erfurth there was an aged man in the convent of the Augustinians. Luther, also being an Augustinian friar, conferred upon many things with him, especially regarding the article of remission of sins. The aged father opened this article to Luther in this way: he declared that we must not generally believe forgiveness of sins belongs only to St. Peter, to St. Paul, to David, or such good men alone; rather, God's express commandment is that every man individually should believe his sins are forgiven in Christ. He further said that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St. Bernard, and he showed him the place in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is set forth thus: — "But add that you believe this, that by Him your sins are forgiven you. This is the testimony that the Holy Spirit gives you in your heart, saying your sins are forgiven you. For this is the opinion of the apostle, that man is *freely justified by faith.*"

By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed in the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeats so many times this sentence: "We are justified by faith." Having read the expositions of many upon this place, he perceived by the purpose of the old man, as well as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations of

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the schoolmen, which he had read before. And so reading little by little, comparing the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, and by continual invocation of God, and the exercise of faith and prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then he began to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable things. Among others, in the Exposition of the Psalms, and especially of the Book of the Spirit and Letter, which not a little confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart. Yet he did not lay aside the Sententiaries, such as Gabriel and Cameracensis.<sup>6</sup> Also he read the books of William Occam, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. He also read Gerson; but above all the rest, he perused St. Augustine's works all over, with attentive meditation. And thus he continued his study for four years at Erfurth, in the convent of the Augustines.

About this time one Staupitius,<sup>7</sup> a famous man, was promoting the erection of an university in Wittenberg, and endeavoring to have schools of divinity founded in this new university. When he had considered the spirit and learning of Luther, he invited him from Erfurth, in order to place him in Wittenberg (A.D. 1508) at the age of twenty-six. There his learning appeared in the ordinary exercise of both his disputations in the schools, and in his preaching in churches, where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther.

[421] A.D. 1521.

Dr. Mellarstad would often say that Luther was of such a wonderful spirit, and so ingenious, that he was sure he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching. At Wittenberg Luther expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the meanwhile did not omit his study in theology. Three years afterwards he went to Rome about some contentions of the monks. Returning the same year, he was graduated as a doctor, at the expense of the elector Frederick, duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of the schools. For the duke had heard him preach, well understood the quietness of his spirit, diligently considered the force of his words, and held in high admiration those profound matters which Luther so exactly explained in his sermons.

After this, Luther began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and then the Psalms, where he showed the difference between the Law and the Gospel. He also overthrew the error that then reigned in schools and sermons, that men may merit remission of sins by their own works, and that they are just before God by outward discipline, as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently led the minds of men to the Son of God. As John the Baptist pointed to the Lamb of God who took away the sins of the world, even so Luther, shining in the church as a bright star after a long, cloudy, and obscure sky, clearly showed that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we should faithfully embrace this bountiful gift.

These happy beginnings got him great authority, especially as his life corresponded to his profession. The consideration of this, wonderfully allured to him the hearts of his auditors, and also many notable personages. All this while Luther altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows. He meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught only this doctrine to men, as the principal of all others, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, remission of sins, and faith, as the only true comfort in times of adversity. Every man received a good taste of this sweet doctrine; and the learned conceived high pleasure from beholding Jesus Christ, the prophets, and apostles, coming forth into the light, out of darkness, by which they began to understand the difference between the Law

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<sup>6</sup> *Sententiaries*: commentators on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, a standard textbook in medieval universities.

<sup>7</sup> Johann von Staupitz (c. 1460-1524). Foxe used the Latin form of his name.

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and the Gospel; between the promises of the law and the promise of the gospel; between spiritual righteousness and civil things — things which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and similar authors who were studied during that period.

It happened about this time, that many were induced by Erasmus's learned works, to study the Greek and Latin tongues. Perceiving a gentler and readier order of teaching than before, they began to have contempt for the monks' barbarous and sophistical doctrine; and especially those who were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongue, so that after he had learned the phrase and propriety of the language, and drawn the doctrine from its very fountains, he might give sounder judgment. As Luther was thus occupied in Germany (A.D. 1516), pope Leo X, having succeeded Julius 11, was pope of Rome. Under a pretense of waging war against the Turk, he sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all Christian realms and dominions, by which he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure. The gatherers and collectors persuaded the people, that whoever would give ten shillings, would at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatever they would have Him do, according to the saying, "Whatever you loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven." But if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing.

This filthy kind of merchandising by the pope, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions, so it also came to Germany by means of a certain Dominican friar named Tetzl. He most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences. He set them openly on the temple that joins the castle of Wittenberg, on the 30th of September, A.D. 1517.

This friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, assembled certain monks and divines from his convent, and commanded them to immediately write something against Luther. Not wishing to appear dumb himself, he began not only to inveigh against Luther in his sermons, but also to thunder against him, crying, "Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with fire." Besides this, he openly burned Luther's propositions, and the sermons which he wrote on indulgences. The rage and fury of this friar forced Luther to more amply address the cause, and to maintain his argument.

And thus arose the beginning of this controversy, in which Luther, neither suspecting nor dreaming of any change that might happen, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but only required moderation in them. Therefore they falsely accused him, blazing that he began with plausible matter by which he might get praise, to the end that in time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or others.

Certainly Luther was not stirred up by the court, for the Duke Frederick was offended that such contention and controversy should arise.

And as this Duke Frederick was one of all the princes of the time who most loved quietness and tranquility, so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther. But often he showed the heaviness and sorrow which he bore in his heart, fearing still greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God, and well deliberating on it, he thought with himself that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things. Nor was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned by God, to obstinately oppose the truth. Therefore he did as a godly prince should do: he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace, and

omnipotent protection. Although Maximilian the emperor, Charles king of Spain, and pope Julius, had given commandment to Duke Frederick, that he should prohibit Luther from all places, and from the liberty of preaching, yet the Duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of Scripture which he alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged to be true and sincere. He did not do this, trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious to hear the judgment of others, who were both aged and learned. In their number was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther; saying and protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth; and therefore he desired Erasmus to declare his judgment in the matter, freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated by the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the duke's request, saying that in Luther there were two great faults. First, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the second, that he would touch the pope's crown — which two matters are in no case to be tampered with. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, he said that Luther was occupied in detecting errors, and that a reformation was to be wished, and was very necessary in the church. He added that the effect of Luther's doctrine was true; only he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing. Duke Frederick shortly after wrote to Luther seriously, exhorting him to temper the vehemence of his style. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor.

The next year Erasmus wrote an epistle to the archbishop of Mentz, touching Luther's cause. In this epistle he signifies to the bishop that, "many things in the books of Luther were condemned by monks and divines as heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read as sound and godly."

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Also that, "The world is burdened with men's institutions, with school-doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of begging friars. These friars, being nothing but the pope's servants and underlings, have so grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible both to the pope himself, and to all princes. So long as the pope makes with them, so long they make him more than God; but if he makes anything against their purpose or advantage, then they weigh his authority as no more than a dream or a fantasy."

"Once," he said, "it was counted a heresy when a man opposed the gospel or articles of the faith. Now whoever dissents from Thomas Aquinas is a heretic; whatever they do not like, whatever they do not understand, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy; or to speak more finely than they do, that is heresy with them." And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

Now to return, and address the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. After Tetzl (with his fellow-monks and friars) had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the pope's indulgences; and after Luther, in defense of his cause, had set up propositions against the open abuses of indulgences, it was wonderful to see how soon those propositions were spread abroad in far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of persons both far and near. And thus, with the contention increasing between them, Luther was compelled to write more largely and fully than otherwise he thought necessary, which was in A.D. 1517.

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as followed afterwards. But hearing that he was accused to the

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bishop of Rome, he wrote humbly to him. In that writing, he declares the outrage of those pardon-mongers who so excessively cheated the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his holiness. And so proceeding, at the end of his writing he thus submits himself:

“Therefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your holiness, with all that I am, and all that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in your speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be content to die — for the earth is the Lord’s, and all the fulness thereof, who is blessed forever. Amen.”

This was in A.D. 1518. After Martin Luther, provoked by Tetzl, had declared his mind in writing, lowly and humbly, and had set up certain propositions to be disputed; not long after, among other monks and friars, up steps Silvester de Prierio, a Dominican friar. He began to publish abroad an impudent and railing dialogue against him.

Next after Sylvester, Eckius<sup>8</sup> stepped forth, and opposed the conclusions of Luther. Against Eckius came D. Andrew Bedenstein, archbishop of Wittenberg, making his apology in defense of Luther.

Then Martin Luther was cited the 7th of August, by Jerome, bishop of Ascalon, to appear at Rome. About this time, cardinal Thomas Cajetan, the pope’s legate, was at the city of Augsburg. He had been sent there earlier with certain mandates of Pope Leo to that city. The University of Wittenberg, hearing of Luther’s citation, soon directed their letters to the pope in Luther’s behalf, with their public seal. They also sent another letter to Charles Miltz, the pope’s chamberlain. Also, good Frederick did not cease for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with Cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be removed from Rome to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the Duke, wrote to the pope, from whom he received this answer, August 23rd:

“That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Jerome bishop of Ascalon, auditor of the chamber, and the bishop had diligently done what was commanded him. But Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, not only refused to come, but also became bolder and more stubborn, continuing, or rather increasing in his former heresy. Therefore he desired that the cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther, to appear at the city of Augsburg before him, adjoining with this the aid of the princes of Germany and of the emperor, if need required. So that when the said Luther appeared, he might lay hands upon him, and commit him to safe custody, and then he would be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived Luther had come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he would release him and restore him to the church again; or else he would be interdicted, with all his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatever state or condition they were, whether dukes, marquises, earls, barons, etc. Against all these persons and degrees, he desired the cardinal to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted) interdicting by the censure of the church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tenements, and villages, as might provide any harbor to Luther, and were not obedient to the See of Rome. Contrariwise, to all those who showed themselves obedient, he would promise full remission of all their sins.”

The pope also directed other letters at the same time to Duke Frederick, complaining against Luther with many grievous words.

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<sup>8</sup> Johann Maier von Eck (1486-1543), often anglicized as John Eck.



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The cardinal being thus charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commission, sent with all speed for Luther, to appear before him at Augsburg.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther yielding his obedience to the church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's message (at the charges of the noble prince elector, and also with his letters of commendation), where he remained three days before he came to his presence. For it was provided by his friends, that he would not confer with the cardinal till a sufficient warrant or safe conduct was obtained from the emperor Maximilian. This being obtained, Luther soon entered, offering himself to the presence of the cardinal. He was there received by the cardinal very gently; and according to the pope's command, he propounded to Martin Luther three things, to wit:

1. That he should repent and revoke his errors.
2. That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.
3. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church.

When Martin Luther requested to be informed of what he had erred in, the legate brought forth a papal bull, called the *Extravagant of Clement*, which begins, "Unigenitus," etc.; because, contrary to that canon, he had held and taught in his fifty-eight propositions, "That the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons." Secondly, the cardinal, contrary to the seventh proposition of Luther, affirmed, that faith is not necessary to one who receives the sacrament.

Another day, in the presence of four of the emperor's council, having a notary and witnesses present, Luther protested for himself, in the following manner:

"I Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, protest, that I reverence and follow the church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come; and if anything has been, or shall be said by me to the contrary, I count it, and am willing that it be counted and taken as though it had never been spoken. But because the cardinal has required three things of me at the command of the pope,

1. That I should return again to the knowledge of myself.
2. That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter.
3. That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the church of God;

"I protest here this day, that whatever I have said, seems to me to be sound, true, and catholic; yet for further proof of it, I offer myself personally, either here or elsewhere, to publicly give a reason for my sayings. And if this does not please the legate, I am also ready to answer his objections in writing, if he has any against me; and to hear the sentence and judgment of the universities of the empire, Basel, Friburg, and Louvaine."

[425] A.D. 1521.

After this, Luther prepared an answer to the legate, teaching that the merits of Christ are not committed to men; that the pope's voice is to be heard when he speaks agreeably to the Scriptures; that the pope may err, and that he ought to be reprehended. Moreover, he showed that in matters of faith, not only the general council, but also every faithful Christian is above the pope, if he depends on better authority and better reason; that the extravagant bull contains untruths; that it is an infallible truth that none is righteous; that it is necessary for whoever comes to receive the sacrament, to believe; that faith in the remission of sins is necessary; that he should not decline from the truth of the Scripture; that he sought nothing but the light of the truth, etc.

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But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; he devised glosses and expositions out of his own head; and by subtle distinctions, like a veritable Proteus,<sup>9</sup> he avoided all things. After this, Luther being commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate unless he would recant, abode there still and would not depart. Then the cardinal sent for John Stupitius, vicar of the Augustinians, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said to him. He tarried the third day also, and delivered his mind in writing, in which, first,

“He thanked him for his courtesy and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of Stupitius toward him; and therefore he was more ready to gratify him in whatever kind of office he could do him service, confessing that where he had been somewhat sharp and eager against the pope’s dignity, that was not so much of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the importunity of some who gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess, so he was ready to show more moderation hereafter, and also promised to make amends to the bishop, and would do that in the pulpit, if he pleased. As to the matter of pardons, he also promised to proceed no further, if his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But as he was pressed to retract his sentence which he had previously defended, as he had said nothing without a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm testimonies of the Scripture, therefore he humbly desired the determination of it to be referred to the bishop of Rome; for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the church speaking.” etc.

Who does not see by this humble submission of Luther, that if the bishop of Rome had been satisfied or contented with any reason, he would never have been troubled by Luther any further? But the secret purpose of God had a further work to do. For the time had now come when God thought it good that pride should have a fall. Thus, while the unmeasurable desire of that bishop sought more than enough (like Aesop’s dog coveting to have both flesh and shadow <sup>10</sup>) he not only missed what he gaped for, but also lost what he had.

Luther delivered this writing to the cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight. The cardinal little regarded this letter or writing. When Luther saw that he would give no answer to it, he yet remained after the fourth day, and still nothing was answered; the fifth day likewise was passed with silence, and nothing done. At length, by the counsel of his friends, and especially because the cardinal said that he had a commandment before to imprison Luther and John Stupitius, he departed. This was after he had made and set up his appeal where it might be seen and read, thinking that he showed obedience long enough. Luther himself records all this, and shows why he submitted himself to the church of Rome. He declared that even those things which are most truly spoken, still ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. He protests that he reverences and follows the church of Rome in all things, and that he sets himself only against those who, under the name of the church of Rome, go about setting forth and commending Babylon to us.

Thus Luther, being rejected from the presence of cardinal Cajetan, and after waiting six days, departed on the advice of his friends. He returned to Wittenberg, leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal, in which he declared sufficiently — his obedience in his coming — the reasons of his doctrine — his reasonable submission to the See of Rome — his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal’s presence — the charges of the duke —

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<sup>9</sup> *Proteus*: (Gr. mythology) a prophetic god who served Poseidon; he was capable of changing his shape at will.

<sup>10</sup> Aesop's fable, "The Dog and Its Shadow," tells the story of a dog carrying a piece of meat who sees its reflection in a stream. It mistakenly believes it to be another dog with a larger piece of meat. Greedily, the dog attempts to seize the reflected meat and loses its own piece in the process.

and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the cardinal, he also left an appeal to the bishop of Rome, from the cardinal, which he caused to be published before his departure.

After Luther departed and returned to his own country, Cajetan wrote a sharp and biting letter to Duke Frederick, in which first he notices his gentle entreating and good will shown to reduce Luther from his error. Secondly, he complains of Luther's sudden departing, and that of Stupitius. Thirdly, he declares the danger of Luther's doctrine against the church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorts the duke, that if he values his own honor and safety, and regards the favor of the high bishop, he will send him to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, because such a pestilence could not, and should not by any means be suffered.

The duke answers this letter of the cardinal at large, clearing both Luther and himself — Luther, in that following his conscience, grounded upon the word of God, he would not revoke that for an error, which could be proved to be no error. And he excuses himself in that, where it is required of him to banish Luther from his country, or to send him up to Rome, it would be little becoming to him to do so, and less conscientious, unless he knew just cause why he should do so. If the cardinal would or could declare this to him, there should lack nothing in him which it was the duty of a Christian prince to do. And therefore he desired to endeavor with the bishop of Rome, that innocency and truth not be oppressed before the crime or error is lawfully convicted.

This done, the duke sent the letter of the cardinal to Martin Luther, who answered back to the prince, showing first how he came obediently to Cajetan with the emperor's warrant, and what talk there was between them; how Cajetan pressed him against his conscience and manifest truth, to revoke these alleged errors: First, that the merits of Christ's passion were not the treasure of the pope's pardons. Secondly, that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments. Although in the first he was content to yield to the cardinal; yet the second, because it touched a great part of our salvation, he could not retract with a safe conscience, but desired to be taught by the Scriptures, or at least that the matter might be brought into open disputation in some free place of Germany, where the truth might be discussed and judged by learned men. The cardinal, not pleased with this, in great anger cast out many menacing words, and would not admit Luther to his presence any more. And yet Luther persisted in his obedience to the church of Rome, gave attendance, and waited upon the cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

At last, when no answer would come, after he had waited five or six days, to his great loss and greater danger, he departed by the persuasion of his friends. If the cardinal was displeased at this, he had most cause to blame himself.

“And now, as the cardinal threatens me,” Luther writes, “not to let the matter fall, but that the process shall be pursued at Rome, unless I either come and present myself, or else be banished from your dominions, I am not so much grieved for my own sake, as that you should sustain any danger or peril on my account. And therefore, seeing there is no place nor country, which can keep me from the malice of my adversaries, I am willing to depart from here, and to forsake my country, wherever it pleases the Lord to lead me, thanking God who has counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christ's name.”

At this time the cause of Luther was in great danger, and he himself was ready to flee the country. And the duke in return was as much afraid to keep him, had not the marvellous providence of God provided a remedy where the power of man failed, by stirring up the whole university of Wittenberg.

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Seeing the cause of truth thus declining, with a full and general consent, they addressed their letters to the prince in defense of Luther and of his cause, making their humble suit to him, that of his princely honor he would not allow innocency and the simplicity of truth, so clearly exposed in the Scriptures, to be foiled and oppressed by mere violence of certain malignant flatterers about the pope; but that the error may first be shown and convicted, before the party is pronounced guilty.

By these letters the duke began to consider the cause of Luther more seriously in his mind, and to read his works, and also to hearken to his sermons. By which (through God's holy working) he grew to knowledge and strength, perceiving in Luther's quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of December, A.D. 1518.

As this was going on, Pope Leo, playing the lion at Rome, in the month of November, to establish his seat against the defection which he feared was coming, had sent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad. He included a new edict in which he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother church of Rome, prince of all other churches: that bishops of Rome, who are successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ, have this power and authority given to release and dispense, and also to grant indulgences available both for the living, and for the dead lying in the pains of purgatory. And this doctrine he charged to be received by all faithful Christian men, under pain of the great curse, and utter separation from all holy church.

This popish decree and indulgence, as a new merchandise to get money, having been sent into all quarters of Christendom for the holy father's advantage, also came to be received in Germany about the month of December. Luther in the meantime, hearing that at Rome they were about to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain appeal in due form of law, in which he appeals from the pope to the General Council.

When Pope Leo perceived that his pardons would not prosper to his mind, and that Luther could not be brought to Rome, he sent his chamberlain, Charles Miltitz (who was a German) into Saxony to Duke Frederick, with a golden rose, in the usual ceremony. He also carried with him secret letters to certain noblemen of the duke's council, to solicit them in favor of the pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if possible, from Luther.

But before Miltitz approached Germany, Emperor Maximilian died, in January 1519. Then two candidates stood for the election — to wit, Francis the French king, and Charles king of Spain, who was also duke of Austria, and duke of Burgundy. To make this matter short, through means of Frederick, the prince elector — who having the offer of the preferment, refused it — the election fell to Charles, called emperor Charles V, about the end of August.

In the month of June previous, there was a public disputation at Leipzig, a city under the dominion of George duke of Saxony, uncle to Duke Frederick. This disputation first began through the occasion of John Eckius, a friar, and Andrew Carolostad, a doctor of Wittenberg. Eckius had impugned certain propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before against the pope's pardons. Against him Carolostad wrote in defense of Luther. Eckius, to answer Carolostad, set forth an apology. Carolostad confuted this apology in writing. Martin Luther came to this disputation with Philip Melancthon, who not a year before had come to Wittenberg. Luther was not then thinking of disputing anything because of his appeal already mentioned, but only to hear what was said and done.

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Before entering into the disputation it was agreed that everything should be penned by notaries, and afterwards published. But Eckius afterwards went back on that, pretending that the penning of the notaries would be a hindrance to them, by which their reasoning would be the more languid. But Carolostad would not dispute without notaries. The sum of their disputation was reduced to certain conclusions. Among which, first came the question of free will — that is, whether a man has of himself any election or purpose to do that which is *good*. When the question was to be discussed — what the will of man may do of itself, without grace — through heat of contention, they fell into other matters having little or nothing to do with what Carolostad proposed. Eckius affirmed that the pure strength to do good is not in man's will, but is given by God to man, to take interest and increase of man in return (which at first he seemed to deny). Then being asked by Carolostad whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceeds from God, he answered, the whole good work, but not wholly, granting that the will is moved by God, but that it is in man's power to consent. Carolostad reasoned against this, alleging certain places from Augustine, and from St. Paul, who says that, "God works in us both to will and to do." <sup>Phi 2.13</sup> This opinion of Carolostad seemed to prevail. And thus a whole week was lost about this contentious and sophistical altercation between Eckius and Carolostad.

Luther, as I said, did not come thinking to dispute at all, but having liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, he was challenged and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Luther had previously set forth in writing, that those who attribute the pre-eminency to the church of Rome, have no other foundation for it than the pope's decrees, which had been set forth not much more than four hundred years before; and he affirmed that these decrees were quite contrary to all ancient histories for over a thousand years past, and also contrary to the holy Scriptures, and to the Nicene council.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion, saying that,

"Those who hold that the supremacy and pre-eminence of the church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of pope Silvester I, are in error, because those who succeed in the see and faith of Peter were always received as the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth."

Though this was the last of all the other points of Eckius, he thought to begin with this against Luther, in order to bring him into more displeasure with the bishop of Rome. But Luther refused to dispute, alleging that the subject was more unpleasant than necessary for that time, and also for the bishop of Rome's sake, he would much rather keep silence on the point. But if he must be forced to it, he wished the fault should be understood to be where it really was; namely, in his adversaries who challenged him to it. Eckius again clearing himself, transfers all the fault to Luther, who in his treatise on indulgences, first asserted that before Pope Silvester's time the church of Rome had no preeminence above other churches.

Thus Luther being constrained to dispute, whether he would or not, the question began to be propounded as to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. This supremacy, Eckius contended, was found and grounded upon God's law. Luther on the other side did not deny the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, nor did he deny it to be universal over all churches, but he only affirmed that it is not instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation continued for five days. During all this time, Eckius very dishonestly and discourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his adversary into hatred with the auditors, and into danger with the pope. The reasons of

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Eckius were these: “Forasmuch as the church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it stands with God’s law that other civil governments should not be destitute of a head, so it is requisite by God’s law, that the pope should be the head of the universal church of Christ.” To this Martin Luther answered that, “He confesses and grants that the church is not headless so long as Christ is alive, who is the only head of the church. Nor does the church require any other head besides him, because it is a spiritual kingdom, and not earthly.” And for this he alleged Col 1.18.<sup>11</sup> Eckius again produced certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little way to prove the primacy of the pope to exist by the law of God. As to the testimony of Bernard, the authority of that author was not of any great force in this question.

[427] A.D. 1521.

Then he came to the place in St. Matthew, “You are Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church,” etc. <sup>Mat 16.18</sup> To this it was answered that, “This was a confession of faith; and that Peter there represents the person of the whole universal church, as Augustine expounds it. Also, that Christ in that place means *Himself* to be the rock, as is manifest both by his words and the structure of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Also to the place of St. John, (21.16) “Feed my sheep “ (Which Eckius alleged were spoken particularly to Peter alone). Luther answered that, “After these words were spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ says to them, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit: whosoever’s sins you remit, they are remitted,’ etc. <sup>Joh 20-22-23</sup> By these words (he says) Christ, assigning their office to them, teaches them what it means to feed, and what he ought to be who feeds.” After this, Eckius came to the authority of the Council of Constance, alleging this among others, — “That it stands upon necessity of our salvation, to believe the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church: alleging, moreover, that in that council it was debated and discussed, that a general council could not err.” To this Martin Luther answered discreetly, saying, “That all the articles which John Huss held were not condemned in that council as heretical. Again, of what authority that Council of Constance is to be esteemed, he left to other men’s judgments. This is most certain (he said) that no council has authority to make new articles of faith.” Here Martin Luther was exclaimed against by Eckius and his accomplices, for diminishing the authority of general councils, even though he meant to confirm their authority. Yet Luther was called a heretic and a schismatic, and one of the Bohemian faction, with many other terms of reproachful insult. <sup>12</sup> Eckius then granted the authority of the apostles to be equal: and yet that it did not follow from there, that the authority of all bishops was equal. In conclusion, Eckius could not bear that anyone should decline from any word or sentence of the pope’s decrees, or the constitutions of the fathers. To this Luther answered, grounding himself upon Gal 2.6, where St. Paul, speaking of the principal apostles, says, “And of those who seemed to be something, whatever they were, it makes no matter to me, for God favors no man’s person: nevertheless, that they seemed to be something added nothing to me,” etc. Eckius said to this, “As to the authority of the apostles, they were all chosen by Christ, but were ordained bishops by St. Peter.” And when Luther brought forth the constitution of the decree, which says, “Let not the bishop of Rome be called universal bishop,” etc. Eckius answered that, “The bishop of Rome should not be called universal bishop; yet he may be called bishop of the universal church.” And thus much touching the question of the pope’s supremacy.

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<sup>11</sup> **Col 1:18** And He is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in all things He may have the preeminence.

<sup>12</sup> When Eck accused Luther of being a Hussite, Luther proudly affirmed it, saying, “Yes, I *am* a Hussite!”

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From this matter they next entered upon purgatory, where Eckius kept no order. For when they should have disputed what power the pope has in purgatory, Eckius turned the scope of the question, and endeavored to prove that there is a purgatory; and he alleged the passage of Maccabees. Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmed that the book of Maccabees is not canonical. Eckius again replied that the book of Maccabees was of no less authority than the gospels. Also he alleged 1Cor 3.15, "He himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." Also, Mat 5.25, "Agree with your adversary quickly while you are in the way with him, lest he deliver you to prison — you shall not come out from there till you have paid the last farthing," etc. To this he also added Psa 66.12, "We went through fire and water," etc. How these places are twisted to support purgatory, let the reader discern and judge. Then the question of indulgences was brought on, of which Eckius seemed to make but a trifle, and a matter of nothing, and so he passed it over.

At last they came to the question of penance. Touching this, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, and he went to prove that there are some pains of satisfaction (which Luther never denied); but that for every particular offense, such particular penance is exacted by God's justice upon the repentant sinner, that it is in *man's* power to remit or release it. Neither Luther, nor any true Christian would admit such penance.

And thus you have the chief effect of this disputation between Luther and Eckius at Leipzig, in the month of July 1519.

About the beginning of the same year, Ulric Zuinglius (Zwingli) first came to Zurich and began to teach there. In the sixteenth article in his book of articles, he records that Luther and he at the same time, one not knowing or hearing of the other, began to write against the pope's pardons and indulgences. Yet, if the time is rightly counted, I suppose we would find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, Sleidan testifies that in this year, when Sampson, a Franciscan, came with the pope's pardons to Zurich, Ulric Zuinglius withstood him, and declared his pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people, to inveigle away their money.

The next year, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvaine, and of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical. Luther again effectually defended himself and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. About this same time the thunderbolt of Pope Leo flashed out from Rome against Luther, although he had so humbly and obediently revered both the person of the pope, and the authority of his see, and had also dedicated to him the book entitled, "Of Christian Liberty." In this book he discusses and proves these two points principally:

1. That a Christian man is free, and Lord over all things, and subject to none.
2. That a Christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and subject to every man.

Also, in the same year he set out a defense of all his articles, which the pope's bull had condemned before. He also wrote another book to the nobility of Germany, in which he impugns and shakes the three principal walls of the papists:

1. The papists say that no temporal or profane magistrate has any power over the spirituality (clergy), but that the spirituality have power over the other.
2. Where any place of Scripture is in controversy, for it to be decided they say, "No man may expound the Scripture, or be judge of it, but only the pope."

3. When any council is brought against them, they say that, “No man has authority to call a council, but only the pope.”

Moreover, in this book he handles and discourses on other matters: that the pope cannot stop any free council, nor what things ought to be handled in councils; and that the pride of the pope is not to be suffered. What money goes out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounts to the sum of three million florins. Furthermore, he proves and discusses in this book, that the emperor is not under the pope; that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged; that priests may have wives; that the voices of the people should not be separated from the election of ecclesiastical persons; that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certain times was introduced from avarice; what is the right use of excommunication; that there ought to be fewer holy-days; that liberty should not be restrained in meats; that willful poverty and begging should to be abolished; what damage and inconvenience have grown up by the Council of Constance; what misfortunes Sigismund the emperor sustained for not keeping faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome of Prague; that heretics should not be convicted by fire and faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God’s word; how schools and universities ought to be reformed; what is to be said and judged about the pope’s decretals; and that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the gospel.

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In October 1520, the new emperor, Charles V, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. About November, Pope Leo again sent two cardinals to Duke Frederick, of whom the one was Jerome Leander. After a few words of high commendation, he premised to the duke, regarding his noble progeny and his other famous virtues. Then they made two requests to him in the pope’s name. First, that he would cause all the books of Luther to be burned. Secondly, that he would either cause Luther to be executed, or else he would send him up to Rome to the pope. These two requests seemed very strange to the duke. Answering the cardinals, he said that,

“Having been long absent from there on other public affairs, he could not tell what had been done, nor had he communicated on the doings of Luther. However, this he had heard: that Eckius was a great disturber not only of Luther, but of other learned and good men of his university. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty — first, in sending Luther to Cajetan the cardinal at the city of Augsburg; and afterwards, at the pope’s command, he would have sent him out of his dominions had not Meltitz, the pope’s own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him in his own country, fearing lest he might do more harm in other countries than where he was better known. And so now also, he was as ready to do his duty, wherever right and equity required. But as in this cause he sees much hatred and violence shown on one side, and no error yet convicted on the other side, but rather it had the approval of many well learned and sound men of judgment. And also, as the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, he therefore desired the legates to arrange with the pope’s holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter. And that his error might first be known and proved, before he was made a heretic, or his books burned. And then, when he might see Luther’s error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture, Luther would find no favor at his hands. Otherwise he trusted that the pope’s holiness would exact nothing from him, which he might not with equity and honor of his place and estate, reasonably perform,” etc.

Then the cardinals, declaring to the duke again, that they could not do otherwise than according to the form of their commission. And so they took the books of Luther, and shortly after set them on fire, and openly burnt them. Luther hearing this, in like manner



called together all the students and learned men in Wittenberg. There, taking the pope's decrees and the bull lately sent down against himself, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, he likewise set them on fire and burnt them, on the 10th of December.

A little before these things passed between the pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded and ordained a sitting or assembly of the states of all the empire to be held at the city of Worms, on the sixth of January next ensuing. In this assembly, through means of Duke Frederick, the emperor let it be known that he would have the cause of Luther brought before him there, and so it was. For when the assembly was afterwards commenced in the city of Worms, on the sixth of March following, the emperor, through the advice of Duke Frederick, directed his letters to Luther. He signified that because Luther had set forth certain books, he therefore — by the advice of his peers and princes about him — ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing. Therefore he granted Luther license to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly do so, he promised Luther, by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe conduct; and by the instrument which he sent to him, Luther might be more fully assured. Therefore, without any doubt or distrust, he desired Luther to repair to him, and to be present there by the twenty-first day after receiving it.

Martin Luther being thus provided with his safe conduct by the emperor, and after having been accursed by the pope at Rome on Maundy Thursday, he shortly after Easter sped on his journey to Worms. There he appeared before the emperor and all the states of Germany. It will now be detailed how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his adversaries.

***Martin Luther Examined at Worms – 1521.***

*The Acts and Doings of Martin Luther  
before the Emperor at the City of Worms.*

In the year 1521, about seventeen days after Easter, Martin Luther entered Worms, having been sent for by the Emperor Charles V. Three years before (October 31, 1517), Luther had published certain propositions to be disputed in the town of Wittenberg in Saxony, against the tyranny of the pope. Notwithstanding, they were torn in pieces, condemned and burned by the papists. Their objections not being supported by manifest Scriptures, nor by probable reason, the matter began to grow to a tumult and agitation. Yet all the while, Luther openly maintained his cause against the clergy. Upon this it seemed good to some, that Luther should be summoned, assigning to him a herald-at-arms, with a letter of safe conduct by the emperor and princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the house of the knights of Rhodes. There he was lodged, well-treated, and visited by many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who frequented his lodging until night.

To conclude, Luther came, contrary to the expectation of many. For although he was sent for by the emperor's messenger, and had letters of safe conduct, yet just a few days before, his books had been condemned by public proclamation. So it was greatly doubted by many whether he would come — especially since his friends deliberated together in nearby village (where Luther was first notified of these occurrences). Many persuaded him not to venture into such danger. When he heard their whole persuasion and advice, he answered in this way: — “Since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yes, even if there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms.”

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The fourth day after his arrival, a gentleman named Ulrick of Pappenheim, Lieutenant-General of the men at arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor, before dinner, to go to Luther, and to enjoin him to appear before his imperial majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to be informed of the cause of his being sent for. He willingly assented to this, as was his duty.

Therefore, at four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm the emperor's herald (who conducted Luther from Wittenberg to Worms), came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights of Rhodes, to the earl palatine's palace. And lest the people who thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have the audience. Yet many who perceived this stratagem, violently rushed in and were resisted, but in vain. Many ascended the galleries because they desired to see Luther.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of the empire assembled there, he was first notified by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius, mentioned above, who was the bishop of Triers' general official, spoke with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, and then in Dutch according to the emperor's command. He proposed this sentence:

[429] A.D. 1521.

"Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible imperial majesty has enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that you should be appealed before the throne of his majesty, to the end that I might demand of you these two points.

"First, whether you confess that these books here (he showed a heap of Luther's books, written in the Latin and Dutch tongues), and which are dispersed in all places, entitled with your name, are yours, and that you affirm them to be yours, or not?

"Secondly, whether you will recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather mean to stand to what you have written?"

Before Luther prepared to answer, Jerome Scurffus, a lawyer of Wittenberg, requested that the titles of the books be read. Immediately Eckius named some of the books; and those were principally the ones printed at Basel, among which he named Luther's *Commentaries on the Psalms*, his book on *Good Works*, his *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, and others which were not controversial.

After this, Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch:

"Two things are proposed to me by his imperial majesty: First, whether I will avow all those books that bear my name. Secondly, whether I will maintain or revoke anything that I have devised or published. I will answer as briefly as I can.

"In the first place, I cannot do otherwise than recognize those books as being mine, which were named; and certainly, I will never recant any clause of them. In the second place, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back anything contained in them. As there are questions of faith and the salvation of the soul (and this concerns the word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and which we should duly and evermore reverence), this might be accounted a rashness of judgment in me, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I were to pronounce anything before I was better advised, considering that I might recite something less than the matter imports, and more than the truth requires, if I did not premeditate upon what I would speak. These two things being well considered, it brings to my mind this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, where it is said,

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‘Whoever denies me before men, I will also deny him before my Father, who is in heaven.’ I request then for this cause, and humbly beseech his imperial majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to deliberate, so that I may satisfy the interrogation made to me, without prejudice of the word of God, and the peril of my own soul.”

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. Then Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced their resolution, saying,

“Although, master Luther, you have sufficiently understood, by the emperor’s command, the cause of your appearance here, and therefore do not deserve to have any further respite given you to determine, yet the emperor’s majesty, of his mere clemency, grants to you one day to meditate on your answer, so that tomorrow at this hour, you will exhibit your opinion, not in writing, but pronounce it with your voice.”

Then Luther was led to his lodging by the herald. But here I must not forget that on the way, as he was going to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly of the princes, he was exhorted by others to be courageous, and to conduct himself manly, and not to fear those who can kill the body, but not the soul, but rather to dread Him who is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire. Mat 10.28

He was encouraged too by the words of our Lord, that “When you are before kings, do not think about what you will say, for it will be given to you in that hour what to say.” Luk 12.11-12

The next day, at four o’clock, the herald again came. He brought Luther from his lodging to the emperor’s court, where he stayed till six o’clock, for the princes were occupied in grave consultations. There he was surrounded with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then afterwards, when the princes were set and Luther had entered, Eckius, the official, began to speak in this manner:

“Yesterday, at this hour, the emperor’s majesty assigned you to be here master Luther, for you affirmed those books that we named yesterday were yours. Further, to the interrogation made by us, whether you would approve of all that is contained in them, or retract and make void any part of them, you required time for deliberation, which was granted, and has now expired. Although, you should not have had an opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to you why we cited you. And concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared that at all times, whenever he is required, he may give certain and constant reason for it — especially you, being counted a man of such learning, and so long exercised in theology. Then go to. Answer even now to the emperor’s demand, whose clemency you have experienced in giving you leisure to deliberate. Will you now maintain all your books which you have acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit yourself?”

The official made this interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. Martin Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch, in this way: modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of spirit and Christian constancy. So that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, yet they more earnestly desired his recantation, of which they were in some hopes, when they heard him desire a respite to make his answer.

His Answer was this:

“Most magnificent emperor, and you most noble princes, and my most gentle lords, I appear before you here at the hour prescribed to me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe — humbly beseeching, for God’s mercy, your most renowned majesty, and your graces and honors, that you will minister to me this courtesy: to attend to this cause benignly, which is the cause (I trust) of justice and truth. And if by ignorance I have not given to every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenance of the court,

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offending against them, it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one who has frequented cloisters, and not courtly civilities. And first, as regards myself, I can affirm or promise no other thing except this; that I have taught up to now in simplicity of mind, that which I thought tended to God's glory, and to the salvation of men's souls.

"Now, concerning the two articles objected by your most excellent majesty, whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and are published in my name, and whether I would maintain or revoke them, I have given a resolved answer to the first, in which I persist, and shall persevere for evermore, that these books are mine, and published by me in my name — unless it has since happened, by some fraudulent dealing of my enemies, that there is anything foisted into them or corruptly altered. For I will acknowledge nothing but what I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

"Now, to answer the second article. I beseech your most excellent majesty, and your graces, to grant to give ear to me. All my books are not of one sort. There are some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the religion of Christian faith, and of good works, that my very enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable, and worthy to be read by all Christians. And truly, the pope's bull (however cruel and tyrannous it is), judges some of my books to be blameless; although he thunders against me with severe sentence, and condemns my books with monstrous cruelty. If I were to revoke those books, I might worthily be thought to transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be someone who opposes the public confession of all people. There is another sort of my books, which contain invectives against the papacy, and against others of the pope's retinue, who have corrupted the whole state of our Christianity, with their pestiferous doctrine and pernicious examples. Nor can anyone deny or dissemble this. For the universal experience and common complaint of all will bear witness to it, that the consciences of all faithful men are most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the pope's laws, and by his doctrines of men.

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"Also, that the goods and substance of Christian people are devoured, especially in this noble and famous country of Germany.. And yet, in a most detestable manner, they are still allowed to be devoured without measure by incredible tyranny. This is notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained the contrary in their own proper laws, in which they themselves have decreed that, 'all such laws of popes, as are repugnant to the doctrine of the gospel, and the opinions of the ancient fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprov'd.'

"If, then, I should revoke these, I do nothing but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only windows but wide gates to their impiety, which is likely to extend more widely and more licentiously than ever. And by my retracting them, their insolent assumptions will be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment; intolerable to the common people, and more confirmed and established, especially if it is known that I have done this by the authority of your most excellent majesty, and the sacred Roman empire. O, Lord! what a cover or shadow I will then be to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny!

"The rest, or third sort of my books, are those which I have written against some persons — to wit, against those who labor with tooth and nail to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed. As to these, I plainly confess that I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make myself to be no saint, and I do not dispute my life, but only the doctrine of Christ.

"And these I cannot call back without prejudice. For by this recantation it will come to pass that tyranny and impiety will reign, supported by my means. And so they will exercise cruelty against God's people more violently and ragingly than before.

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“Nevertheless, as I am a man, and not God, I can defend my books in no other way than my true Lord Jesus Christ defended His doctrine. Being examined before Annas, and having received a buffeting by the officials, he said, ‘If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.’

“If the Lord (who was perfect, and could not err) did not refuse to have testimony given against his doctrine, even from a most vile servant, then how much more should I, who am but vile corruption, and who can do nothing of myself but err, earnestly see and require if anyone will bear witness against my doctrine.

“Therefore, I request, for God’s mercy, your most excellent majesty, your graces and right honorable lordships, or whatever degree he may be, high or low, to give his testimony here to convict my errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the prophets, or the apostles, and I will be most ready, if so instructed, to revoke any manner of error. Yes, and I will be the first one to consume my own books, and burn them.

“I suppose it may seem that I have well-weighed beforehand the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions, which have arisen throughout the whole world because of my doctrine, and for which I was vehemently and sharply admonished yesterday. Concerning these divisions of men’s minds, what other men judge I do not know. As for myself, I conceive no greater delight in anything, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God. For such is the course and proceedings of the Gospel. Jesus Christ says, ‘I did not come to bring peace, but a sword; I came to set a man at variance with his father,’ etc. (Mat 10.34).

“And further, we must think that our God is marvellous and terrible in his counsels; lest perhaps what we endeavor to achieve and bring to pass with earnest study (if we begin first with condemning his word), may redound again to a sea of evil; and lest the new reign of this young and bounteous prince Charles (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope), be lamentable, unfortunate, and miserably begun.

“I could exemplify this more effectually with authorities from the Scriptures — such as by Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, and the kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their own ruin, when by their counsels, and not by God’s counsels, they attempted to pacify and establish their governments and realms. For it is God who entraps the wily in their wiliness, and subverts mountains before they are aware. This is why it is good to dread the Lord.

“I do not say this, supposing that such politic and prudent heads need my doctrine and admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my country, and offer my duty or service. And thus I humbly commend myself to your most excellent majesty, and your honorable lordships, beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasure, or be despised by you through the persecution of my adversaries. I have spoken.”

Then Eckius, the emperor’s prolocutor, with a stern countenance began, and said that Luther had not answered to any purpose. Nor did it behoove him to call into question things concluded and defined by general councils. And therefore he required from Luther a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or not?”

Then Luther replied. —

“Considering your sovereign majesty and your honors require a plain answer, this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubtfulness or sophistication, that unless I am convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I do not believe the pope, nor his general councils, which have erred many times and have been contrary to themselves), my conscience is so bound in these Scriptures, and the word of God, which I have

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alleged, that I will not, and may not revoke anything, considering it is not godly or lawful to do anything against my conscience. Here I stand and rest. God have mercy upon me.”<sup>13</sup>

The princes consulted together upon this answer; and when they had diligently examined it, the prolocutor began thus:

“Martin, you have more immodestly answered than suited your person, and also little to the purpose. You divide your books into three sorts in such a way, that all that you have said, answers nothing to the interrogation proposed. And therefore, if you had revoked those in which the greatest part of your errors is contained, the emperor’s majesty, and the noble clemency of others, would have allowed the rest to sustain no injury. But you revive and bring to light again, all that the general Council of Constance has condemned, which was assembled of all the nations of Germany, and you now require to be convinced by the Scriptures, in which you greatly err. For what does it avail to renew a disputation about things so long condemned by the church and councils, unless it were necessary to give a reason to every man of every thing that is concluded? Now if it were permitted to everyone who opposes the determination of the church and councils, that he must be convinced by the Scriptures, we would have nothing certain and established in Christendom.

“And this is the reason that the emperor’s majesty requires a simple answer from you, either negative or affirmative, whether you mind to defend all your works as Christian, or not?”

Then Luther turning to the emperor and the nobles, urging them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary, by his adversaries. He said,

“I have declared and rendered my answer simply and directly. Nor do I have any more to say, unless my adversaries, with true and sufficient proofs, grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and refute my errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied, as I said, by the Scriptures; nor may I, or can I, assent to them with a safe conscience,. For as to general councils, with whose authority alone they press me, I am able to prove that they have both erred, and have defined many things contrary to themselves. And therefore their authority is not sufficient, for which I should retract those things, the verity of which stands so firm and manifest in the holy Scripture, that neither should it be required of me, nor could I do so without impiety.”

[431] A.D. 1521.

The official again answered, denying that any man could prove the councils have erred. But Luther alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now with night approaching, the lords rose and departed. After Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, many Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man on the way to his lodging, hollering and whooping after him a long while.

On the following Friday, when the princes electors, dukes, and other estates were assembled, the emperor sent to the whole body of the council a letter, in effect containing the following:

### *The Emperor’s Letter.*

“Our predecessors, who truly were Christian princes, were obedient to the Romish church, which Martin Luther now opposes. And therefore, inasmuch as he is not determined to retract his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honor, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the See of

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<sup>13</sup> Often cited as, “Here I stand. I can do no other.”

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Rome. And further, we are resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunication and by other means that may be devised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for his safe return to the place from where he came.”

The princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, sat and consulted about this sentence all afternoon on Friday, and the whole day on Saturday, so that Luther still had no answer from the emperor.

During this time, many princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with others of the laity and common sort visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor’s court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills setup, some against Luther, and some with him it seemed. Notwithstanding, many supposed, and especially those who well conceived the matter, that this was subtly done by his enemies, so that thereby occasion might be offered to violate the safe-conduct given to him. The Romish ambassadors endeavored with all diligence to bring this to pass.

The following Monday, the archbishop of Triers notified Luther that on Wednesday next he should appear before him at nine o’clock, and assigned him the place. On St. George’s day, a chaplain of the archbishop of Triers came to Luther, by commandment of the bishop, signifying he must appear before him on the morrow after, at the hour and place prescribed.

The day after St. George’s day, Luther obeying the archbishop’s commandment, entered his palace, accompanied with his chaplain, one of the emperor’s heralds, and those who came in his company from Saxony to Worms, with his chief friends. Then Dr. Voeus, the Marquess of Baden’s chaplain, began to declare and protest in the presence of the archbishop of Triers, Joachin Marquess of Brandenburg, George Duke of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, and others, that Luther was not called there to be conferred with, nor to a disputation. It was only that the princes had procured license from the emperor’s majesty, through Christian charity, to have liberty granted to them to exhort Luther benignly and in a brotherly way.

He said further, that although the councils had ordained many things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And even though they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abased, or at least they did not so err, that it was lawful for every man to impugn their opinions.

He said moreover, that Luther’s book would breed great tumult and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his book on *Christian Liberty*, encouraging them to shake off their yoke, confirming disobedience in them. The believers were all of one heart and soul, and therefore it was requisite and necessary to have laws. It was to be considered, he said, although he had written many good things, and no doubt from a good mind, such as *de Triplice Justicia* (Triple Justice) and other matters, the devil yet goes about bringing to pass, by crafty means, to have all Luther’s works forever condemned. For by these books which Luther wrote last, he said, men would judge and esteem him as the tree is known, not by the blossom, but by the fruit.

Here he added something about the noon devil, and about the spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical figures about honesty, the utility of laws, the dangers of conscience, of the commonwealth, etc. He often repeated in his oration, that this admonition was given from a singular good will and great clemency. In concluding his oration, he added menaces, saying that if Luther abided in his intention, then the emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the empire.

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Martin Luther answered:

“Most noble princes, and my most gracious lords, I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good wills, from which this admonition proceeds. For I know myself to be safe, as by no means can I deserve to be admonished by such mighty estates.”

Then he frankly pronounced that he had not reproved all councils, but only the Council of Constance. And that was for this principal reason: that it had condemned the word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this article propounded by John Huss: — “The church of Christ is the communion of the predestinate.” It is evident, Luther said, that the Council of Constance abolished this article, and consequently the article of our faith, “I believe in the holy church universal.” Luther said that he was ready to spend life and blood, if he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God; for in defense of it we should obey God rather than men. If Christ’s sheep were fed with the pure pasture of the gospel; if the faith of Christ was sincerely preached; and if there were good ecclesiastical magistrates who would duly execute their office, then we would not need to charge the church with men’s traditions. Further, he knew well that we ought to obey the magistrates and higher powers, however unjustly and perversely they lived. We should also be obedient to their laws and judgment — all of which he had taught in all his works. He added further, that he was ready to obey them in all points, if they did not force him to deny the word of God.

Then Luther was asked to stand aside, and the princes consulted as to what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a parlor, where the aforesaid Dr. Voews repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to submit his writings to the emperor, and to the princes’ judgment.

Luther answered humbly and modestly, that he could not permit men to say that he would shun the judgment of the emperor, princes, and superior powers of the empire. He would not refuse to stand to their trial. And he was content to allow his writings to be discussed, considered, and judged by the simplest, provided it were done by the authority of the word of God and the holy Scriptures. He said that the word of God was so much to him, and was so manifest to him, that he could not give way, unless they could confute his doctrine by the word of God. This lesson, he said, he learned from St. Augustine, who writes that, “He gave this honor only to those books which are called *canonical*, and he believed only these to be true. Regarding other doctors, although they surpassed others in holiness and excellency of learning, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God’s word. Further, he said, “St. Paul gives us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians: ‘Prove all things, hold fast that which is good;’ <sup>1The 5-21</sup> and to the Galatians, ‘Even if an angel from heaven preaches any other doctrine, let him be accursed.’” <sup>Gal 1.8</sup>

Finally, he meekly asked them not to urge his conscience, which was bound by the word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and especially to the emperor’s majesty, requiring their favor that he might not be compelled to do anything in this matter against his conscience. In all other causes, he would submit himself with all kinds of obedience and due subjection.

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As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim the elector, Marquis of Brandenburg, demanded if his meaning was this: that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture. “Yes truly, right noble lord,” said Luther, “or else by ancient and evident reasons.” And so the assembly broke up, and the princes repaired to the emperor’s court.



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After their departure, the archbishop of Triers, accompanied with a few of his familiars, namely, John Eckius his official, and Cochleus, commanded Luther to repair into his parlor. With Luther was Jerome Scurfe and Nicholas Ambsdorff as his assistants.

They asked him to submit his writing to the judgment of the next general council. Luther agreed to this, but with this condition: that they themselves would present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council in such a way as would be authorized by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

Then leaving Luther, they departed, and reported to the archbishop of Triers, that he had promised to submit his writings in certain articles to the next council. And in the meantime he would keep silence — which Luther never thought. Neither with admonitions, nor yet with menaces, could he be induced to deny or submit his books to the judgment of men (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of Scripture) unless they could prove by sacred Scripture, and apparent reasons to the contrary.

It chanced, by the special grace of God, that the archbishop of Triers sent for Luther, thinking to hear him presently. The archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing those who were present. In this conference, Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop. He affirmed that it was dangerous to submit a matter of such great importance to those who had already condemned his opinion, and approved the pope's bull.

Then the archbishop, bidding a friend of his to draw near, requested Luther to declare what remedy might be ministered to help this difficulty. Luther answered that there was no better remedy than such as Gamaliel alleged in the fifth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, saying, 'If this council, or this work, proceeds from men it will come to nothing. But if it is of God, you cannot destroy it.' <sup>Act 5:39</sup> And so he desired that the emperor might be notified to write to the pope, that he knew certainly that if this enterprise did not proceed of God, it would be abolished within three, even within two years.

The archbishop inquired of him what he would do if certain articles were taken out of his books to be submitted to the general council. Luther answered, "Provided they are not those which the Council of Constance condemned." The archbishop said, "I fear they will be the very same; but what then?" Luther replied, "I will not, and I cannot hold my peace on such matters; for I am sure by their decrees, that the word of God was condemned. Therefore I would rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God."

Then the archbishop, seeing Luther would in no way give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bade Luther farewell, who then asked the archbishop to entreat the emperor's majesty to grant to him gracious leave to depart. He answered that he would take order for him, and speedily notify him of the emperor's pleasure.

A short while after, John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, said to Luther, by the command of the emperor, that since he had been admonished by his imperial majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and notwithstanding, Luther would not return to unity and concord, it remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should proceed further. And it was the emperor's ordinance, that within twenty-one days he would return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place from which he came — provided that he raised no commotion among the people on his journey, either in conference or by preaching.

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Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, and Christianly; “Even as it has pleased God, so it has come to pass, the name of the Lord be blessed.” He said further, that he thanked most humbly the emperor’s majesty, and all the princes and estates of the empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe-conduct to come and return. Finally, he said that he desired none other from them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and the consonancy of holy Scripture, which he desired in his heart. Otherwise he was prepared to suffer all chances from his imperial majesty, such as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach; reserving nothing to himself but the word of God, which he would constantly confess to the end; humbly recommending himself to the emperor’s majesty, and to all the princes and other estates of the sacred empire.

The day after, which was April 26, after Luther had taken his leave of those who supported him, and his benevolent friends who often visited him. he departed from Worms. The emperor’s herald, Casper Sturm, followed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the emperor to conduct him safely home.

### *The usual prayer of Martin Luther.*

“Confirm in us, O God, what you have wrought, and perfect the work that you have begun in us — to your glory. Amen.”

Martin Luther thus being dismissed by the emperor, departed from Worms towards his country, accompanied with the emperor’s herald, and the rest of his company, having only twenty-one days granted to him for his return. In the meantime, he wrote to the emperor and to other nobles of the empire, reciting briefly to them the whole action and order of things done there, desiring from them their lawful good will and favor. Just as he had always stood in need of it, so now he most earnestly craves it, especially in this, his cause. which is not his cause, but the cause of the whole church universal. He desired that it may be heard with equity, and decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture. He signified, moreover, that whenever they were pleased to send for him, he would be ready at their command, to appear at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, etc.

During the time of these doings, the doctors and school-men of Paris were not slow to show their cunning. They condemned the books of Luther, extracting out of them certain articles regarding the sacraments, laws, and decrees of the church, equality of works, vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, free-will, privileges of the holy church, councils, punishment of heretics, philosophy, school divinity, and other matters. Philip Melancthon wrote an answer to them, and also Luther himself answered, though pleasantly and jestingly.

It was not long after this, that Charles V, the new emperor, to purchase favor with the pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his empire) provided and directed a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all those who took his part. He commanded Luther, wherever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. By this decree, proclaimed against Luther, the emperor procured no small thanks from the pope; so that the pope, ceasing to take part with the French King, joined himself wholly to the emperor. In the meantime, Duke Frederick, to give some place to the emperor’s proclamation, secretly conveyed Luther a little out of sight, with the help of certain noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trustworthy to him in that particular. Luther being kept close and out of company there, wrote several letters and books to his friends. Among these, he dedicated one to his order of Augustinian friars, entitled, “The Mass Abolished.” The friars being encouraged by him, began at first to lay aside their private masses. Duke Frederick, fearing

it might breed some great stir or tumult, required the judgment of the whole university of Wittenberg in the matter.

[433] A.D. 1522.

The opinion of the whole university being ascertained, it was shown to the duke that he would do well and godly, by the whole advice of the learned there, to command that the use of the mass be abolished throughout his dominions. And though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no reason why true doctrine should be checked. Nor should such disturbance be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries, who willingly and wickedly kick against the truth. Therefore, we should not cease from what which we know should be done, out of fear of such tumults. But we must go constantly forward in defense of God's truth, however the world may esteem us, or rage against it. Thus they showed their judgment to Duke Frederick.

Moreover, about the same year and time (A.D. 1521), King Henry VIII took occasion to impugn Luther's book, "On the Babylonian Captivity," by writing his own book in which,

1. He reprov'd Luther's opinion about the pope's pardons;
2. He defended the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; and
3. He labored to refute Luther's entire doctrine of the sacraments.

This book, although it bore the king's name in the title, it was another who planned it, and still another who formed its style. But whoever had the labor of this book, the king had the thanks and also the reward. For in return, the bishop of Rome gave to King Henry VIII, and to his successors forever, the title of "Defender of the Faith."

Shortly after this, in the same year, Pope Leo had warred against the French, and had gotten from them (with the emperor's aid) the cities of Parma, Placentia, and Milan. While sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great gifts that God had bestowed upon him, he said,

1. That being banished out of his country, he was restored to Florence again with glory.
2. That he deserved to be called apostolic.
3. That he had driven the Frenchmen out of Italy.

After he had spoken these words, he was seized with a sudden fever and died shortly after, being just forty-seven years of age. Some suspect that he died of poison. Adrian VI, schoolmaster to Charles the emperor, succeeded but did not live much over a year and a half in his papacy. Adrian was a German, brought up at Louvaine. Just as he exceeded the common sort of popes in learning, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not so intemperate as some other popes. Yet like a right pope, not degenerating at all from his see, he was a mortal enemy to Martin Luther. In his time, shortly after the Council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, A.D. 1522, comprised of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany.

### ***Reformation Needed – Diet of Nuremberg – 1522.***

Adrian sent his letters to this assembly in the form of a brief. He included an instruction to his legate Cheregata, to inform him how to proceed, and what to allege against Luther before the assembled princes. In this letter of instruction, among other matters, is the following admission by the pope himself, of the necessity of the reformation. He thus writes to his legate:

"This you shall say to them, that we confess ourselves, and do not deny, that God allows this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and

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prelates of the clergy. For it is certain that the hand of the Lord is not so shortened that he cannot save; but our sins have divided God and us; and therefore He hides his face from us so that he will not hear us. The Scripture testifies that the sins of the people issue from the sins of the priests; and therefore (says St. Chrysostom) Christ, going about to cure the sick city of Jerusalem, first entered into the temple, to correct the sins of the priests, like a good physician who first begins to cure the disease from the very root. We know that in this holy see there have been many abominable things wrought and practiced for a long time — such as abuses in spiritual matters, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things have turned clean contrary. And so it is no marvel if the sickness, beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, has descended afterward to inferior prelates. All have declined, every one is his own way. Nor has there been one who has done good, no not one. <sup>Rom 3.10</sup> Therefore there is need that we all give glory to God, and that we humble our souls to him, every one of us considering from where he has fallen; and that everyone judges himself before he is judged by God in the rod of His fury.

“For the redress of this, you shall insinuate to them, and promise in our behalf, that in us no diligence of a better reformation shall be lacking, beginning with our own court; that just as the contagion descended first from there into all the inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss, shall also take its beginning from the same place. To that end, they will find us that much more ready, because we see the whole world is so desirous of the same. We ourselves (as you know) never sought this dignity, but rather desired to have led a private life, if we otherwise might, and to serve God in a quiet state. And we would also have utterly refused the same, if the fear of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting some schism to follow after, had not urged us to take it. And thus we took the burden upon us, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our friends and kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the will of God, and FOR REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, and for relief of the poor, and especially for the advancement of learning and learned men, with such other things as pertain to the charge of a good bishop and lawful heir of St. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses are not straightway amended by us, men should not marvel at that. The sore is great, and far grown, and is not single, but compacted together of manifold maladies, and therefore to cure it we must proceed little by little, first beginning to cure the greater and most dangerous, lest while we intend to amend all, we destroy all. All sudden mutations in a commonwealth (says Aristotle) are perilous: and he that wrings too hard, strains out blood.”

### *The Answer of the noble and reverend Princes, and States of the sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.*

“The noble and renowned prince Lord Ferdinand, lieutenant to the emperor's majesty, with other reverend peers in Christ, and mighty princes electors, and other states and orders of this present assembly of the Roman empire convened in Nuremberg, have gratefully received, and diligently perused the letters sent in the form of a brief, with the instructions also of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, Lord Adrian, the high bishop of the holy and universal church of Rome, presented to them in the cause of Luther's faction.

“By the aforesaid letters and writings, they first understand his holiness to have been born in and had his native origin and parentage out of this noble nation of Germany, at which they do not a little rejoice. Of whose great virtues and ornaments, both in mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years. Because of this, they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the height of the apostolical dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same. They pray also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and the perpetual glory of his name, and for health of souls, and the safety of the universal church, that God will give his

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holiness long continuance of felicity. We have no doubt that, by such a full and consenting election of such a pastor of the universal catholic church, great profit and advantage will ensue. This thing to hope and look for, his holiness opens to them an evident declaration in his own letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral function, in studying for the health of the flock committed to him; and especially in converting the minds of Christian princes from war to peace. Declaring moreover, what subsidy and relief his holiness has sent to the soldiers of Rhodes, etc.

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“Having considered with themselves all of these things, they conceived exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputed and trusting that this concord of Christian princes will be a great help and stay to better quiet the things now out of frame. Without this, neither the state of the commonwealth, nor of the Christian religion, can rightly be redressed, much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks be repressed.

“Therefore the excellent prince, lord lieutenant to the emperor’s majesty, with the other princes electors, and orders of this present assembly, most heartily pray that his holiness will persist in his purpose and diligence, as he has virtuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved; so that the disagreeing hearts of Christian princes may be reduced to quiet and peace. Or if that will not be, then at least some truce and intermission of domestic dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the present time, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the people of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage. To this end, both the noble prince lord lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

“And whereas by the letters of his holiness, with his instruction also exhibited to them by his legate, they understand that his holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of Luther’s sect, whereby innumerable souls, committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition. And therefore his holiness vehemently desires some speedy remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary reasons and causes whereby to move the German princes to this end; and that they will tender the execution of the apostolic sentence, and also of the emperor’s edict set forth regarding the suppressing of Luther. To these the lord lieutenant, and other princes and states answer that it is no less grief and sorrow to them than to his holiness. And they also lament as much for these impieties and perils of souls, and inconveniences which grow in the religion of Christ, either by the sect of Luther, or any other way. Further, whatever help or counsel lies in them for extirpating errors, and decay of souls’ health, whatever their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform — considering how they stand bound and subject to the pope’s holiness, as well as to the emperor’s majesty. But there have been (they said) causes great and urgent why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the emperor’s edict against Luther, has not been put into execution before now, which have led them to this. Such as, first, in weighing and considering with themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would ensue thereupon. For the most of the people of Germany have always had this persuasion, and now by reading Luther’s books, they are more confirmed in this: that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this nation of Germany by the court of Rome. And therefore, if they had proceeded with any rigor in executing the pope’s sentence, and the emperor’s edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, that this was done for subverting the verity of the gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances. Whereupon great wars and tumults, no doubt, would have ensued. This thing, by many arguments, has been well perceived by the princes and states there. For avoiding it, they thought to use gentler remedies, serving more opportunely for the time being.

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“Again, whereas the reverend lord legate in the name of the pope’s holiness, has been instructed to declare to them, that God suffers this persecution to rise in the church for the sins of men, and that his holiness therefore promises to begin the reformation with his own court, that just as the corruption first sprang from there to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same. Also, whereas his holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, testifies in his letters that he himself always disliked that the court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordates of the princes, and that his holiness fully purposes in that behalf, during his papacy, never to practice the like, but to so endeavor that every one, and especially the nation of the Germans, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said nation his peculiar favor. Who does not see by these premises, that this most holy bishop omits nothing which a good father, or a devout pastor may or ought to do for his sheep? Or who will not be moved by this to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults — namely, seeing his holiness so intends to accomplish the same in deed, which he promises in word, according to how he has begun?”

“And thus undoubtedly, both the noble lord lieutenant, and all other princes and states of the empire, well hope that he will. And they pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of souls, and to the tranquility of the public state. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other articles also, which the secular princes (assigned purposely for the same) will draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there can be no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor can any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany be expected. For partly by long wars, and partly by reason of other grievances and hindrances, this nation of Germany has been so wasted and consumed in money, that it is scarcely able to sustain itself in private affairs, and the necessary upholding of justice within itself; much less to minister aid and succor to the kingdom of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turk. All the states of the sacred Roman empire do not doubt that the pope’s holiness right well understands how the German princes granted and condescended for the money of annates to be levied to the See of Rome for a certain term of years, on condition that the said money would be converted to maintain war against the Turkish infidels, and for the defense of the catholic faith. Though the term of these years has long since expired, when the said annates should have been gathered, yet that money has not been so bestowed to that use for which it was first granted. Therefore if any such necessity should now come, that any public contributions should be demanded of the Getman people against the Turk, they would ask in reply, Why has that money from annates, which was reserved many years before, not been bestowed and applied to that use? And so they would refuse to allow any more such burdens to be laid upon them for that cause.

“Therefore the said lord lieutenant, and other princes and degrees of the empire, make earnest petition, that the pope’s holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend what had been collected, and cease hereafter to require such annates <sup>14</sup> — which are usually paid to the court of Rome upon the death of bishops and other prelates or ecclesiastical persons — and allow them to remain in the chamber of the empire. Thereby justice and peace may be more commodiously administered, the tranquility of the public state of Germany maintained, and also that by the same, due helps may be ordained and disposed to other Christian potentates in Germany against the Turk, which otherwise is not to be hoped for without this.

“I. Whereas the pope’s holiness desires to be informed which way may be best to take in resisting those errors of the Lutherans. To this the lord lieutenant, with other princes and nobles, answered that whatever help or counsel they can devise, they will be ready to give with willing hearts. Seeing therefore that the states, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, are far out of

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<sup>14</sup> Annates was a certain portion of money usually paid to the court of Rome, out of the first year’s fruits at the vacating of an ecclesiastical living.

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frame, and have so corrupted their ways — and seeing that so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in, not only on the part of Luther and his sect, but also by diverse other occasions besides — it is requisite and necessary that some effectual remedy be provided for redress of the church, as well as for repressing the Turk's tyranny.

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"Now the lord lieutenant and other estates and princes do not see that any more present or effectual remedy can be had than this: that the pope's holiness, by the consent of the emperor's majesty, summon a free Christian council in some convenient place in Germany, such as Strasburg, or Mentz, or Coblentz, and that it may be with as much speed as convenient, so that the congregation of the said council is not deferred more than one year: and that in this council it may be lawful for every person there who has an interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, to speak and consult freely, to the glory of God, and the health of souls, and the public wealth of Christendom, without impediment or restraint, whatever oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding. Yes, and it will be every good man's part to speak there, not only freely, but to speak what is true, to the purpose and to edifying; and to speak not to please or flatter, but to declare his judgment simply and uprightly, without any fraud or guile. And regarding by what ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified until the council is set, the foresaid lord-lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated that, because Luther and certain of his fellows are within the territory and dominions of the noble Duke Frederick, the said lord lieutenant, and other states of the empire, shall so work the matter with the afore-named prince, duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers shall not write, set forth, or print anything in the meantime. Nor do they doubt that the said noble prince of Saxony, for his Christian piety and obedience to the Roman empire, will effectually condescend to do the same, as becomes a prince of such excellent virtue,.

"II. The said lord-lieutenant and princes shall work so with the preachers of Germany, that in their sermons they shall not teach or blow into the people's ears such matters whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error; that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture, being approved and received by Christ's church — abstaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned by the people, and which are not expedient to be subtly searched, or deeply discussed. Also, that they shall provoke no contention by disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatever hangs in controversy, they shall reserve the same to the determination of the council to come.

"III. The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their diocese, shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scripture, who shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers. And if they perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered anything inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly notify and inform them of it, in such a way that no man will justly complain of the truth of the gospel being impeached. But if the preachers, continuing in their stubbornness, refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then they shall be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place.

"Besides this, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake so much as possible, that from henceforth during the aforesaid time, no new book shall be printed, especially none of these famous libels; nor shall they be privately or openly sold. Also, order shall be taken among all potentates, so that if any set out, sell, or print any new work, it will first be seen and perused by certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for that purpose. So that if it is not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to

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come abroad. By these means they hope that the tumults, errors, and offenses among the people will cease; especially if the pope's holiness himself begins with an orderly and due reformation in the above-mentioned grievances, and will procure such a free and Christian council as has been said. If so, then the people will be well contented and satisfied. Or even if the tumult will not be so fully calmed as they desire, yet the greater part will thus be quieted. For all those who are honest and good men, no doubt will be in great expectation of that general council which will shortly be assembled.

“Finally, concerning priests who contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, which was also intimated by the apostolical legate, the aforesaid princes consider that in the civil law there is no penalty for those who are ordained. They shall therefore be referred to the canonical constitutions, to thereafter be punished accordingly — that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other condign (appropriate) censures, and that the said ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers from the correction of such priests. But they will add their help and favor to the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and shall direct in their public edicts and precepts, that none of them shall impeach or prohibit the said ordinaries in their ecclesiastical castigation of transgressors.

“To conclude, the redoubted prince lord-lieutenant, and other princes, estates, and orders of the empire, vehemently and most heartily pray and beseech that the pope's holiness, and the reverend lord his legate, will accept and take all the premises to be spoken and meant in no other way than of a good, free, sincere, and Christian mind. Nor is there anything that all the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles, wish and desire more than the furtherance and the prosperous estate of the holy catholic church of Rome, and of his holiness. To whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most ready and compliant, as faithful children.”

Thus, loving reader, you have the full discourse of both the pope's letter and his legate's instructions, along with the answer of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions exhibited to them in the diet of Nuremberg. It has likewise been declared what was concluded at the said diet, and what order and consultation was taken — first regarding the grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, and then concerning a general council to be called in Germany; also as to printing, preaching, priests' marriage, etc.

The disturbance about priests' marriage, was first occasioned by the ministers of Strasburg, who began to take wives about this time. And they were therefore cited by the bishop of Strasburg to appear before him on a certain day, as violators of the laws of holy church, of the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the emperor's majesty, to the prejudice of both their own order of priesthood, and the majesty of Almighty God. But they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrates of the same city. Being suitors for them to the bishops, they labored either to have the matter released, or at least delayed for a time.

It would be tedious to recite all the circumstances following upon this diet or assembly of Nuremberg — how their decree was received by some, neglected by some, and diversely wrested and expounded by diverse others. It may be enough to say that the states address the pope to convene a general council to settle and determine these matters, and in the Interim they would require that all persons be silent, and all publications cease, and all changes of religion be unlawful until that general council assembled and decided.

In the same session of Nuremberg, mention was made of a hundred grievances exhibited to the bishop of Rome. From these one hundred grievances, thus publicly complained of in the diet by the princes of Germany, the world may see and judge not only what abuses and corruptions, monstrous and incredible, lay hidden under the glorious title of the holy church



of Rome. But it may also understand with what hypocrisy and impudence the pope takes it upon himself to so grievously complain against Luther and others, when in all the universal church of Christ there is none so much to be blamed in every way as he himself appears by these complaints of the German princes against the pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances.

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It would take too long to insert all one hundred grievances solemnly objected to in the diet; but the few which follow will illustrate the then corrupt state of the church of Rome.

*A Complaint for selling Remission of Sin for Money.*

The burden and grievance of the pope's indulgences and pardons is most insupportable. The bishops of Rome, under pretense of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turks, make out their indulgences with their bulls, persuading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderful benefits of remission *a poena et culpa*, that is, from all their sins and punishment due for the same. And that is not in this life only, but also after this life, to those who are burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope of this, true piety is almost extinct in all Germany, while every evil-disposed person promises to himself, for a little money, the license and impunity to do whatever he pleases. Whereupon follows fornication, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing, and spoiling, rapine, usury, with a whole flood of all kinds of mischiefs, etc.

*A Complaint against the Immunities of Clergymen.*

Whoever has received any ecclesiastical orders, great or small, thereby contends to be freed from all punishment of the secular magistrate, however great his offense may be. Nor does he unadvisedly presume upon this, but is maintained in that liberty to sin, by the principal estates of the clergy. For it has often been seen that, whereas by the canonical laws priests are forbidden to marry, they afterwards diligently labor and go about day and night to tempt matrons, virgins, and the wives, daughters, and sisters of the laymen. And through their continual importunity and labor, partly with gifts, rewards and flattering words, and partly by their secret confessions (as they call them) it has been found by experience that they bring to pass, that many virgins and matrons, who otherwise would be honest, have been overcome and moved to sin and wickedness. And it often happens that they detain and keep away wives and daughters from their husbands and fathers, threatening those with fire and sword who require them to return. Thus, through their raging immorality, they heap and gather together innumerable mischiefs and offenses. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiously, and without punishment, they daily offend in robberies, murder, accusing innocents, burning, rapine, theft, and counterfeiting false coin, besides a thousand other mischiefs, contrary and against all laws of both God and man. This is not without great offense to others, trusting only upon the freedom and liberty of sin, which they usurp to themselves by the privilege of their canons.

Therefore necessity and justice require that the privileges of the clergy should be abrogated and taken away, and in their place it be provided, ordained, and decreed, that the clergy, of whatever order or degree they are, shall have like laws, like judgment and punishment, as the laity have. Thus they may pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offense, more than the laymen; but every one of the clergy offending, under the judge where the offense is committed, shall be punished for his act according to the measure and quality of his offense, in such manner as other malefactors are, with the punishment appointed by the common laws of the empire.

*The Church burdened with a number of Holy days.*

Moreover, the common people are not a little oppressed with the great number of holy-days. For there are now so many holy-days, that the husbandmen scarcely have time to gather the fruits of the earth, which they have brought forth with such great labor and travel, often being in danger of hail, rain, and other storms. These fruits, notwithstanding, if they were not prevented by so many holy-days, they would gather and bring home without any loss. Besides, upon these holy-days innumerable offenses are committed and done, rather than God being honored or worshipped. This thing is so manifest, that it needs no witness. For that cause, the estates of the sacred empire think it best and most profitable for the Christian commonwealth, that this great number of holy-days should be diminished, which should be celebrated in spirit and truth, rather than with the external worship, and be better kept with abstinence from sin.

*Baptizing of Bells.*

Also the bishops have invented a practice that no other but themselves may baptize bells for the lay people. Hereby the simple people, upon the affirmation of the suffragans,<sup>15</sup> believe that such bells so baptized will drive away evil spirits and tempests. Whereupon a great number of godfathers are appointed, especially those who are rich, who at the time of baptizing, hold the rope with which the bell is tied. The suffragan speaking before them, as is the custom in baptizing young children, they answer all together, and give the name to the bell. The bell having a new garment put upon it, as is usually done to the Christians. After this they go to sumptuous banquets, to which the godfathers are also invited, that thereby they might give the greater reward. And the suffragans, with their chaplains and other ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet this does not suffice, but the suffragan must also have a reward, which they call a small *gift* or *present*. By this means it often happens that even in small villages, a hundred florins<sup>16</sup> are consumed and spent in such christenings. This is not only superstitious, but also contrary to the Christian religion, a seducing of the simple people, and mere extortion. Notwithstanding, , to enrich their suffragans, the bishops allow these things, and others far worse. Therefore, such wicked and unlawful things ought to be abolished.

*Complaint of Officials for maintaining unlawful Usury.*

Furthermore, the officials being allured through the greedy and insatiable desire for money, not only not forbid unlawful usuries and gains of money, but also allow and maintain them. Moreover, taking a yearly stipend and pension, they allow the clergy and other religious persons to dwell unlawfully with their concubines and harlots, and to beget children by them. Every man may plainly see that these things bring great peril, offense, and detriment to both body and soul (so it need not to be recited) unless he makes himself blind as a mole.

*Complaint of Officials permitting unlawful cohabitation with others,  
when the Husband or Wife is long absent.*

Furthermore, where it so happens (as it often does) that either the good man, or the good wife, by means of war, or some other vow, has taken in hand some long journey, and so tarries longer than serves the appetite of the other, the official, taking a reward from the other, gives license to the party to dwell with any other person, not first having regard or making inquiry whether the husband or wife, being absent, is healthy or dead. And because

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<sup>15</sup> *Suffragan*: an assistant or subordinate bishop of a diocese.

<sup>16</sup> A gold florin would now be worth about 190 dollars.

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their doings should not be evil spoken of, they name it a *toleration of sufferance*, not without a great offense to all men, and to the great contempt of holy matrimony.

### *Complaint against Incorporations or Impropriations,<sup>17</sup> and other plundering of the People by Churchmen.*

Many parish churches are subject to monasteries, and to the parsons of other churches, by means of *incorporations*, as they call them, which they are otherwise bound by canon laws to foresee and look after by themselves. When they put them into others' hands to be governed, they reserve for themselves most of the stipend of the benefits and tithes.

[437] A.D. 1524.

Moreover, they aggravate and charge the others with such great pensions, that the hireling priests and other ministers of the church cannot thereupon have a decent and competent living. Thus it comes to pass that these hireling priests (for they must have something to live on) with unlawful exactions, miserably spoil and devour the poor sheep committed to them, and consume all their substance. For when the sacraments of the altar and of baptism are to be administered; or when the first, seventh, thirteenth, and year-day must be kept; when auricular confession comes to be heard, or the dead to be buried; or any other ceremony is to be done concerning the funeral, they will not do it freely. Rather, they extort and exact so much money, that the miserable commonalty is scarcely able to disburse it. And daily they increase and augment these exactions of theirs, driving the simple poor people to pay it, by threatening them with excommunication, or compelling them by other ways to be at such charges which otherwise, through poverty, they are not able to maintain obsequies, year-mind (memorials), and other such ceremonies pertaining to the funerals of the dead.

### *Priests compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.*

In many places, the bishops and their officials not only allow priests to have concubines, for which they pay certain sums of money, but they compel continent and chaste priests, who live without concubines, to also pay tribute for concubines, affirming that the bishop needs the money. This being paid, it will be lawful for them either to live chaste, or to keep concubines. Every man well understands and knows how wicked a thing this is.

These and other burdens and grievances, the secular states of Germany delivered to the pope's legate, saying they had many more grievances besides these, which likewise much needed redress. But because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves, they said, with these hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity, steadfastly trusting and hoping that when those hundred grievances were abolished, the others would also decay and fall with them. This was about A.D. 1523. This being done, the assembly of Nuremberg broke up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year.

In the meantime, Pope Adrian died. After him succeeded Pope Clement VII. In A.D. 1524, he sent down his legate, Cardinal Campegius, to the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, with letters also to Duke Frederick, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints, etc. But as to the grievances above-mentioned, no word or message at all was sent, neither by Campegius, nor by any other. Thus, when anything was to be complained of against Luther, either for suppression of the liberty of the gospel, or for upholding the pope's dignity, the pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the

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<sup>17</sup> *Impropriation*: putting an ecclesiastical benefice or tithes in the hands of a layman, or lay corporation.

princes. But when any redress was to be required for the public weal of Christian people, or regarding the necessary reformation of the church, the pope gave neither ear nor answer.

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And having thus discoursed about what passed between the pope and princes of Germany at the diet of Nuremberg, let us now return to the history of Luther. You have heard before of how he was kept secret and solitary for a time by certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict. In the meantime, while Luther had thus absented himself from Wittenberg, Andrew Carolostad, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in matters of religion, had excited the people to throw down images in the temples. Luther, returning again to the city, greatly reprov'd the rashness of Carolostad. He declared that such proceedings were not orderly, but that pictures and images should first be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; the people should first be taught that we are saved before God; that we please Him by faith alone; and that images serve no good purpose. This being done, and the people being well instructed, there would be no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he would maintain images, or allow them — but that their removal ought to be done by the magistrate, and not by every private man without order and authority.

The reason why Luther oppos'd Carolostad violently throwing down images, seems to arise partly because Pope Adrian, in his letters to the princes and states of Germany, grievously complains and charges the followers of Luther with sedition and tumults; and with rebellion against magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all order and obedience. Therefore Luther, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspicions, was forced to proceed as much as possible with order and authority.

### ***The Doctrines of Luther and Zuinglius Compared.***

While for these reasons Luther differed from the more vehement proceedings of Carolostad, he also differed somewhat from Zuinglius. Now, though Luther went a little astray, and dissented from Zuinglius in this one matter of the sacrament, yet they were in accord in all other doctrines. This appeared in the synod at Marpurg, A.D. 1529, where both Luther and Zuinglius were present. Conferring together, they agreed in these articles:

1. On the unity and trinity of God.
2. In the incarnation of the Word.
3. In the passion and resurrection of Christ.
4. In the article of original sin.
5. In the article of faith in Christ Jesus.
6. That this faith comes not by merits, but by the gift of God.
7. That this faith is our righteousness.
8. Regarding the external word.
9. Likewise they agreed in the articles of baptism.
10. Of good works.
11. Of confession.
12. Of magistrates.
13. Of men's traditions.
14. Of the baptism of infants.
15. Lastly, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. They believed and held first, that both kinds (bread and wine) are to be ministered to the people according to Christ's institution, and that the mass is not the means by which a man may obtain grace both for the quick and the dead. Also that the sacrament (which they call by the altar) is a true sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. And that the spiritual eating of his

body and blood is necessary for every Christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the sacrament tends to the same effect as the word, given and ordained by Almighty God, that thereby infirm consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy Spirit, etc. Luther and Zuinglius consented and agreed in all these sums of doctrine. Nor were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper. But in the principal points, they were in accord. For if the question is asked of them both, what is the material substance of the sacrament, which our outward senses behold and feel? They would both confess bread, and not just the form of bread. Further, if the question is asked, whether Christ is present there? they would both confess his true presence is there. It is only in the *manner* of His presence that they differ. Again, ask whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the sacrament, is to be worshipped? they would both deny it, and judge it idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass. They both abhor, and deny them, even as they agree that the communion should be administered in both kinds.

Their only difference is in this: concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body, etc. which Luther expounds to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter stands, without trope or figure. And therefore he holds that the body and blood of Christ are truly in the bread and wine, and so also are to be received with the mouth. Uldric Zuinglius, with John Oecolampadius and others, interpret these words otherwise, so as not to be taken literally, but with a spiritual meaning, and they are to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words: "This is my body," is thus expounded: this *signifies* my body and blood. The Saxons consented with Luther. The Helvetians consented with Zuinglius.

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As time went on, so the division of these opinions increased and spread farther. The one part was called from Luther, *Lutherans*; the other part had the name of *Sacramentaries*. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries accorded and agreed that the bread and wine are not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, but they are a true sacrament of the body and blood.

Luther lived until the age of sixty-three, and continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As to his death, here are the words of Melancthon:

"In the year of our Lord 1546, on the 17th of February, Dr. Martin Luther sickened a little before supper, from his accustomed malady, the oppression of humors in the orifice or opening of the stomach, of which I remember I have seen him often diseased in this place. This sickness became violent after supper. Struggling against it, he retired into his chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, during which time his pains increased. And as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awakened, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose, his children's schoolmaster, to make a fire in another chamber. When he entered it, Albert earl of Mansfield, with his wife, and others, came into his chamber at that instant. Finally, feeling his fatal hour approach, before nine o'clock in the morning, February 18th, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer.

*The Prayer of Luther at his death.*

"My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, you have manifested to me your dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my life, my health, my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and afflicted with injury. Draw my soul to You."

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“After this he said, three times: ‘I commend my spirit into your hands, you have redeemed me, O God of truth. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.’ Joh 3.16.

“Having often repeated his prayers, he was called to God, to whom he so faithfully commended his spirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he taught. Let us learn to be modest and meek. Let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes, that shall follow this sorrowful event. I beseech you, O Son of God, crucified for us, the risen Emmanuel — govern, preserve, and defend your church.”

Frederick Prince Elector died long before Luther, in the year of our Lord 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for he lived a single life, and was never married. He was succeeded by John Frederick duke of Saxony.

After this Council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbone, where were present Ferdinand, Campejius, the cardinal of Salisburg, the two dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbone; also the legates of the bishops of Bamberg, Spire, Strasburgh, Augsburg, Constance, Basel, Frising, Passame, and Brixime. In the said assembly, the following was concluded by them:

That because the emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned by his public edict set forth at Worms, the doctrine of Luther as erroneous and wicked; and also as it was agreed upon in both assemblies of Nuremberg, that the said edict should be obeyed by all men; they likewise, at the request of Cardinal Campejius, will and command the aforesaid edict to be observed throughout their fines and precincts; that the gospel, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in churches according to the interpretation of the ancient fathers; that all those who revive any old heresies previously condemned, or teach any new thing contemptuously, either against Christ, his blessed mother and holy saints, or which may breed any occasion of sedition, are to be punished according to the tenor of the edict abovesaid; that none are to be admitted to preach without the license of his ordinary; that those who are already admitted shall be examined as to how and what they preach; that the laws which Campejius is about to set forth for reformation of manners shall be observed; that in the sacraments, in the mass, and in all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things are to stand as they did before; that all those who approach the Lord’s Supper without confession and absolution, or eat flesh on forbidden days, or who run outside of their order; also priests, deacons, and sub-deacons who are married, shall be punished; that nothing shall be printed without consent of the magistrate; that no book of Luther, or of any Lutheran, shall be printed or sold, etc.

Lest it be said that this faction of Luther takes its origin in the corrupt life of priests, Campejius, with his assistants in the convocation of Ratisbone, charges and commands that priests should live honestly, wear decent apparel, not play the merchants, not haunt the taverns, not be covetous, nor take money for their ministrations; that those who keep concubines should be removed; and the number of holy-days be diminished, etc.

Campejius wished to have these things enacted in a full council, and with the consent of the entire empire. But when he could not accomplish it, because the minds of many had left the pope, he was glad to get it ratified in this conference, with the assents of the bishops above named.

These matters may be seen more fully in the commentaries of John Sleidan. It now remains for us, having finished the history of Martin Luther, to touch upon the history of Zuinglius, and the Helvetians.

***The Acts and Life of Zuinglius – 1484-1531.***

In treating Luther's history, Ulric Zuinglius was mentioned. He first lived at Glarona, in a place then called *our Lord's hermitage*. From there he moved to Zurich, about A.D. 1519, and began to teach. He dwelt in the Minster, among the canons or priests of that close, using with them the same rites and ceremonies for two or three years. There he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures to the people, with great pains and no less dexterity. Because, in the same year, Pope Leo had renewed his pardons again through all countries, Zuinglius zealously withstood them. By the use of the Scriptures, he exposed such abuses, and other such corruptions which then reigned in the church. And so he continued for two years and more, till at length Hugo, bishop of Constance, wrote a letter to the senate of Zurich, complaining grievously of Zuinglius. He also wrote another letter to the college of canons, where Zuinglius was dwelling, complaining of those new teachers who troubled the church, and earnestly exhorting them to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. As both the pope and the imperial majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and edicts, the bishop therefore willed them to allow no such new innovations of doctrine, without the common consent of those to whom they pertained. Hearing of this, Zuinglius referred his cause to the judgment and hearing of the senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his faith. And as the bishop's letter was read openly in the college, Zuinglius directed another letter to the bishop himself, claiming that the said letter did not proceed from the bishop, and that he was not ignorant of who were its authors thereof, desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels — because truth, he said, is an invincible thing, and cannot be resisted. In the same tenor, certain other persons of the city likewise wrote to the bishop, desiring that he would attempt nothing prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the gospel. They requested, moreover, that he would restrain the filthy and infamous lives of the priests, and would permit them to have their lawful wives, etc. This was A.D. 1522.

[439] A.D. 1524.

Besides this, Zuinglius wrote another letter to the whole nation of the Swiss, admonishing them in no case to hinder the course of pure doctrine, nor to bring any trouble upon the priests who were married. For the vow of their single life, he said, came from the devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore, as the Swiss had a right and custom in their towns, that when they received a new priest into their churches, they used to advise him to take his concubine, Zuinglius exhorted them to grant permission to them to take their wives in honest matrimony, rather than to take concubines, against the precept of God.

Thus, as Zuinglius continued laboring in the word of the Lord for some years, offense began to rise at this doctrine, and the Dominican friars began to preach against him. But ever keeping himself within the Scriptures, he protested that he would make good what he taught, by the word of God. Upon this, the magistrates and senate of Zurich sent a command to all priests and ministers within their dominions, to repair to the city of Zurich the 29th of January next ensuing, and there everyone was to speak freely, and be heard quietly, regarding these controversies of religion. They also directed their letters to the bishop of Constance, that he would either repair there himself, or else send his deputy. When the appointed day came, the bishop's vicegerent, John Faber, was present. The consul first stating the object of this assembly, he required that if anyone had something to object against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly declare his mind.

Zuinglius had set forth all his doctrine in order, numbering sixty-seven articles. He published these articles, so that those who were so disposed might be better prepared for the disputation. Faber began to state the cause of his being sent there, and argued that neither the time nor the place were fit to discuss such matters, but that the matter belonged to a general council. Zuinglius, however, continued requiring that if he had anything to say, he would openly and freely say it. To this Faber answered that he would confute his doctrine by writing. After this, when no man appeared to dispute, the assembly broke up. The senate of Zurich then caused it to be proclaimed throughout their dominion, that the traditions of men should be abandoned, and that the gospel of Christ should be purely taught out of the Old and New Testament.

After these things, the cantons of Switzerland directed their public letters to the men of Zurich, in which they greatly lamented and complained of this newly broached doctrine which had set all men abuzz,<sup>18</sup> through the occasion of certain rash and new-fangled heads. They said it had greatly disturbed both the state of the church and of the commonwealth, and scattered the seeds of discord. For now all fasting was laid down, and all days are alike to eat both flesh and eggs, one as well as another. Priests and religious persons, both men and women, broke their vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying. God's service was decayed, singing in the church was abandoned, and prayer ceased. Priests grew in contempt. Religious men were thrust out of their cloisters. Confession and penance was neglected, so that men would not hesitate to presume receiving at the holy altar, without any confession previously made to the priest. The holy mass was derided and scorned. Our blessed lady and other saints were blasphemed. Images were cast down and broken in pieces. Nor was there any honor given to the sacrament. In short, men had now assumed such a license and liberty, that even the Holy Ghost could not be safe in the priest's hands, etc.

All this disorder, as it is of no small importance, so it was (they said) so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their duty to allow it no longer. They sent them the same admonition as before, and also wrote to them by certain of the clergy, craving their aid in this. Seeing that it is so, they now earnestly called upon them again regarding the premises, desiring them to put an end to such doings, and to take a better way, by continuing in the religion of their ancestors which preceded them. And if there was anything in which they were grieved and offended against the bishop of Rome, the cardinal, bishops, or other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging and selling the dignities of the church, or for their oppression in emptying men's purses by their indulgences, or else for their usurping jurisdiction and power which they extended too far — corruptly applying to external and political matters, what should only serve in spiritual cases. If these and such other abuses were the causes with which they were so grievously offended, they promised that for the correction and reformation of these, they would themselves join their diligence and good-will to that end. For so much they would therefore confer with them, as to how and by what way such grievances might best be removed.

To this effect, the letters of the Helvetians (Zuinglians) were written to the senate and citizens of Zurich. To which, their answer was as follows:

*An Answer by the Men of Zurich.*

“First, declaring, how their ministers had labored and travelled among them, teaching and preaching the word of God for five years; whose doctrine at first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard it before. But after they understood and perceived that

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<sup>18</sup> Originally “set all men together by the ears,” as if grabbing one another by the ears to hear it.



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the scope <sup>19</sup> of this doctrine only tended to set forth Christ Jesus to us, as the pillar and refuge of our salvation, who gave his life and blood for our redemption, and who alone delivers us from eternal death, and who is the only advocate of mankind before God — they could not do otherwise, but receive with ardent affection so wholesome and joyful a message.

“The holy apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the gospel of Christ, did not fall out in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together. And so they trusted (they said) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the word of God, setting aside men’s doctrines and traditions that were different from it.

“Whatever Luther or any other man teaches, whether it is right or wrong, is not such for the names of the persons, but only because it agrees or disagrees with the word of God.

“And if Christ alone is worshipped, and men are taught to repose their confidence solely in him, then neither the blessed Virgin, nor any saint, receives any injury.

“And whereas they charge their ministers with wresting the Scriptures according to their own interpretation, God had stirred up such a light now in the hearts of men, that most of their city have the bible in their hand, and diligently peruse it. So that their preachers cannot so twist the Scriptures, without it being quickly perceived.

“And whereas they have accused them of error, yet there was never any man who could prove any error in them. Though the bishops of Constance, of Basel, of Curiake, with others of the universities, and they themselves had also desired to do so, yet to this day neither they nor any other did so.

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“And if the bishops object and say that the word of God should not be handled by common people, they answered that it was not consistent with equity and reason. For although it belonged to the bishop’s office to provide that the sheep should not go astray; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring everything to the fathers and to councils, it was therefore right that they should hear and learn, not what man determines, but what Christ himself commands in the Scripture. Nor have their ministers given any occasion for this division, but rather *they*, who for their own private lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, seduce the people into error, and grievously offending God, they provoke Him to plague them with manifold calamities.

“As for the eating of flesh and eggs, it was free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ.<sup>20</sup>

“And as to matrimony, God himself was the author of it, and he has left it free for all men. Also St. Paul desires a minister of the church to be the husband of one wife.

“And seeing that bishops, for money, permit their priests to have concubines, which is contrary to God’s law and to good example, why then might they not as well obey God in permitting lawful matrimony, which he has ordained, as resist God in forbidding it? The same is also to be said of women vowing celibacy.

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<sup>19</sup> If the scope of doctrine is well marked between the papists and the protestants, it will not be hard for any man to judge which is the true doctrine. For the whole end and scope of the pope’s doctrine tends to set up the honor and wealth of man, as it may appear by the doctrine of supremacy, of confession, of the mass of the sacrament of the altar, etc. All these tend to magnify priests; just as purgatory, obsequies, pardons, and such other things serve for their profit. Contrariwise, the teaching of the protestants, regarding justification, original sin, as well as the sacraments and invocation, and all other such things, tend only to setting up Christ alone, and casting down man. — Foxe.

<sup>20</sup> It was the pope’s law then, that in Lent no man should eat flesh, or eggs, nor any other white meat; in which it may seem to be verified what St. Paul had prophesied, 1Tim 4. “In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,” etc.

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“And as for monasteries, and other houses of canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy. Whereas now those who inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live on their own patrimony. Yet nevertheless the men of Zurich have used such moderation, that they have permitted the inhabitants of those monasteries to enjoy their possessions during the term of their natural life, lest anyone should have cause for just complaint.

“Ornaments of churches serve nothing towards God’s service; but it agrees well with the service of God that the poor should be relieved. Christ commanded the young man in the gospel not to hang up his riches in the temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy. <sup>Mar 10.21</sup>

“They do not condemn the order of priesthood; such priests as will discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they prize and magnify. As for the other rabble who serve no public good, but rather damnify the commonwealth, if the number were diminished little by little, and their livings put to better use, they had no doubt that it would be a service well done to God.

“As for secret confession, in which men tell their sins in the priest’s ear, they leave it in suspense as to what virtue there is such confession. But that confession whereby repenting sinners flee to *Christ*, our only intercessor, they account not only as profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which priests use, they reckon it is but a practice to get money; it is not only erroneous, but also full of impurity. True penance and satisfaction is for a man to amend his life.

“The orders of monks come only by the invention of man, and not by the institution of God.

“And as to the sacraments, they do not despise those which are of the Lord’s institution, but receive them with all reverence. And so with reverence they use the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, according to what the word of God prescribes, and not as many abuse it, making it an oblation and a sacrifice.

“Therefore, as before, so now again they desire that if they think this doctrine of theirs is repugnant to the holy Scripture, they would gently show and teach them their error.”

And thus much was contained in the answer of the men of Zurich to the litter of their colleagues of Helvetia.

In the meantime, the bishop of Constance, with the advice of his council, answered them as he was requested to do, in a book, in which he declares what images and pictures those were which the profane Jews and Gentiles adored, and what images these are which the church has received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion was that, whereas the Scripture speaks against images, and does not permit them to be suffered, that (he said) is to be understood of those images and idols which the Jews and idolatrous Gentiles used; and not the images and pictures that the church has received.

From this he enters into the discourse of the mass, where he endeavors to prove by the pope’s canons and councils, that the mass is a sacrifice and oblation.

He sent this book to the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, exhorting them not to allow their images or the mass to be abrogated. Shortly afterwards he published the book in print, and sent it to the priests and canons of the Minster of Zurich, requiring them to follow the custom of the church.

The senate wrote to him, about the middle of August, in answer to the bishop’s book. They declared that they had read his book over and over again with all diligence. They said they were glad that he had sent it abroad in print, because the whole world thereby could better

judge between them. After this, they explained to him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers. And finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scriptures, they proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answers to him, about the 13th of June, they commanded all the images within the city, and throughout their dominions, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult.

In the month of April following, the magistrates and senate of the city of Zurich commanded the mass, with all its ceremonies, to be suppressed, both within the city, and throughout all their jurisdiction. And instead of it was placed the Lord's supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching.

All this while, the gospel was not as yet received in any other part of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Therefore the other twelve towns appointed a meeting at Baden, where were present among the divines, John Faber, Eckius, and Murnerus. Also the bishops of Lucerne, Basel, Coire, and Lausanne, sent their deputies there. The assertions propounded were these:

- That the true body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament.
- That the mass is a sacrifice for the quick and dead.
- That the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are to be invoked as mediators and intercessors.
- That images should not be abolished.
- That there is a purgatory.

Eckius took it upon himself to defend these conclusions or assertions. Against him reasoned Oecolampadius <sup>21</sup> (who was then chief preacher at Basel) with others. Zuinglius at that time was not present, but he confuted the doctrine of Eckius by writing. He declared the causes of his absence, which were that he dared not, for fear of his life, commit himself into the hands of his enemies; that he did not refuse to dispute, but only the place of the disputation; and that if they would assign the place of disputation, either at Zurich, or at Berne, or at Saintgallum, he would not refuse to come. The conclusion of the disputation was this: that all should remain in that religion which they had kept till then, and should follow the authority of the council, and should not admit any new doctrine within their dominions, etc.

As the time proceeded, and dissension about religion increased, it followed the next year (A.D. 1527), in the month of December, that the senate and people of Berne assigned another disputation within their city, and called to it all the bishops near them. They warned them to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them, or else lose all those possessions as they had within the bounds of their precinct. After this, they appointed certain ecclesiastical persons to dispute, prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the old and new testament. To all who would come, they granted a safe conduct.

[441] A.D. 1527.

Also, they appointed that all things should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; that everyone should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation that every man's statements might be received by the notary, and penned — with this proviso, previously arranged, that whatever should be agreed upon, should be ratified and observed throughout their dominions. And that men might come there better prepared, they propounded in public writing, ten questions to be defended by their ministers, from the

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<sup>21</sup> [Johann Oecolampadius \(1482-1531\) a German Protestant reformer, and friend of Zwingli.](#)

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Scriptures. The ministers were Francis Colbus, and Berthold Halletus. The conclusions were these:

1. That the true church, of which Christ is the head, rises out of God's word, and continues in the same, and hears the voice of no other.
2. That the same church makes no laws without the word of God.
3. That the traditions ordained in the name of the church, do not bind, except so far as they are consonant to God's word.
4. That Christ alone has made satisfaction for the sins of the world: and therefore if any man say that there is any other way of salvation, or any other means to put away sin, he denies Christ.
5. That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.
6. That the use of the mass, in which Christ is said to be present and offered up to his heavenly Father, for the quick and the dead, is against the Scripture, and injurious to the sacrifice which Christ made for us.
7. That Christ alone is to be invoked as the mediator and advocate of mankind with God the Father.
8. That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, in which souls are purged after this life; and therefore, all those prayers and ceremonies, yearly dirges and obits, which are bestowed upon the dead, also lamps, tapers, and such other things, profit nothing at all.
9. That to set up any picture or image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the holy Scripture; and therefore, if any such are erected in churches for that intent, they ought to be taken down.
10. That matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of men, but to avoid fornication it is generally commanded and permitted to all men by the word of God. And as all immoral persons are excluded from the communion of the church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single life of priests, is most of all inconvenient for the order of priesthood.

When the senate and people of Berne sent abroad their letters with these conclusions to all the Helvetians, exhorting them to send their learned men, and also to allow all others to pass safely through their countries: several of the cantons refused to take any part, or to allow their divines to take any part in the proposed discussion. They said it was not lawful for any nation or province to alter the state of religion, but that it belonged to a general council. Therefore, they desired them not to attempt any such wicked act, but to continue in the religion which their parents and elders had observed. In fine, they concluded that they would neither send, nor allow any of their learned men to come, nor grant safe-conduct to any others to pass through their country.

Notwithstanding this, the lords of Berne proceeded in their purpose. On the day prescribed (January 7) they began their disputation. Of all the bishops, there was not one present. But the city of Basel, Zurich, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, and others, sent their ambassadors to it.

The doctors of the city of Berne began the disputation. Present were Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurerus, with others, — all of whom defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the other side, the chief was Conrad

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Tregerus an Augustinian friar. To prove his assertion, he had to resort outside of the Scriptures to seek the help of other authority; but the moderators of the disputation would not permit it (being contrary to the order previously arranged). So he departed, and would dispute no more.

The disputation continued nineteen days. In the end it was agreed by the assent of most, that the conclusions were consonant with the truth of God's word, and should be ratified not only in the city of Berne, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in other adjoining cities; and that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

At the city of Constance, some things had begun to be altered a little before. Now, after this disputation at Berne, the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

Also those of Geneva were not behind in following the example of the city of Berne, in extirpating images and ceremonies. Because of this, the bishop and clergy left the city in no small anger.

To commemorate this event, they caused a pillar to be erected, and thereupon to be placed in golden letters, the day and year when this reformation from popery to true Christianity began among them, as a perpetual memorial for all posterity to come. This was A.D. 1528.

After the account of this disputation at Berne had reached other cities, the ministers of Strasburg began likewise to affirm and teach that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore should be abolished, and the right use of the Lord's supper restored. On the other hand, the bishop of Rome's clergy held that the mass was good and holy. This kindled great contention on both sides. When the senate and magistrates of Strasburg would have brought the matter to a discussion, they could not, because the priests would not consent — they therefore commanded them to silence.

For a long time the bishop of Strasburg succeeded in putting off the change of religion, till at last the senate of Strasburg, seeing the matter hang in controversy for two years, and the preachers daily calling upon them for a reformation; and a petition also having been made to them by the citizens, three hundred assembled in their great council, as they customarily do on great matters of importance. And there debating the case among themselves, some declared on one side, that if they abolished the mass, they would incur danger from the emperor. On the other side, if they did not abolish it, they would offend God. And therefore, giving time to consult, they required them at the next meeting, to declare their sentence in the matter. When the day came, the voices and judgments of those who went *against* the mass prevailed. Upon which a decree was made, the 20th of February A.D. 1529, that the mass should be suspended till the Romanists could prove by good Scripture, that the mass was a service available and acceptable before God.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the senate soon commanded it to be proclaimed, and to take full effect, so far as their limits and dominion extended; and afterward they notified their bishop by letters regarding the matter.

Thus the mass was overthrown in Zurich, Berne, Geneva, and in Strasburg, as you heard. Now, what followed in Basel, remains to be stated. Oecolampadius was a preacher in Basel. By his diligent labor and travel, the gospel began to take such effect, that there arose great dissension among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass. Upon this, the senate of Basel appointed that after an open discussion, it would be determined by voice, what was to be done.

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Owing to the intrigues of some of the senate, this discussion was delayed, and the reformation retarded. The citizens proceeded to violent measures, armed themselves, and proceeded to coerce the senate. It happened the very same day, that certain of the citizens who were appointed to go about the city to see things were in order, came into the church. One of them thrusting at a certain image with his staff, caused it to fall and break. Other images were served in the same sort of devotion. When the priests came running to them, the citizens, as they would not go beyond their commission, departed.

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When word was brought to the citizens in the market place, the matter seemed worse to them than it really was. So they sent three hundred armed men to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger. On coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet except for a few images that were broken down, they likewise (lest they came for nothing) threw down all the other idols and images which they found standing there. And so passing through all the churches in the city, they did the same. And when some of the senate came out to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "What you have been consulting and advising about for three years, whether it was best to be done or not, we have dispatched in one hour, so that henceforth no more contentions may arise between us about images." And so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance. A decree was made at the same time, that within the city of Basel as well as without, throughout their jurisdiction, the mass, with all idols, should be abandoned. And further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God and the affairs of the public weal, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred and sixty of the burghers or citizens should be appointed out of every ward in the city to sit with them in council. These decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the city for three days and nights, everyone returned to his house, quiet and joyful, without any blood or blows given, or anger wreaked, except upon the images.

On the third day, which was Ash Wednesday, all the wooden images were distributed among the poor of the city, to serve as firewood for them. But when they could not well agree on dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the images should all be burned together. That day, in nine great heaps, all the stocks and idols were burned to ashes before the great church door. And thus, by God's ordinance, it came to pass that the day on which the pope's priests show all their mourning, and mark men's foreheads with ashes in remembrance that they are but ashes, was a festival day for the whole city, a joyful day for turning their images to ashes. And so the day is still observed and celebrated every year, to this present time, with all mirth, plays, and pastimes, in remembrance of the ashes. This day may therefore be rightly called Ash Wednesday, by God's own making.

All this time the emperor and the French king were both occupied in wars and strife. As it turned out, this was to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who was taken prisoner by the emperor. So it happened most opportunely for the success of the Gospel; for otherwise, these Helvetians and other Germans, would not have had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God, of his secret wisdom, disposes times and occasions to serve His will and purpose in all things. Although Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, and deputy in Germany, lost no time or diligence in doing what he could to resist the proceedings of the Protestants. This appeared by the decree set forth at Ratisbone, and at Spire. At the Council of Spire (A.D. 1529), Ferdinand had decreed against the Protestants, in effect as follows:

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“First, That the edict of the emperor made at Worms, should be in force throughout Germany, till the general council, which would shortly follow. Also, that those who had already altered their religion, and now could not revoke the same for fear of sedition, should attempt no more innovations till the time of the general council.

“Also, That the doctrine of those who hold the Lord’s supper otherwise than the church teaches, should not be received, nor the mass altered. And that all ministers of the church should be enjoined to use no interpretation of holy Scripture, but the exposition of the church doctors; while other matters that were disputable, were not to be touched. Also, that all persons and states should keep peace, so that neither party should molest the other for religion. All who should transgress these decrees, were to be outlawed and exiled.”

The ambassadors of Strasburg were not admitted to this session at Spires, but were refused by Ferdinand because they had rejected the mass. And therefore the city of Strasburg refused to pay any contribution against the Turk unless they, with the other German states, were admitted to the councils. The other princes which were received, and who opposed the decree, and showed their case in an elaborate protestation written for that purpose, were — John, duke of Saxony; George, elector of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, earls of Lunenburg; the Landgrave of Hesse; and the prince of Anhalt. All those cities which subscribed and consented to the protestation of these princes, soon joined themselves in a common league with them, upon which they received the name, and were therefore called *Protestants*. The names of the cities were these — Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Rottigen, Windseim, Memmingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Heilbron, Wissemburg, Nortlingen, and Saint Gall.

As to the Council of Augsburg, which followed the year after the assembly of Spires (1530), it need not yet be detailed how the princes and protestants of Germany exhibited their confession in the council, what labor was sought to confute it, and how constantly duke Frederick persisted in the defense of his conscience, against the threatening words and replies of the emperor — also, in what danger the princes would have been, had not the Landgrave secretly slipped out of the city by night.

### **Death of Zuinglius.**

We therefore return to Zuinglius and the Helvetians. The two cantons of Zurich and Berne, who had reformed their religion, were grossly insulted by the other five cantons who insultingly hanged the coat of arms of those two cities on a gallows — which led to a war between them (A.D. 1531).

The French king, with other townships of Switzerland, labored to bring them to agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them. The conditions were:

- That all insults and injuries should be forgotten.
  - That, hereafter, neither part should molest the other.
  - That those who were banished for religion, should again be restored.
  - That the five cantons might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none would be restrained among them from reading the Old and New Testament.
  - That no kind of disturbance should be raised against those of Berne and Zurich; and
  - That all should confer mutual helps together, one to succor the other, as in times past.
- But the five cantons would not observe these covenants. Therefore the men of Zurich and Berne, first declaring their cause in public writing, to excuse the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, and constrained to take the sword in hand, beset the highways and passages, so that no victuals or other forage should come to the other cantons.

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When those of the five towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zurich. There was a garrison of the Zurich men there, numbering a thousand and more. Word was sent to the city of Zurich to succor their men with all speed; but their enemies approached so fast that they could hardly come to rescue them. For when they had come to the top of the hill, they saw their fellows in great distress in the valley under them. Upon which, encouraging themselves, they made down the hill with more haste than order, striving who might go the fastest.. But the nature of the hill was such, that only one could go down at a time. And so they were discomfited and overmatched by the multitude. Among the slain was Ulric Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God.

As to the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused by Sleidan, and especially by Oecolampadius. It was an old received custom among the Zurich men, that when they went forth in warfare, the chief minister of the church went with them. Zuinglius, also, being a man of courage, considering if he should remain at home when war was attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons so encouraged others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind when the time of danger came, thought that he ought not to refuse to take part with his brethren.

[443] A.D. 1531.

Oecolampadius adds that he went out, not as a captain of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and a good shepherd ready to die with his flock. And which of them all, he says, who most cry out against Zuinglius, can show any such noble heart to do the like? Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather he desired not to go, foreseeing, perhaps, what danger would ensue from it. But the senate being importunate upon him, would have no refusal, urging him to go. Among them were thought to have been some false betrayers, objecting to him that he was a coward if he refused to accompany his brethren, in time of danger as well as in peace. When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon the dead corpse by his popish enemies. Such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied unless they should also burn his dead body.

The report goes, that after his body was cut, first in four pieces, and then consumed with fire, three days after his death his friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining. They found his heart in the ashes, whole and unburned, in much the same way as was the heart of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which (it is reported) was found unconsumed in the ashes.

Such, too, was the rage of these five popish cantons, against the abbot Cappello, who was also killed, that they took his dead body, and putting out both its eyes, clothed it in a monk's cowl, and set it in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most spiteful manner. Ulric Zuinglius was, when he died, forty-four years of age — younger than Martin Luther by four years.

Oecolampadius the preacher of the city of Strasburg, hearing of the death of his dear friend Zuinglius, took inward grief and sorrow at it, so that it is thought to have increased his disease. And so he also departed this life November 1531, being forty-nine years of age — older than Martin Luther by one year. Although Oecolampadius died, his learned and famous commentaries on the prophets, with other works which he left behind, live still, and shall never die.

In August of the following year, which was A.D. 1532, the worthy and memorable prince John Frederick Duke of Saxony also died. For his testimony of Christ and of his gospel, he



sustained such trials and such vehement conflicts with the emperor, especially at the council of Augsburg, that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it would not have been possible for him, or any prince, to have endured so constant and immovable against so many persuasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded John Frederick his son, etc.

And thus have you the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Switzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the beginning of their reformation of religion.

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From the beginning of this book, good reader, you have heard of many troubles in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of various abuses and great errors that had crept into the church of Rome. What godly man has there been, within these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, who has not disapproved the disorderly doings and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, till the coming of Luther? It may well be wondered at, that this Romish bishop having great enemies from time to time, speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet no one could ever succeed till the coming of Luther. The cause of this seems to be, that while others before him, when speaking against the pomp, pride, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, only or chiefly charged him with the manner of life. Luther went further, charging him not only with an evil life, but also with evil *learning*; not with his doings, but with his *doctrine*; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the *root*; not seeking the man, but shaking his *seat*; yes and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial and injurious to the blood of Christ, contrary to the true understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For while the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teaches and leads us to be justified only by the merits of Christ, and the price of his blood; the pope, with a contrary doctrine, teaches us to seek our salvation not by Christ alone, but by way of men's meriting and deserving by his works. Whereupon diverse sorts of orders and religious sects arose among men, some professing one thing and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness. But few were seeking the righteousness of Him who is appointed by God to be our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.

Martyrdoms in Germany – 1523-

Martin Luther, therefore, reducing all things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many who before were drowned in darkness. It cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness, to behold that glorious privilege of the great liberty and free justification in Christ Jesus. And to speak briefly, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater was the persecution that followed. And where the elect of God took the most occasion of comfort and of salvation, there the adversaries found the most matter for vexation and disturbance — as we commonly see the word of God bring dissension and trouble with it. And therefore it was truly said of Christ, that he came not to bring peace on earth but the sword. And this was the reason why: after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, such great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world. From this arose great disquiet among the prelates, and many laws and decrees were made to overthrow the truth, by the cruel handling of many good Christian men. Thus while authority, armed with laws and rigor, strove against the truth, it was lamentable to hear how many Christian men were troubled, and went to wreck, some tossed from place to place,

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some exiled out of the land for fear, some forced to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some wracked with torment, and some pursued to death with fire and faggot. It is of these that we now have to treat, beginning with some who suffered in Germany, and then returning to our own histories and martyrs in England.

### *Henry Voes and John Esch, Augustinian Friars.*

In A.D. 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named Henry Voes, at the age of 24 years; and the other John Esch, who formerly had been of the order of the Augustinian friars. They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' robes, at the suit of the pope's inquisitor, and by the divines of Louvaine, because they would not retract the doctrine of the gospel, which the papists called *Lutheranism*. Their examiners were Hochestratus and others, who demanded of them what they believed? They said, the books of the Old Testament and the New, in which were contained the articles of the creed. Then they were asked whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said they believed those that agreed to the Scripture. After this they proceeded further, asking, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? They said, that belongs only to the commandment of God, to bind the conscience of man. When they constantly persisted and these men would not retract, they were condemned to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, who had delivered them through his great goodness, from that false and abominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order, receiving them to himself as a sacrifice of sweet aroma. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered to them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of was, that men ought to trust only in God, as men are liars and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore no trust or confidence ought to be put in them.

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As they were led to the place of execution, on the first of July, they went joyfully and cheerfully, making continual protestation "that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God, saying also that it was the day which they had long desired. After they came to the place where they were to be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a long time in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake they were to be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatever was done to them, praising God with, "We praise you, O God," etc., and singing psalms, and reciting the creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their cheerfulness, said to Henry Voes, that he should not so foolishly glorify himself. He answered, "God forbid that I should glory in anything, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: he answered, "I trust that I carry him truly in my heart." One of them seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "I think you do strew roses under my feet." Finally, the smoke and the flame mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being demanded among other things, whether Luther had seduced him or not, said "Yes, even as Christ seduced his apostles." He also said that it was contrary to God's law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained by God. For those who were ordained in office by the bishops have no power, except to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock. After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp.

*Henry Sutphen, monk, put to death in Diethmar.*

The next year after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Brussels, mentioned above, which was A.D. 1524, one Henry Sutphen, monk was also martyred and burned with like tyranny, without any order of judgment or just condemnation, about the city of Diethmar, on the borders of Germany. This Sutphen had been with Martin Luther. Coming to Antwerp, he was excluded from there for the gospel's sake, and being driven from Antwerp he came to Bremen — not to preach, but to go to Wittenberg. While at Bremen, he was asked there by certain godly citizens to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel. Through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily assured and persuaded to do this. He preached his first sermon to the people on the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him to preach again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry among them to preach the gospel; but being afraid of danger, he refused for a time. When the religious orders learned this, especially the canons, monks, and priests, they sought to oppress him, and to thrust him, and also the gospel of Christ out of the city, which was their chief aim.

They went to the senate, desiring that such a heretic might be banished from the town, as in his doctrine he preached against the catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached. Having come together, the senate declared to them the complaint of the canons, and all the other religious men. The citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach to them, and to teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. However, if the chapter-house, or any other, could bring testimony or witness, that the preacher had taught anything which either savored of heresy, or was repugnant to the word of God, then they were ready with the chapterhouse to persecute him; for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if the canons of the chapterhouse, and the other religious orders would not declare and show that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set on to drive him away, only through malice, they would not therefore by any means allow it. So they petitioned the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying that they were disposed to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

When the monastic orders learned that they could not prevail, they burst out into a fury, and began to threaten, and went to the archbishop to certify that the citizens of Bremen had become heretics.

When the bishop heard of these things, he sent two of his council to Bremen, requiring that Henry should be sent to him without delay. When they were asked why they should send him, they answered, *Because he preached against the holy church.* Being again demanded in what articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the bishop's suffragan, a naughty pernicious hypocrite, who sought by all possible means to carry Henry away a captive. The answer of the senators was that, as the preacher had not been convicted of any heresy, they could by no means consent that Henry should be carried away. So they earnestly pressed the bishop that he would speedily send his learned men to Bremen to disunite with him. And if he were convinced, they promised without any delay that he would be punished and sent away; if not, they would in no way let him depart. The suffragan answered, by requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietness of the whole country. But the senate continued in their former mind. The suffragan being moved with anger at this, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.

## Bk. VII. The reign of King Henry VIII

When the popish prelates were thus disappointed, they held a provincial council at Buckstade. The prelates and learned men of the diocese were called to this council, to determine what was to be believed.

Henry also was called to the council, although they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a heretic. Therefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council. Then Henry gathered his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters to the archbishop, protesting his innocence. He offered himself as ready to recant it, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the holy Scripture, earnestly requesting that his errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the testimony of which he had previously proved his doctrines, and he not doubting hereafter to confirm them. Henry despising their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, always adding this protestation: that he was ready and willing to give account regarding his faith and doctrine, to every man who would request it. In the meantime, the holy Romans could not be idle, but sent their chaplains to every sermon to entrap him in his words. But God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power be seen in them, for he converted many of them, so that the greater part of those who were sent to hear, openly acknowledged his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man should contend, and such as they had not heard in all their lives before. But the chief priests, canons, and monks were so hardened and blinded as Pharaoh was, that they became worse for these admonitions. When God saw fit that Henry should confirm the truth that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, on the occasion that follows.

It happened in the year 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters from Nicholas Boy, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorph, a town in Diethmar, to preach the gospel to them, and deliver them out of the bondage of antichrist.

These letters being received on St. Catherine's eve,<sup>22</sup> he called together six brethren, honest citizens, and opened to them how he was sent for by those of Diethmar to preach the gospel. He added that he was not only indebted to them, but to all others who required his aid. Therefore he thought it good to go to Diethmar, to see what God would work by him. He also requested that they would help him with their advice as to which means he might best take his journey.

[445] A.D. 1531.

Having prepared all things for his journey, on the twenty-second of October he departed and came to Meldorph, where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others. Although he had not yet preached, the devil with his members began to fret and fume for anger. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friars, began to take counsel with others as to what was to be done. It was agreed by them, above all things, to withstand the beginnings, and that he should not have license to preach. For if he preached, and the people heard him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks would be exposed, which being manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist. They remembered what had recently happened in Bremen. The prior early the next morning (for he had not slept well all night) went with great speed to Heida, to speak with the forty-eight presidents of the country. With great complaints, he showed how a seditious fellow, a monk, had come from Bremen. He would seduce all the people of

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<sup>22</sup> St. Catherine's day is now celebrated Nov 25th, but obviously it was earlier back then. It commemorates the martyrdom of Catherine of Alexandria, beheaded c. 305 AD.

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Diethmar as he had done with those of Bremen. Others assisted this prior in persuading the forty-six, who were simple and unlearned men, that they would obtain great favor and the good-will of the bishop of Bremen, if they would put this heretical monk to death. When these men heard these words, they decreed that the monk should be put to death, without being heard or seen, much less convicted.

When Henry heard of this, he said that he ought to obey the word of God rather than man. And that if it pleased God that he should lose his life there, it was as near a way to heaven as in any other place. The next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and preached a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, Rom 1.9. "God is my witness," etc. After the sermon, the whole congregation being called together, the prior Augustine delivered the letters that were sent by the fifty-eight presidents, the tenor of which was this: that those of Meldorph should be fined a thousand gilders if they allowed the monk to preach. When they heard these letters read, they were much moved. And they all determined with one voice, to keep Henry as their preacher, and to defend him. For when they heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior.

After dinner Henry preached again, expounding St. Paul, Rom 15.1. "We who are strong should bear with the weak," etc. The next day the citizens of Meldorph sent messengers to Heida, offering to answer in all cases before all men, for their preacher, whom they had received. Besides that, the messengers declared what Christian and godly sermons they had heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the messengers to the forty-eight rulers, in which he excused himself, that it was never his wish, nor the intention of Henry, to provoke sedition, but only to preach sincerely the word of God. He offered himself as ready to answer for Henry to all men, whenever he might be called on. He earnestly desired them not to give credit to the monks, who being blinded with hatred and avarice, were determined to oppress the truth. He also added that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned before the truth was tried, and his cause declared; and that if, after due inquisition, he were convicted, then he should suffer punishment. This submission with the public testimonial was not regarded. But in the end, one of the council, Peter Dethleve, recommended the whole matter be referred to the next general council. They were all very well contented with this answer; and the messengers returned to Meldorph with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation the answer that was made.

On St. Nicholas' day (Dec. 6th) Henry preached twice, with such a spirit and grace, that all men held him in admiration, praying God most earnestly that they might long have such a preacher. On the day of "the Conception of our Lady," he also preached two sermons in the first chapter of Matthew, in which he recited the promises made by God to our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers had lived. He added also, that all reference to works being set apart, we must be justified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, in having sent them such a preacher, desiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to preach.

In the meantime, the prior Augustine Tornborch and Master John Schink were not idle. For the prior went to the Franciscan monks, and minors, for help and council, for those kinds of friars above all others were best instructed by their hypocrisy to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightway sent for those persons who had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; They declared to them, with great complaints, what a heretical monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favor of all the simple people; which if they did not speedily provide for and withstand in the first

beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would come to pass that the honor of the Virgin Mary, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, would soon come to utter ruin and decay.

When these men heard these words, they were greatly moved. Peter Swine answered that they had written before to the parish priest and to Henry what was best to be done. But if they thought it good, they would write again. "No," said the prior, "this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write to the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared that the contagion of his heresy may infect some of you, being unlearned men. For if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you will overcome him." So they finally determined to take Henry by night, and burn him before the people might know it. This device pleased them all, but especially the Franciscan friars. Peter Hannus, who was the prior's chief friend, wishing to get the chief praise and thanks in the matter, met with other rulers of the neighboring towns. All these assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of Mr. Gunter, where the chancellor consulted with them how they might burn Henry secretly. They concluded that on the day after "the Conception of our Lady," they would meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorph, with a great band of husbandmen. Over five hundred men assembled there, to whom it was declared the reason for their assembling, and they were also instructed as to what was to be done — for before that, no man knew the reason for the assembly, except the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have turned back, refusing such a detestable and horrible deed. But the presidents with most bitter threats kept them in obedience. And in order to help them be more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburgh beer to drink.

About midnight they came in arms to Meldorph. The monks had prepared torches for them, so that Henry would not slip away in the dark. They had also with them a traitor, named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of everything. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling everything, as is the manner of drunken people. If they found either gold or silver, they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise they cried out, "Kill the thief, kill the thief!" Some of them took him by the hair of his head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as a prisoner. Others cried out that the parish priest was not to be meddled with, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their violence upon him, they ran upon Henry with great rage and fury, drawing him naked out of his bed, and binding his hands behind him. Being so bound, they drew him to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, who otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, desired that they should let him alone; for he would follow of his own accord. When he was brought to Hemmingsted, they asked him how and for what intent he came to Diethmar?

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Henry gently declared the whole cause of his coming; but in a rage they all cried out, "Away with him, Away with him! For if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us heretics also." Then being very weary and faint, Henry asked to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, for he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Must we hire a horse for a heretic? He shall go on foot whether he will or not." Because it was night, they carried him naked to Heida. Afterwards they brought him to a certain man's house, named Calden, and bound him there with chains in the stocks. The master of the house seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not allow it. So he was carried away to a

priest's house, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept there by the rude people, who all night mocked and scorned him. Among others who came to him, were Simon in Altennord, and Christian, parish priest of the new church. Both alike were ignorant and wicked persecutors of the word of God, demanding why Henry had forsaken his holy habit? He answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing about what he said. Gunter also came to him, inquiring whether he would rather be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Diethmar? Henry answered, "If I have preached anything contrary to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me." Gunter answered, "Hark, I pray you, good friends, hark, he desires to suffer in Diethmar." The common people continued all that night in immoderate drinking.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the marketplace to consult what they should do. There the rustic people churning with drink, cried out, "Burn him 'burn him! — to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great glory and praise both of God and man. For the longer he lives, the more he will seduce with his heresy." What need is there for many words? Surely he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry to be burned, without any judgment, without hearing his cause. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim that every man who was at the taking of him, should be ready in arms to bring him to the fire. Among the others, the Franciscan friars were present, encouraging the drunken rude people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise they brought him forward to the fire. As he passed by, a woman standing at her door, wept abundantly at seeing this pitiful sight. Henry turned to her and said, "I pray you, do not weep for me." When he came to the fire, he sat down upon the ground for very weakness. One of the presidents named May was present. He condemned Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him: "Because this thief has wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire." Henry answered, "I have done no such thing." Lifting up his hands towards Heaven, he said, "O Lord, forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do. Your name, O Almighty God, is holy."

In the meantime a woman, the wife of Jungar, and sister of Peter Hannus, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, if they would stay the process, and keep him in prison until that he could plead his cause before the whole convocation of the country. When they heard these words, they grew more mad, and threw the woman down under their feet, and trod upon her, and beat Henry unmercifully. One of them struck him behind on the head with a sharp dagger. John Holmes, of the new church, struck him with a mace. Others thrust him in the back, and in the arms. This was not done only once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying, "Go to, boldly, good fellows. Truly God is present with us."

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar to Henry, that he might confess to him. Henry asked him in this manner; "Brother, when have I done you an injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said the friar. "What then should I confess to you," he said, "that you think you might forgive me?" The friar, being affected by these words, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burn. However they satisfied their minds upon him, by striking and stabbing him with all kinds of weapons. Henry stood in the meantime in his shirt before all this rude people. At last, having gotten a ladder, they bound him to it. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his creed, one struck him in the face with his fist, saying, "You shall first be burnt, and afterwards pray and prate

as much as you will.” Then another treading on his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one running to him, set his halbert<sup>23</sup> for the ladder to lean against, but the ladder, slipping away from the point of the halbert, caused the halbert to strike him through the body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood. Then John Holmes ran to him, and struck him with a mace on the breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterwards they roasted him on the coals — for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom, A.D. 1524.

About the same time many other godly persons, those who feared God, for the testimony of the gospel were thrown into the Rhine, and into other rivers, where their bodies were afterwards found and taken up. Also in the town of Diethmar another faithful saint of God, named John, suffered like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up by God, in testimony of his truth, offered up the sacrifice of their confession, sealed with their blood, in a sweet savor unto God.

At the town of Hala likewise, another preacher named George, for ministering the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in both kinds, *i.e.* in both bread and wine, was martyred by the monks and friars.

At Prague also, in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, suffered in like manner. Ex Lud. Rab.

In the same year, 1524, Oct. 22, the town of Miltenberg in Germany was taken and ransacked, and several of the inhabitants slain. Many were imprisoned for maintaining and keeping Carolostad with them as their preacher.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs is to be placed Gasper Tamber, and also another named George, who were both burned at Vienna.

*The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk, of Melden in France.*

Melden is a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where John Clerk was apprehended, A.D. 1523, for posting on the church door a writing against the pope’s pardons recently sent there from Rome, in which he named the pope to be antichrist. His punishment for this, was that on three separate days he would be whipped and afterwards have a mark branded on his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother being a Christian woman (although her husband was an adversary), when she beheld her son thus piteously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly encouraged her son, crying with a loud voice, “Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these prints and marks.”

After this punishment, John went to Metz, where he remained at his trade, being a wool-carder.<sup>24</sup> The people of that city used to go to the suburbs on a certain day to worship certain blind idols nearby, following an old custom among them. So being inflamed with zeal, he went out of the city on the preceding day, to the place where the images were, and broke them all in pieces.

[447] A.D. 1524.

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<sup>23</sup> *Halbert*: a pike fitted with an ax head.

<sup>24</sup> *Wool-carder*: someone who cleans and disentangles wool fibers with brushes, in preparation for weaving.



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The next day, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worship as they usually did, they found all their blocks and stocks broken on the ground. They were enraged at this, and seized John Clarke, who confessed the act. The people, not being acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were shockingly moved against him, crying out against him in a great rage. He was soon tried and condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. First, his hand was cut off from his right arm, then his nose with sharp pincers was violently plucked from his face; after that, both his arms and his nipples were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all those who stood by, it was a horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his pains. Yet again, it was a wonder to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift to suffer. Thus he endured his torments quietly and constantly, pronouncing, or in a way *singing* the verses of the 150th Psalm: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of man's hand," etc. His rent body was committed to the fire and consumed. This was about A.D. 1524.

### *John Castellane.*

In A.D. 1524, Master John Castellane, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after he was called to the knowledge of God. He had become a true preacher of his word, and preached in France, and laid some foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the town of Metz. In returning from there, he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants, by whom he was carried to the castle of Nommenie. The citizens of Metz took great displeasure at this, and were grievously offended to have their preacher apprehended and imprisoned. So they took some of the cardinal's subjects and kept them prisoners. John Castellane was most cruelly handled from the fourth of May until the twelfth of January. During all this time he persevered constantly in the doctrine of the Son of God. From there he was carried to the castle of Vike, persevering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine. So they proceeded to the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over to the secular power. And as the form of the sentence and process of degrading is remarkable, we have thought it good to annex it here to show the horrible blasphemies joined with gross and brutish subtlety in those high mysteries which the enemies of the truth use in their processes against the children of God, and whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may perceive the horrible blindness of these papists.

### *The Sentence of Degradation.*

"Concerning the process inquisitory formed and given in form of an accusation against you John Castellane, priest and religious man of the friars Eremites, of the order of St. Augustine, and understanding likewise your confession which you have made of your own good will, of maintaining false and erroneous doctrine; and also marking, besides this, the godly admonitions and charitable exhortations which we made to you in the town of Metz, which you, like the adder, have refused and given no ear to; also considering your answers made and reiterated to interrogatories, by means of your oath, in which you have devilishly hidden and kept back not only the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, you have refused to confess your sins and mischievous offenses. And finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworn and examined against you, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the Reverend Master Nicholas Savin, doctor of divinity, and inquisitor of the faith, assistant to us, has entered process against you, and given full information about it. Our purpose and intent also being communicated to diverse masters and doctors both of the civil and canon laws present here, who have subscribed and signed it. Whereby it appears that you, John Castellane, have oftentimes, and in diverse places, openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many

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erroneous propositions, full of the heresy of Luther, contrary and against the catholic faith and the verity of the gospel, and the holy apostolic see, and so accursedly looked back and turned your face, that you are found to be a liar before almighty God. It is ordained by the sacred rules of the canon law, that those who pervert the Scriptures through the sharp darts of their venomous tongue, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the souls of the faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and better apply themselves to the study of Christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, of severity as well as of clemency.

“For these causes, and others rising upon the said process, by the apostolic authority, and also by the authority of our said reverend lord the cardinal, which we use in this our sentence definitive, which we sitting in our judgment-seat declare in these writings, having God alone before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measures we mete to others, the same shall be measured to us again. We pronounce and declare sententially and definitively, you John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge you because of your deserts, to be excommunicated with the greatest excommunication, and along with this, to be culpable of treason against the divine majesty, and a mortal enemy of the catholic faith and truth of the gospel; also to be a manifest heretic, and a follower and partaker of the execrable cruelty of Martin Luther,<sup>25</sup> a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned; and therefore you ought to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honor and dignity, of all your orders, of your shaving and religious habit, also of your ecclesiastical benefices, if you have any, and from all privilege of the clergy. So we here presently depose, deprive, and separate you, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithful. And being so deprived, we judge that you ought to be actually degraded; that done, we leave you to the secular powers, committing the degradation and actual execution of our sentence to the reverend lord and bishop here present, with the authority and commandment aforesaid.”

This sentence being thus ended with their sermon also, the bishop of Nicopolis sitting in *pontificalibus*<sup>26</sup> in the judgment-seat, being a suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they called it) of John Castellane. Thus John Castellane being prepared and made ready for his degradation by the officers of the bishop, was apparelled in his priestly garb, and afterwards brought out from the chapel by the priests, with all his priestly ornaments upon him; and holding his hands together, he knelt down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hand, with wine and water, the patine and the host;<sup>27</sup> all of which things the bishop who degraded him, took from him, saying, “We take away from you, or command to be taken from you, all power to offer sacrifice to God, and to say mass, for the quick as well as the dead.”

Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, “By this scraping we take away from you all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which you have received by the anointing of your hands.” Then he took away from him the chesile, saying, “We deprive you of this priestly ornament, which signifies charity; for certainly you have forsaken it, and all innocency.” Then taking away the stole, he said, “You have villainously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this stole; therefore we take it away from you, and make you unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things pertaining to priesthood.”

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<sup>25</sup> If Luther is to be noted for cruelty, who teaches all men, and kills no man, what then is to be noted in the pope, who kills all God's children and teaches none? — Foxe.

<sup>26</sup> *Pontificalibus*: in the place of the pontif or pope, as his representative.

<sup>27</sup> *Patine*: or paten; a small plate used to hold the consecrated bread (the host); the chesile or chasuble mentioned below, is the outermost liturgical vestment worn by clergy during the celebration of the Eucharist.

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The degradation from the order of priesthood thus being ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the book of the gospels, which the bishop took away, saying, "We take away from you all power to read the gospels in the church of God, for it pertains only to those who are worthy." After this he spoiled him of the dalmatike, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying, "We deprive you of this Levitical order; for you have not fulfilled your ministry and office." After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, "We justly take away from you the white stole which you received undefiled, which also you should have carried in the presence of our Lord; and to the end that the people dedicated to the name of Christ, may take example by you, we prohibit you to exercise or use the office of deaconship any more. Then they proceeded to degrade him from the subdeaconship.

Taking away from him the book of the epistles, and his subdeacon's vesture, they deposed him from reading the epistles in the church of God. And so proceeding to all the other orders, they degraded him from the order of Benet and Collet, from the order of exorcist, from the lectorship, and last of all, from the office of door-keeper, taking from him the keys, and commanding him thereafter not to open or shut the vestry, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving. Taking away his surplice, he said, "By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and by our authority we take away from you all clerical habit, and despoil you of all ornament of religion. Also, we depose and degrade you from all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, and as one unworthy of that profession, we commit you to the servitude and ignominy of the secular state." Then the bishop took the shears and began to clip his head, saying in this manner, \*' We cast you out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage to which you were called, and take away from your head the crown, which is the royal sign of priesthood, through your own wickedness and malice." The bishop also added these words: "That which you have sung with your mouth, you have not believed with your heart, nor accomplished in work. Therefore we take from you the office of singing in the church of God."

The degrading being thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court and city of Metz, required from the notary an instrument or copy of the degrading. Then the ministers of the bishop stripped him of his clerical habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, the bishop who degraded him proceeded no further, but said, "We pronounce that the secular court shall receive you into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerical honor and privilege."

Then the bishop, in a manner, entreated the secular judge for him, saying "My lord judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and from tender pity and mercy, and out of respect for our prayers, that you will not in any point do anything that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body." These things being thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, confirming the sentence, condemned Mr. John Castellane to be burned. This death he suffered on the twelfth of January 1525, with such a constancy that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the truth, but also a great number who already had some knowledge of it, were greatly confirmed by his constant and valiant death.

*John Diazius, a Spaniard, martyred, A.D. 1546.*

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John Diazius, a Spaniard, having been at Paris for thirteen years, returned from there to Geneva, then to Basel, and afterwards to Strasburg. From there he was sent as ambassador with Bucer and others, to the council at Ratisbon.<sup>28</sup> There, talking with Peter Malvenda, who was the factor (ambassador) of Pope Paul III, he stated his views of religion to him, so that Malvenda wrote about him to the friar who was the emperor's confessor. At the reading of these letters, Alphonso Diazius, brother to John Diazius and one of the pope's lawyers in Rome, learned the opinion of his brother John.

After the Council of Ratisbon, John Diazius was occupied in Germany in the printing of Bucer's book.<sup>29</sup> His brother Alphonso came from Rome to Ratisbon, where Malvenda was. He brought with him a notorious assassin belonging to the city of Rome. Alphonso then consulted with Malvenda about their devilish purpose. They labored to ascertain from friends of John Diazius where he was to be found. Alphonso and the assassin having knowledge by certain of John's secret friends, and pretending great matters of importance, came to Newburgh, where John Diazius was printing Bucer's book. They came to him, and after a long debate on religion between the two brothers, Alphonso saw the heart of his brother John, planted so constantly on the sure rock of God's truth, that he could not be moved from his opinion, nor persuaded to ride in his company (John having been so advised by Bucer and his friends). He pretended to take his leave of his brother in a friendly spirit, and departed. But shortly afterwards, he returned secretly with his assassin, and on the way they purchased a hatchet.

Alphonso sent his man in disguise with letters to his brother, and followed afterwards. As John Diazius was rising out of his bed in the morning to read the letters, the assassin took the hatchet and cleaved John's head, leaving the hatchet embedded there. He and Alphonso took to their horses, which stood outside the city gate, with as much speed as they could. The people of Newburgh hearing of the horrible act, sent horsemen after them. Coming to Augsburg, and hearing that the murderers had passed through, they gave up the pursuit and returned. One in the company, however, was more zealous than the rest. He would not return, but pursued them still. And in the city of Oenipont, he caused them to be arrested and put into prison. Otto, the elector Palatine, hearing of their arrest, wrote to the magistrates of Oenipont for judgment. But through the intrigues of the papists, and the crafty lawyers, the judicial sentence was so delayed from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the emperor's letters came at last, requiring the matter to be reserved to his hearing. Thus the terrible murder by this latter day Cain and his fellow, was bolstered by the papists. Its like, from the memory of man, was never heard of since the first example of Cain, who slew his own brother Abel. But even if true judgment in this world is perverted, yet such bloody Cains, with their willful murder, shall not escape the hands of Him who shall judge truly both the committers, and the bolsters of all mischievous wickedness.

In 1546, emperor Charles V held an armed council at Augsburg, after his victory in Germany. There some endeavored to make concord between the gospel of Christ, and the traditions of the pope; that is, to make a medley of them both, and so they framed a new

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<sup>28</sup> The Council of Ratisbon (also known as the Diet or Colloquy of Regensburg), was held in Bavaria in 1541. Through theological debate, they hoped to restore unity between the Protestants and Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire. The subject of debate was the Augsburg Confession. The Council failed in this purpose.

<sup>29</sup> Martin Bucer (1491-1551): a Dominican Monk converted to Protestantism in 1518 through Luther's teachings. He was a leader in the Reformation in Strasbourg, France, and mediated the dispute between Luther and Zwingli over the nature of the Lord's Supper. In 1549 he moved to England at the request of Thomas Cranmer, and for safety, to aid the Reformation there. He helped Cranmer to write the Book of Common Prayer, and even influenced John Calvin. The book referred to here may have been Bucer's treatise on the Book of Common Prayer, titled *Censura*.

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form of religion, called the *Interim*. Upon this began a new form of persecution in Germany. For the emperor proceeded strictly against those who would not receive the Interim, intending to overcome the reformers, but the Lord disappointed his purpose.

Among those who withstood this Interim, besides others, were the citizens of Constance. For which three thousand Spaniards came by night against the town of Constance, where they killed three of the watchmen who were in the suburbs, and had gone to ascertain what the noise was that they heard in the woods. The Spaniards intended that when the citizens were at the sermon in the morning, they would suddenly set upon the city and take it. But as the Lord would have it, some began to suspect this in the night, and the citizens were in readiness. When the morning came, the Spaniards were at the gate to break into the city. But being driven from there, and their captain Alphonso slain, the Spaniards went to the bridge over the Rhine. But also being beaten from there, with a great number of them drowned in the river, the Spaniards broke down the bridge to prevent pursuit.

[449] A.D. 1546.

At the same time, many godly ministers of the churches in Germany, were in great danger, especially those who refused to receive the Interim. Some of them were cast into prison. Among their number was Martin Frectius, with four other preachers; also his brother George, who had come to his house to comfort him. Musculus at the same time, with other preachers, left from Augsburg, Brentius from Halle, Blaurerus from Constance, and Bucer from Strasburg.

It would fill another volume, to include the acts and histories of all who in other countries suffered for the gospel. But praised be the Lord, almost every region has its own historian who has sufficiently discharged that duty, so that I will less need to overcharge this volume. It will suffice to collect three or four histories recorded by Oecolampadius and others, in a brief table, and then I will return to occupy myself with our own matters at home.

*Wolfgang Schuch, a German in Lotharing, Martyr.*

Wolfgang Schuch, coming to St. Hyppolite, a town in Lotharing, and being received as their pastor, labored to extirpate idolatry and superstition out of the hearts of the people. Through the grace of Christ working with him, in a short time he brought this to pass; so that the observance of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination of the mass, were utterly abolished. It was not long before rumor of this came to duke Anthony, prince of Lorraine (under whose dominion they were), through the report of the adversaries. They misrepresented these people; as though in relinquishing the doctrine and faction of the pope, they went about to reject and shake off the authority of princes and all governors. By means of this sinister report they so incensed the prince, that he threatened to destroy the town with sword and fire. Wolfgang being informed of this, wrote to the duke's uncle, in a most humble and obedient way, in defense both of his ministry, his doctrine, and the whole cause of the Gospel.

In his epistle he excused the people, and said that those slanderous reporters were more worthy to be punished for their false rumors and forged slanders. He also opened and explained the cause of the Gospel, and of our salvation, as consisting only in the free grace of God, through faith in Christ his Son. He also compared the same doctrine of the gospel, with the doctrine of the church of Rome.

That done, he touched upon our obedience, honor, and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, and next under him to the princes, whom God has raised up and endued with

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authority, and to whom they offered themselves now, and at all times, most ready with all service and duty, etc.

But Wolfgang availed nothing with this epistle. So, when he saw no other remedy, rather than have the town come into any danger on his account, the good man, of his own accord, rendered a confession of his doctrine, and delivered the town from danger, by taking all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he came to Nantz, hands were laid on him, and he was cast into a stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled. In that prison he continued for a whole year. Yet he would not be moved from his constancy, nor with the straitness of the prison, nor with the harshness of his keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his wife and children (of which he had about six or seven). Then was he removed to the house of the Gray Friars, where he learnedly confuted all who stood against him.

There was a friar named Bonaventure, provincial of that order, whose person was monstrously overgrown, but much more gross in blind ignorance. He was a man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honesty. Long being confessor to the duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, just as he was an enemy to virtue and learning, so was he ever persuading the duke to banish all learned men out of the court and country. The sum of all his divinity was this: that it was sufficient to salvation only to know the Pater Noster (Our Father), and Ave Maria (Hail, Mary)! And thus the duke was brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the duke himself oftentimes confessed. This Bonaventure being judge where Wolfgang disputed, or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth but “You heretic, Judas, Beelzebub, etc.” Wolfgang bearing patiently those injuries which referred to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting or rather confounding his adversaries. Being otherwise unable to make their party good, they took his bible, with his notes in the margin, into their monastery, and burned it! At the last disputation, duke Anthony himself was present, altering his apparel, so that he might not be known. Although he did not understand Wolfgang, who spoke in Latin, he perceived him to be bold and constant in his doctrine. He sentenced Wolfgang to be burned, because he denied the church and sacrifice of the mass. Wolfgang hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing Psalm 122.<sup>30</sup>

As he was led to the place of execution, and passed by the house of the Gray Friars, Bonaventure, who was sitting at the door, cried out to him, “You heretic, do your reverence here to God, and to our lady, and to his holy saints,” showing to him the idols standing at the Friars’ gate. Wolfgang answered, “You hypocrite, you painted wall! The Lord shall destroy you, and bring all your false dissimulation to light.” When they had come to the place of his martyrdom, first his books were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him whether he would have his pain diminished and shortened? He said, “No,” bidding them to do their will, “For,” he said, “as God has been with me up to now, so I trust now that He will not leave me when I have most need of him.” He concluded his words saying that they should put the sentence in execution. And so, beginning to sing the 51st psalm,<sup>31</sup> he entered into the place, heaped up with faggots and wood, continuing to sing his psalm, till the smoke and flame took from him both his voice and life.

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<sup>30</sup> Psa 122, “I was glad when they said to me, ‘Let us go into the house of the LORD,’” etc.

<sup>31</sup> Psa 51, “Have mercy upon me, O God, According to Your lovingkindness,” etc.

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The singular virtue, constancy, and learning of this blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good men, so it astonished the minds of his adversaries, and wrought to their confusion.

*John Huglein, Martyr.*

John Huglein, a priest, was burned at Merspurg, (A.D. 1526), by the bishop of Constance, because he did not hold the bishop of Rome's doctrine in all points.

*George Carpenter, Martyr.*

On the 8th of February (A.D. 1527), George Carpenter of Emering, was burned in Munchen, in Bavaria. When he came before the council, his offenses were read, contained in four articles:

- First, That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.
- Secondly, That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.
- Thirdly, That he did not believe that God was in the bread, which the priest hangs over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.
- Fourthly, That he did not believe that the very element of the water itself in baptism gives grace.

These four articles he refused to recant. Then a certain schoolmaster came to him, saying, "My friend George, don't you fear the death and punishment which you must suffer? If you were let go, would you return to your wife and children?" He answered, "If I were at liberty, where would I rather go, than to my wife and beloved children?" Then the schoolmaster said, "Revoke your former opinion, and you will be set at liberty." George answered, "My wife and my children are so dearly loved by me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria. But for the love of the Lord God I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spoke to him again, saying, "Good George, believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign." He answered, "I believe this sacrament to be a sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us."

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Then the schoolmaster said, "What do you mean, that you so little esteem baptism, knowing that Christ allowed himself to be baptized in Jordan?" He answered, and showed the true use of baptism, and the reason why Christ was baptized in Jordan, and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross. "The same Christ," he said, "I will confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Savior, and in him I believe."

After this, one Master Conrade Scheter came, the vicar of the Cathedral church, saying, "George, if you will not believe the sacrament, yet put all your trust in God, and say, 'I trust my cause to be good and true; but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent.'" George Carpenter answered, "God, allow me not to err, I beseech you." Then Master Conrade began the Lord's prayer: — "Our Father who art in heaven." When Carpenter answered, "Truly you are our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with you." Then Master Conrade went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be thy name." Carpenter answered, "O, my God, how little is your name hallowed in this world!" Then Conrade said, "Thy kingdom come." Carpenter answered, "Let your kingdom come this day to me, that I also may come to your kingdom." Then Conrade said, "Your will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Carpenter answered, "For this cause, O Father I am now here, that your will might be fulfilled, and not mine." Then Conrade said, "Give us this day our daily bread." Carpenter answered, "The

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only living bread, Jesus Christ, shall be my food." Then Conrade said, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us." Carpenter answered, "With a willing mind I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries." Then Master Conrade said, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Carpenter answered, "O, my Lord! without doubt you shall deliver me, for upon you only have I laid all my hope." Then he began to recite the creed, saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Carpenter answered, "O, my God! In you alone I trust; in you alone is all my confidence, and upon no other creature." In this manner he answered to every word. His answers, if they were described at length, would be too long.

The schoolmaster said, "Do you believe so truly and constantly in your Lord and God with your heart, as you cheerfully seem to confess him with your mouth?" He answered, "It would be a very hard matter for me, who am ready to suffer death here, if I did not believe with my heart, that which I openly profess with my mouth; for I knew before that I must suffer persecution if I would cling to Christ, who says, 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.'" Then Master Conrade said to him, "Do you think it necessary after your death, that any man should pray for you, or say mass for you?" He answered, "So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian faith; but when the soul is separate from the body, then I have no more need of your prayers." Then certain Christian brethren desired that, as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token of what his faith was. He answered, "This shall be my sign and token, that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus."

Behold what an incredible constancy was in this godly man. His face and countenance never changed color, but he went cheerfully to the fire. "In the midst of the town this day," he said, "I will confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, and after the executioner had put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, "Let it be so, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." When they thrust him into the fire, he cried out with a loud voice, "Jesus! Jesus!" Then the executioner turned him over, and again he cried, "Jesus! Jesus!" and joyfully yielded up his spirit.

### *Leonard Keyser.*

Here also is not to be passed over the wonderful constancy of Mr. Leonard Keyser, of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. This man, being at his study in Wittenberg, was sent for by his brethren, who certified to him that if he ever wished to see his father alive, he should come with speed, which he did. He had scarcely arrived when, by the command of the bishop of Passaw, he was taken. The articles upon which he was accused, and for which he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

- That faith alone justifies.
- That works are the fruits of faith.
- That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.
- He rejected confession, satisfaction, vows of chastity, purgatory, and difference of days
- He affirmed only two sacraments, and
- He denied the invocation of saints.

Sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular power. The good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short gown with a black cap set on his head, all cut and jagged, was delivered to the officer. As he was led out of the town to the place where he was to suffer, he



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boldly spoke, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, “O Lord Jesus, remain with me, sustain, and help me, and give me force and power.”

Then the wood was made ready, and he began to cry out with a loud voice, “O Jesus, I am yours, have mercy upon me, and save me;” and then he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head. But because the fire was not great enough, the executioner plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook from under the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire. This was August 16, A.D. 1526.

### *Wendelmuta, Martyr.*

In Holland also, in the year 1527, a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmuta was martyred and burned. This widow receiving to her heart the brightness of God’s grace, by the appearing of the gospel, was apprehended and committed to the castle of Werden, and shortly after was brought to appear at the general sessions of that country. Several monks were appointed to talk with her, that they might convince her, and win her to recant; but constantly persisting in the truth, she would not be moved. Also many of her kindred were allowed to persuade with her. Among them there was a noble matron, who loved and dearly favored the widow in prison. This matron coming, and communing with her, said, “My Wendelmuta, why do you not keep silence, and secretly think these things in your heart which you believe, so that you may prolong here your days and life?” She answered, “Ah, you know not what you say. It is written, ‘With the heart man believes unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.’” (Rom 10.10). And thus remaining firm and steadfast in her belief and confession, the twentieth of November she was condemned by sentence as a heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated. She took the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

After she came to the place where she was to be executed, a monk had brought out a cross, desiring her to kiss it and worship her God. “I worship,” she said, “no wooden god, but only that God who is in heaven.” And so with a joyful countenance she went to the stake. Then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, and with an ardent prayer commending herself to the hands of God. “When the time came that she should be strangled, she modestly closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one who would take a sleep. The fire was then put to the wood, and being strangled, she was burned to ashes, instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven (A.D. 1527).

### *Peter Flistedin, and Adolphus Clarebach.*

In the number of these German martyrs, are also Peter Flistedin and Adolphus Clarebach, two men of singular learning, and knowledge of God’s holy word.

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In the year 1529, because they dissented from the papists in diverse points, and especially on the supper of the Lord, and the pope’s other traditions and ceremonies, after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half by the command of the archbishop and senate, they were put to death and burned in Cologne. It was not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians. All the fault was put upon certain divines, who at that time preached that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons would pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany with a strange disease. For at that season, the sweating sickness mortally raged throughout Germany.

***Martyrs Since Luther’s Time, by Country – 1521-1555.***

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A list of the names and causes of the martyrs since Luther's time, who gave their lives for the testimony of the gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other foreign countries. <sup>32</sup>

### **Germany.**

#### THE GERMAN MARTYRS.

##### *One Nicholas of Antwerp.*

The curate of Melza, near Antwerp, used to preach to a great number of people outside that town. The emperor hearing of it, gave leave to take the uppermost garment from all who came to hear, and offered thirty guilders to whoever would take the priest. Afterwards, when the people were gathered, and the curate not there, Nicholas stepped up in his place and preached. Being apprehended, he was put in a sack and drowned at Antwerp, 1521.

##### *Joan Pistorius, a learned man of Holland.*

Pistorius was a priest; and then he married. After that, he preached against the mass and pardons, and against the subtle abuses of priests. He was committed to prison with ten malefactors whom he comforted; and to one, being half naked and in danger of cold, he gave his gown. His father visiting him in prison, did not dissuade him, but told him to be constant. At last Pistorius was condemned, and degraded, having a fool's coat put on him. His fellow-prisoners at his death sung, "We praise you," etc. Coming to the stake, he was first strangled, and then burned, saying at his death, "O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory?" (1Cor 15:55)

##### *Matthias Weibell, Schoolmaster.*

For saying something against the abbot's first mass, and against carrying about relics, he was hanged in Swabia.

##### *A certain godly Priest.*

This priest being commanded to come and give good advice to sixteen countrymen who were about to be beheaded, was afterwards bid himself to kneel down to have his head cut off. No further cause or condemnation was laid against him; it was only from mere hatred against the gospel.

##### *George Scherter.*

After this, George Scherter had instructed the people in Rastadt in the knowledge of the gospel. He was accused and put in prison, where he wrote a confession of his faith. He was condemned to be burned alive; but means were made that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards cast into the fire.

##### *Henry Fleming, A.D. 1535.*

This Henry, a friar from Flanders, forsook his habit, and married a wife. Being offered life if he would confess his wife to be a harlot, he refused to do so, and was burnt at Tournay.

##### *Twenty -eight Christian Men and Women of Louvaine; Paul a Priest; two aged Women, at Antonia. Two Men at Louvaine. A.D. 1543.*

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<sup>32</sup> This catalogue of martyrs is Foxe's memoriam to them, each distinctly honored for their sacrifice. The gruesome details help us count the cost they gladly paid for remaining faithful to Christ, and to the truth of God. (1Cor 11.1)

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When some of the city of Louvaine were suspected of Lutheranism, the emperor's procurator came from Brussels to make inquisition. After inquisition, bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night. Many were taken in their beds, plucked from their wives and children, and divided into different prisons. Through such terror, many citizens returned again to idolatry. But there were twenty-eight who remained constant in that persecution. The doctors of Louvaine, especially the inquisitor, came and disputed with them, thinking either to confound them, or to convert them. But the Spirit of the Lord wrought so strongly with his saints, that these doctors went away rather confounded themselves.

Among these prisoners was one Paul, a priest, about sixty years of age. The rectors, with their colleagues, brought him out of prison to the Austin friars, where he was degraded. But at length, for fear of death, he began to stagger in his confession. And so he was condemned to perpetual prison, in a dark and stinking dungeon. There he was not allowed either to read or write, nor to have any man come to him, and was fed only with bread and water. There were two others who were put to the fire and burnt.

Then an old man and two aged women were condemned, the man to be beheaded, the two women to be buried alive, which death they suffered very cheerfully. Other prisoners who were not condemned to death, were deprived of their goods, and commanded to come to the church in a white sheet, and there kneeling with a taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness. Those who refused to do so, and to abjure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire.

### *Master Perseral at Louvaine, A.D. 1544,*

Not long after this, one Master Perseval of the university of Louvaine, was thrown into prison for condemning certain popish superstitions, and speaking in commendation of the gospel. Then being accused of Lutheranism, he was adjudged to perpetual prison, there to be fed only with bread and water. He took this punishment patiently for Christ's sake. But what became of him no man could learn or understand. Some think that he was starved to death, or that he was secretly drowned.

### *Justus Jushurg, at Brussels, A.D. 1544.*

Justus Jusburg, a skinner of Louvaine, being suspected of Lutheranism, was found to have the New Testament in his house, and certain sermons of Luther, for which he was committed. There were at the same time in the prison, Egidius, and Francis Encenas, a Spaniard, who secretly came to him, and confirmed him in the cause of righteousness. Thus is the providence of the Lord, never wanting to his saints in time of necessity. Shortly after the doctors and masters of Louvaine came to examine him regarding the pope's supremacy, sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, and the sacrament. When he had answered plainly and boldly according to the Scriptures, he was condemned to the fire. But through intercession made to the queen, his burning was pardoned, and he was only beheaded.

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### *Giles Tilleman, at Brussels, A.D. 1544.*

This Giles was born in Brussels, of honest parents. He began to receive the light of the gospel through reading the holy Scriptures, and he increased in this exceedingly. As he was fervent in zeal, so he was humane, mild, and merciful. Whatever he had, which necessity could spare, he gave away to the poor, and only lived by his trade. Some he refreshed with his food; some with clothing; to some he gave his shoes; some he helped with household stuff; to others he ministered wholesome exhortation of good doctrine. One poor woman

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was brought to bed, and had no bed to lie upon; whereupon he brought his own bed to her, and contented himself to lie upon straw.

Egidius, being detected by a priest, was taken at Louvaine for that religion which the pope calls heresy. After having being detained eight months in prison, he was sent to Brussels to be judged, where he comforted some who were in prison, and exhorted them to the constancy of the truth and to the crown which was prepared for them.

Certain of the Gray friars were sometimes sent to him, but he would always desire them to depart from him. And when the friars at any time called him names, he held his peace at such personal injuries, that those blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb devil in him. But when they talked of religion, there he did not spare, but answered them fully by evidences of the Scripture, so that many times they would depart wondering. At various times he might have escaped from prison, the doors having been set open, but he would not bring his keeper into peril.

He was condemned to the fire, privately, contrary to the use of the country. For they dared not openly condemn him for fear of the people, he was so well beloved. When tidings of the sentence came to him, he gave hearty thanks to God, that the hour had come when he might glorify the Lord.

Standing at the stake, the blessed martyr lifted up his eyes to heaven in the middle of the flames, and died, to the great lamentation of all. So that after that time, when the friars would go about asking for their alms, the people would say, "It was not fitting for them to receive alms with bloody hands."

### *Persecution at Ghent and Brussels, A.D. 1543, 1544.*

When the Emperor Charles was in Ghent, the friars and doctors obtained from him, that the edict made against the Lutherans might be read openly twice a-year. This being done, great persecution followed. So that there was no city or town in all Flanders, where some were not banished, beheaded, condemned to perpetual prison, or had their goods confiscated. Nor was there any respect of age or sex.

Afterwards, when the emperor came to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people in Brabant, Heunegow, and Artoise. The horror and cruelty of it is almost incredible; so that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the country into the city. Some of them were drowned, some buried alive, some privately made away with, others sent to perpetual prison.

### *Martin Haurblock, Fishmonger at Ghent, A.D. 1545.*

This Martin, through a sermon of his parish priest, beginning to taste some workings of grace and repentance, went out of Ghent for three months, seeking the company of godly Christians who used the reading of the Scriptures. Being more instructed, he returned to the city of Ghent, where all his neighbors first began to marvel at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans who knew him before, now seeing him so altered from their ways and superstition, and seeing him visit the captives in prison to comfort them in persecution, and to confirm them in the word of God, they conspired against him, and seized and imprisoned him. The friars examined him in the sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, seeing (they said) if it is, as you say, but a naked sacrament? He answered that the *elements* were naked, but the *sacrament* was not naked, as the elements of bread and wine being received after the institution of Christ, now make a sacrament and a mystical representation of the Lord's body, communicating himself with our souls. And as to

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receiving it in both kinds, because it is the institution of the Lord, “Who is he” (said Martin) that dares alter the same?” Then he was brought before the Council of Flanders. The causes laid against him were the sacrament, purgatory, and praying for the dead. And for these he was condemned and burned at Ghent, and all his goods confiscated. As he stood at the stake, a Franciscan friar said to him, “Martin, unless you turn, you will go from this fire to everlasting fire.” “It is not in you to judge,” said Martin. For this, the friars were afterwards so hated, that many rhymes were written against them.

*Nicholas Vanpoule, John de Buck and his wife,  
at Ghent, A.D. 1545.*

The day after the burning of Martin, which was the ninth of May, these three also were burned for the same cause for which the other was condemned and burned the day before; except that the woman was buried alive. All of them took their martyrdom with much cheerfulness.

*Ursula and Maria, at Delden, A.D. 1545.*

Delden is a town in Lower Germany, three miles from Daventry, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned. After diligently frequenting churches and sermons, and being instructed in the word of the Lord, they believed that because the benefit of salvation comes only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he sells to the people for money, was needless. Mary, being the younger, was put first into the fire; there she prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soul to God. The judges greatly marvelled at her constancy.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, that at least she would request to be beheaded. She said that she was guilty of no error, nor defended anything but what was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere to the end. As to the kind of punishment, she said that she did not fear the fire, but rather would follow the example of her dear sister who went before.

*Andrew Thiessen, Katharine his wife, Nicholas Thiessen,  
Francis Thiessen, brethren, at Mechlin, A.D. 1545.*

Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechlin, had three sons and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the gospel, and despised the doings of popery. Being hated and persecuted by the friars and priest there, he went to England and there he died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study. Returning to their mother, sister, and younger brother, they brought them to the right knowledge of God’s gospel by diligent instruction. The parson there, taking counsel with William de Clerk, the head magistrate of the town of Mechlin, and others, agreed that the mother with her four children should be sent to prison. There great labor was employed to reclaim them to their church. The two younger ones, not yet being settled either in years or doctrine, inclined to them, and were “delivered.” The mother, who would not consent, was condemned to perpetual prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their confession, defended that the catholic church was not the church of Rome; that the sacrament was to be ministered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; and that there was no purgatory. They called the friars hypocrites, and contemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, tried torments, to learn from them who was their master, and what companions they had. “Their master,” they said, “was Christ who bore his cross before. Of friends they had innumerable, dispersed in all places.”

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At last they were brought to the judges. Their articles were read, and they were condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags were thrust into their mouths, which through vehemency in speaking they spit out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so singing with a loud voice, "I believe in one God, etc. they were fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors and exhorting one another to bear the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame come to his beard said, "Ah, what a small pain this is, compared to the glory to come!" Thus the patient martyrs committed their spirit to the hands of God.

*Marion, Wife of Adrian Taylor, Tournay, A.D. 1545.*

In the same persecution, one Adrian and Marion his wife were also apprehended. The cause of their trouble, and also of the others, was the emperor's decree made in the Council of Worms against the Lutherans. Adrian, not being so strong a man, drew back from the truth, and was only beheaded. But his wife being stronger than a woman, withstood their threats, and therefore was enclosed in an iron grate, laid in the earth and buried alive, according to the usual punishment of that country for women.

*Master Peter Bruley, Preacher, A.D. 1545.*

Master Peter Bruley was preacher in the French church at Strasburg. At the earnest request of faithful brethren he came down to visit the lower countries about Artois and Tournay in Flanders. There he most diligently preached the word of God to the people in houses, the doors standing open.

When the magistrates of Tournay had shut the gates of the town, and had searched for him three days, he was secretly let down the wall in a basket during the night. As he was let down to the ditch ready to make his way, one of those who let him down, leaning over the wall to bid him farewell, unawares caused a stone to slip out of the wall, which fell upon him breaking his leg. Complaining of his wound, he was heard by the watchmen. And so he was taken, giving thanks to God, by whose Providence he was kept there to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in prison, he did not cease to fulfill the part of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming all that came to him in the word of grace. Being in prison, he wrote his own confession and examination, and sent it to the brethren. He remained in prison four months. His sentence was given by the emperor's commissioners at Brussels: that he should be burned to ashes, and his ashes thrown into the river. He cheerfully and constantly took his martyrdom, and suffered it.

*Peter Miocius, Bergiban, Tournay, A.D. 1545.*

The coming of Master Peter Bruley into the country of Flanders, did much good among the brethren. There, Peter Miocius, before he was called to the gospel, had led a wicked life. But after the gospel began to work in him, it altered his character so much, that he excelled all other men in godly zeal and virtue. In his first examination, he was asked, "Whether he was one of the scholars of Peter Bruley?" He said he was, and that he had received much fruit by his doctrine. "Would you then defend his doctrine?" they asked. "Yes," he said "for it is consonant both to the Old Testament and to the New." And for this he was let down into a deep dungeon under the castle-ditch, full of toads and filthy vermin. Shortly afterwards, the senate, with certain friars, came to examine him, to see whether they could convert him. He answered them, "That when he had lived such an ungodly life, they never spoke a word against him. But now, for favoring the word of God, they sought his blood."

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There was also one Bergiban in the prison at the same time. He had been an active man in the gospel, before the coming of Bruley. But the commissioners having threatened him with cruel torments, and horror of death, he began little by little to waver and shrink from the truth at the fair words of the false friars and priests, who promised to have his punishment changed to being beheaded. At this, he was glad to grant their requests. Upon which the adversaries taking their advantage, came to Miocius. They told him of Bergiban's retraction, wishing him to do the same. But he stoutly persisted in the truth, and endured to the fire. There, having powder put to his breast, he was dispatched. The friars, hearing the crack of the powder upon his breast, told the people that the devil came out of him and carried away his soul!

### *A Priest of Germany.*

John Gastius writes of a certain prince, but does not name him, who put out the eyes of a priest in Germany for no other reason than that he said the mass was no sacrifice, in the sense in which many priests take it. Nor did the cruel prince immediately put him to death; he first kept him in prison for a long time, afflicting him with torments. Then he was brought out to be degraded in a barbarous manner. They shaved the crown of his head, then rubbed it hard with salt, so that the blood came running down his shoulders. After that, they raised and paired the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, so that no savor of the holy oil might remain. Four days later, the patient and godly martyr yielded up his life and spirit.

### *A godly Priest in Hungary.*

In Hungary, a godly priest preached that eating flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture. For this, the cruel bishop, after he had imprisoned the priest some weeks, caused him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with hares, geese, and hens hanging round about him. And so the beastly bishop had dogs set upon the priest, which cruelly rent and tore whatever they could catch. Thus the good minister of Christ, being driven about the city with the barking of dogs, died, and was martyred. But a few days later, the impious bishop, by the stroke of God's just hand, fell sick and became mad. And so, raving without sense or wit, he died miserably.

### *Master Nicholas Finchman.*

*Marion, Wife of Augustine, A.D. 1549.*

Master Nicholas, and Barbara his wife; also Augustine, a barber, and Marion his wife, after they had been at Geneva, came into Germany to pass over into England. Coming to Hainault, Augustine desired Master Nicholas to come to Bruges to visit and comfort certain brethren there; which he willingly did. From there they continued their journey toward England. But on the way, Augustine and his wife, being known, were detected. Augustine escaped out of their hands that time, and could not be found. The soldiers then laying hands on Nicholas and the two women, brought them back to Tournay. In returning, by the way, when Master Nicholas gave thanks at the table (as the manner is of the faithful) the wicked officer scorned them, and swearing like a tyrant he said, "Now let us see, you lewd heretic, whether your God can deliver you out of my hand." Nicholas replying modestly, asked, "How had Christ ever offended him, that with his blasphemous swearing he so tore him to pieces? If he had anything to say against Christ, he would rather have him wreak his anger upon his poor body, and let the Lord alone." After this, the soldiers bound their hands and feet, and laid them in the dungeon.

Shortly after, Nicholas was brought before the judges, and condemned to be burned to ashes. Upon this sentence Nicholas blessed the Lord, who had counted him worthy to be a

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witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. And then patiently taking his death, he commended his spirit to God in the midst of the fire.

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*Marion, Wife of Augustine. A.D. 1549.*

After the martyrdom of this Master Nicholas, Marion the wife of Augustine was called for. With her they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated the Lord's supper there? She answered that the sacraments there were celebrated according to the Lord's institution, of which she was no celebrater, but a partaker. Her sentence of condemnation was that she would be interred alive. When she was led down to the grave, kneeling, she desired the Lord to help her. Before being thrown down, she desired to have her face covered with a napkin or some linen cloth. Being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the executioner stamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was past.

*Augustine the Husband of Marion, A.D. 1549.*

We heard before how Augustine escaped at the taking of Nicholas and the two women. But having returned to the town of Beaumont in Hainault, he was known and detected to the magistrate. Being taken, he was examined, and valiantly standing to the defense of his doctrine, he answered his adversaries with great boldness.

Among others who came to him was the warden of the Gray friars, who persuaded him to relent, or he would be damned in hell-fire perpetually. Augustine answering said, "Prove what you said by the authority of God's word, that a man may believe you. You say much, but you prove nothing, like a doctor of lies rather than of truth," etc. At last, being condemned to be burnt, he was brought to the inn where he was to take a horse. There was a certain gentleman, a stranger. Drinking to him in a cup of wine, he desired Augustine to have pity on himself; that if he would not favor his life, he would yet favor his own soul. Augustine said, after he had thanked him for his good will, "What care I have of my soul, you may see by this, that I would rather give my body to be burned, than to do that which is against my conscience." When the day of his martyrdom came, the people being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at a horse's tail in place of burning. But the Lord would not allow that. In brief, being tied to the stake, and fire set to him, he prayed to the Lord, and so he patiently departed in the fire.

*A certain Woman at Augsburg, A.D. 1550.*

At Augsburg a woman dwelling there, seeing a priest carry the host to a sick person with taper-light, as the manner is, asked him what he meant by going with candle-light at noon-day. For this she was apprehended and in great danger, had it not been for the earnest suit and prayers of the women of that city, and at the intercession of Mary, the emperor's sister.

*Two Virgins in the Diocese of Bamberge. A.D. 1551.*

In the diocese of Bamberge, two virgins were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and cheerful countenances. They had garlands of straw put on their heads on going to their martyrdom. One comforting the other said, "Seeing Christ bore a crown of thorns for us, why should we hesitate to bear a crown of straw? No doubt the Lord will render us better than crowns of gold." Some said that they were anabaptists. And it might be, said Melancthon, that they had some fond opinion. Yet they held, he says, the foundation of the articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in a good conscience, and in



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knowledge of the Son of God. Few live without errors. Do not flatter yourselves, thinking yourselves so clear that you cannot err.

*Hostius, otherwise called George, at Ghent, A.D. 1555.*

This Hostius had been in the French church in England, during the reign of King Edward. After the coming of Queen Mary, he went to Friesland with his wife and children. From there he came to Ghent, where he heard that there was a Black friar who used to preach good doctrine. Desiring to hear him, he came to his sermon. The friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defense of transubstantiation, at which Hostius' heart was so full that he could scarcely refrain from speaking until the sermon was finished. As soon as the friar had come down from the pulpit, Hostius burst out and charged him with false doctrine, persuading the people by the Scriptures, as well as he could be heard, that the bread was but a sacrament of the Lord's body. He had not gone far, when Hesselius the chamberlain overtook him, and carried him to prison. Then doctors and friars were brought to reason with him about the sacrament, the invocation of saints, and purgatory. He ever stood to the trial by the Scripture alone, which they refused. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the people. The officer made great haste to have him dispatched. Therefore, mildly like a lamb, praying for his enemies, he gave himself to be bound. First they strangled him, and then consumed his body with fire.

*Bertrand de Bias, at Tournay, A.D. 1555.*

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyranny shown to him horrible, the constancy of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk weaver, went to Wesell for the cause of religion. Being desirous to draw his wife and children from Tournay to Wesell, he came three times to persuade her to go with him. When she could not be entreated, he remained a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and brother to pray that God would establish him in the enterprise which he went about. He went on Christmas day to the high church of Tournay, where he took the cake out of the priest's hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at mass, and stamped it under his feet, saying that he did it to show the glory of that god, and what little power he had. With other words he spoke to the people to persuade them that the cake or fragment of bread was not Jesus their Savior.

At the sight of this, the people all stood amazed. At length such a stir followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life. The noise of this was soon carried to the bailiff of Hainault, and governor of the castle of Tournay, who lay sick of the gout at Biesie. Like a madman he cried out that God would ever be so patient as to allow that revilement to be trodden underfoot. He added that he would revenge his cause, so that it would be an example forever to all posterity; and immediately the furious tyrant commanded to be carried to the castle of Tournay. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his act, or whether he would so do if it were to be done again? He answered that if it were to be done a hundred times, he would do it; and if he had a hundred lives, he would give them all in that quarrel. He was then tormented three times, most miserably. They then proceeded to the sentence, more like tyrants than Christian men. By the tenor of the sentence, this was his punishment:

First, he was dragged from the castle of Tournay to the marketplace, having a ball of iron put into his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage, where his right hand, with which he took the host, was crushed and pressed between two hot irons, with sharp iron cages, fiery red, till the form and fashion of his hand was misshapen. In like manner they brought irons for

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his right foot, made fire-hot, which he put to his foot of his own accord, to suffer as his hand had done, with wonderful constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue. Notwithstanding, with continual crying out, he did not cease to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moved. Upon this, the tormentors thrust the iron ball back into his mouth. Then his legs and his arms were bound behind him with an iron chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire. The aforesaid governor standing by and looking on, caused him to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the river. When this was done, the chapel where this mass-god was so treated was locked up, and the board upon which the priest stood was burnt, and the marble stone upon which the host fell was broken in pieces.

In the same year, 1555, two hundred ministers and preachers of the gospel were banished from Bohemia for preaching against the superstition of the bishop of Rome, and for extolling the glory of Christ.

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*The Preachers of Locrane exiled.*

Locrane is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these had received the gospel, and the five cantons of the Helvetians were not well pleased, but would have them punished, and there was great contention among the Helvetians about it, it was concluded at length that the ministers should be exiled.

*Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, at Tournay, A.D. 1562.*

After these two good men had been conversant in the reformed churches in other countries, at last, for conscience sake, they returned home to do good in their own country of Tournay.

So the people there resorted to a field or wood outside the city, with a preacher, to hear the word of God, and to pray. The adversaries so pursued them, that they took over thirty, of whom these two among the rest were apprehended. Thinking no less than that they would be burned, they began to sing psalms. At length being brought forward, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the judges had intended to quarter their bodies, and to set them up by the highways, was it so provided by God, working in the hearts of the people, that they were both committed to graves.

*Gillotus Virer, James Faber his father-in-law, Michael Faber, son of James, Anna, wife of Gillotus, and daughter of James Faber, suffered in the cause of the gospel at Valence.*

James Faber, being an old man, said that although he could not answer or fortify them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the gospel. Anna, his daughter, being with child, was respited; after she was delivered she followed her husband and father in like martyrdom.

*Michella Caignouele, at Valence, A.D. 1550.*

Michella. wife of James Clerk, who was before burned, had an offer of remarriage and to be carried out of the country to some reformed church, but she refused to do so. She would abide her calling, and so she was condemned with Gillotus to be burned.

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*Godfrid Hamelle, at Tournay, A.D. 1552.*

This Godfrid, a tailor, was taken and condemned at Tournay. When they had condemned him as a heretic, he said, "No, not a heretic, but an unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ." When the executioner went about to strangle him to diminish his punishment, he refused it, saying that he would abide the sentence that the judges had given.

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Besides these Germans, there were a great number both in the higher and lower countries of Germany, who were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise done away with in prison, whose names, though unknown to us, are yet registered in the Book of Life. In the Dutch book of Adrian, others are numbered in the catalogue of these German martyrs, who suffered in several places of the low country. The names of some are these: John Malo, Damian Witrocke, Waldrew Calier, John Porceau, Julian, Vanden Swerde, Adrian Lopphen, and Bawdwine. Specifically, at Bergen were burnt in the year 1553, John Malo, Damian Witrocke, and Waldrew Calier; buried alive, John Porceau. At Aste, Julian suffered, 1541, and Adrian Lopphen in 1535. At Brussels, Bawdwine was beheaded, 1559. Another called Gilleken Tilleman was burnt, 1551.

Add moreover to the catalogue of Dutch martyrs burnt in the Low Countries under the emperor's dominion, the following: William Swole burnt at Mechlin, 1529. Nicholas Van Pole, at Ghent, beheaded. Robert Ogvier, and Joan his wife, with Baudicon, and Martin Ogvier, their children, who suffered at Lisle, 1556. Master Nicholas burnt at Mons in Hainault: Lawrence of Brussels, at Mons; John Fasseau at Mons; Cornelius Volcart at Bruges, 1553. Hubert, the printer, and Philebert Joyner, at Bruges, 1552. A woman buried with thorns under her; Peter le Roux at Bruges, 1552. At Mechlin suffered Francis and Nicholas, two brethren, 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian, a painter, and Henry, a tailor, 1555. Also Cornelius Halewine, locksmith, and Herman Janson the same year. John du Camp, schoolmaster, 1537, with a number of others, who are to be seen and read in the book. In 1525, we read also in the French history, of a certain monk who, because he forsook his abominable order and was married, was burned at Prague.

*A Preacher poisoned at Erfurt.*

In the collections of Henry Patalion, we read also of a certain godly preacher who was poisoned by the priests of Erfurt, for preaching the word of truth,.

Ceasing ;here with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending in a like manner the names and causes of those in that kingdom who suffered for the word of God, and the cause of righteousness.

**France.**

THE FRENCH MARTYRS.

*James Pavane, Schoolmaster, at Paris, A.D. 1524.*

This James, being taken by the bishop of Meux, was compelled to recant. Afterward returning to his confession, he was burned at Paris in the year 1525.

*Dionysius (Denis) de Rieux, at Meux, A.D. 1528.*

This Denis was one of those who was burned for saying that the mass is a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. He was always prone to have in his mouth the words of Christ: "He that denies me before men, him I will also deny before my Father;" and to earnestly muse upon the same. He was burnt with a slow fire.

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*John de Cadurco, Bachelor of the Civil Law, A.D. 1533.*

This John, for making an exhortation to his countrymen on All Hallows day. After sitting at a feast where it was propounded that everyone should proclaim some sentence, he proclaimed this: "Christ reigns in our hearts." And because he proved it by the Scriptures, he was accused, taken, and degraded, and afterwards burned. At his degradation, one of the Black friars of Paris preached, taking for his text the words of St. Paul, 1Tim 4.1, "The Spirit speaks expressly that in the later times, men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," etc. And in handling that place, either he could not, or would not proceed further in the text. Cadurco cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The friar stood dumb and could not speak a word.

Then Cadurco, taking the text, continued it: "Teaching lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from foods which God has created to be received with thanksgiving," etc.

*Bartholomew Myler, a lame cripple; John Burges, merchant, the receiver of Nantz; Henry Hoille of Couberon; Catella, a schoolmistress; Stephen de la Forge, merchant, 1533.* These five here specified, for certain papers circulated abroad against the abomination of the mass, and other superstitious absurdities of the pope, were condemned and burned in the city of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and tied fast to one of his cheeks with an iron wire; he likewise with the others was burned.

*Alexander Canus, Priest, otherwise called  
Laurentius Cruceus, at Paris, A.D. 1533.*

For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christ's true religion, he was burned in Paris. Having but a small fire, he suffered much torment.

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*John Pointer, Surgeon, at Paris, A.D. 1533.*

This surgeon being detected and accused by the friars, was first condemned to be strangled, and then burned; but afterwards, because he would not do homage to a certain idol at the command of a friar who came to confess him, his sentence was changed to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned.

*Peter Gaudet, Knight of Rhodes, A.D. 1533.*

This Peter, being at Geneva with his wife, was put in prison for defense of the gospel; and after long torments, he was burned.

*Quoquillard, A.D. 1534.*

At Bezanfon, in Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's gospel.

*Nicholas, a scrivener; John de Poix; Stephen Burlet, 1534.* These three were executed and burned for the cause of the gospel, in the city of Arras.

*Mary Becaudella, at Fountaigne, A.D. 1534.*

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This Mary being virtuously instructed by her master where she lived; and being at a sermon afterwards where a friar preached, she found fault with his doctrine, and refuted it by the Scriptures. He procured her to be burned at Fountaigne.

*John Cornon, 1535.*

John Cornon was a husbandman of Mascon, and unlettered. But he was one to whom God gave such wisdom, that his judges were amazed when he was condemned by their sentence and burned.

*Martin Gonin, in Dauphine, A.D. 1536.*

This Martin being taken for a spy on the borders of France towards the Alps, was committed to prison. In going out, his jailor saw about him the letters of William Farel,<sup>33</sup> and of Peter Viret.<sup>34</sup> Therefore being examined by the king's procurator, and of the inquisitor regarding his faith, he was cast into the river and drowned.

*Claudius Painter, a Goldsmith, at Paris, A.D. 1540.*

Claudius going about converting his friends and kinsfolks in his doctrine, was committed and condemned to be burned. But the high parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added that he should have his tongue cut out beforehand, and so be burned.

*Stephen Brune, a Husbandman, at Rutiers, A.D. 1540.*

Stephen Brune after confessing his faith, was adjudged to be burned. This punishment he took so constantly, that it was a wonder to them. His adversaries commanded after his death, that none should mention him anymore, under pain of heresy.

*Constantius of Rouen, with three others, A.D. 1542.*

These four, for the defense of the gospel, were condemned to be burned and put in a cart. They said that they were reputed here as the offscouring of the world, yet their death was a sweet aroma unto God.

*John du Becke, Priest, A.D. 1543.*

For the doctrine of the gospel he was degraded, and constantly abode the torment of fire in the city of Troyes in Champagne.

*Aymond de Lauoy, at Bordeaux, A.D. 1543.*

Aymond preached the gospel at Saint Faith's in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish priest and by other priests, as having taught false doctrine. When the magistrates of Bordeaux had given command to apprehend him, his friends desired him to flee. But he would not, saying that he would rather never to have been born, than to do so. It was the office of a good shepherd, he said, not to flee in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered: or lest in so doing, he might leave some scruple in their minds, to think that he fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Therefore he told them that he did not fear to yield both body and soul for the truth which he had taught. He said, with St. Paul, that he "was ready, not only to be bound, but also to die for the Lord Jesus." <sup>Act 21.13</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> William Farel (1489-1565), Swiss reformer who convinced Calvin to take an active part in the Reformation.

<sup>34</sup> Peter Viret (1511-1571) Swiss reformer at Geneva, often called the "Forgotten Reformer."

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When the somner came to arrest him, the people rose in defense of their preacher, and flew upon the somner, to deliver him out of his hands. But Aymond desired them not to prevent his martyrdom, for as it was the will of God that he should suffer, he would not resist. So Aymond was carried to Bordeaux. Many witnesses, chiefly priests, came against him, with Mr. Riverack who had often said before, that if it cost him a thousand crowns, he would have Aymond burned. Aymond made many exceptions against the false witnesses, but they would not be accepted. The sum of their accusations was that Aymond denied purgatory.

He continued about nine months in prison, exceedingly bewailing his former life, though no man could charge him outwardly with any crime. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, he asked him to tell what fellows he had of his religion. Aymond answered that he had no other fellows, except those who knew and did the will of God his Father. In these torments he continued two or three hours, comforting himself with these words; "This body," he said, "must die once, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abides forever." During the time of his tormenting, he fainted. But afterwards, upon coming to himself again, he said, "O Lord, Lord, why have you forsaken me?" To whom the president said, "No, wicked Lutheran, you have forsaken God." Then Aymond said, "Alas, good masters, why do you miserably torment me thus? O Lord, I beseech you to forgive them; they know not what they do." So constant was he, that they could not force him to utter one man's name.

On the next Saturday, a sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession. He refused them, choosing some of his own order. The parish priest of St. Christopher's bid those friars to depart, for he would confess Aymond's sins to the Lord. "Do you not see," Aymond said to them, "how I am troubled enough with men? Will you yet trouble me more? Others have had my body; will you also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you." At last, when they refused to let him have the parish priest, he took a Carmelite. He had long a conversation with him, and at last converted him to the truth. Shortly after, the judges, Cassanges and Longa, with others, came to him. Aymond began to preach to them and to declare his mind regarding the Lord's Supper. But Longa interrupted him, and demanded of him as follows.

Judge. — First declare to us your mind, what do you think of purgatory?

Martyr. — In Scripture all these are one, to purge, to cleanse, and to wash. We read of this in Isaiah, in the epistles of St. Paul, and of St. Peter; "He has washed you in his blood. You are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ," etc. Heb 9.12; 1Pet 1.18. And how often do we read, in the epistles of St. Paul, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins? etc.

Judge. — These epistles are known to every child.

Martyr. — To every child? No, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself.

A friar. — With one word you may satisfy them, if you will say that there is a place where the souls are purged after this life.

Martyr. — That I leave for you to say, if you please. What, would you have me damn my own soul, and say that which I do not know?

Judge. — Do not you think that when you are dead, you shall go to purgatory? And that he who dies in venial sin, shall pass straight into paradise?

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Martyr. — I have such trust in my God, that the same day when I die, I shall enter into paradise.

Another judge. — Where is paradise?

Martyr. — There, where the majesty and glory of God is.

Judge. — The canons mention purgatory, and you in your sermons always used to pray much for the poor.

Martyr. — I have preached the word of God, and not the canons.

Judge. — Do you believe in the church?

Martyr. — I believe what the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, has appointed.

Judge. — What church is that?

Martyr. — The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say that whenever the faithful congregate together, to the honor of God, and the extending of Christian religion, the Holy Spirit is truly with them.

Judge. — By this it should follow, that there are many churches: and where any rustic clowns assemble together, there must be a church.

Martyr. — It is no absurd thing to say that there are many churches or congregations among Christians. And so St. Paul speaks, “to all the churches which are in Galatia,” etc. And yet all these congregations make but one church.

Judges. — Is the church in which you believe not the same church which our creed calls the holy church?

Martyr. — I believe the same.

Judge. — And who should be head of that church?

Martyr. — Jesus Christ.

Judge. — And not the pope?

Martyr. — No.

Judge. — And what is he then?

Martyr. — A minister, if he is a good man, like other bishops. St. Paul thus writes of them, “Let a man so consider us, as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God,” 1Cor 4.1.

Then the judges leaving him with the friars, departed, counting him a damned creature. Aymond, however, putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying with St. Paul, “Who shall separate me from the love of God? Shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him. <sup>Rom 8.39</sup> But rather I have pity on you,” he said; and so they departed. Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution, singing Psalm 114 on the way. He moreover thanked the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him; also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness to him, he proceeded to his execution. As he came near the church of St. Andrew, they desired him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. “I ask mercy,” he said, “of God, and his justice, but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did anything for which I should ask her mercy.” In passing a certain image of the Virgin Mary, great offense was taken against him, because he called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her. So he lifted up his voice to God,

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praying that He would never allow him to invoke any other. Coming to the place where he was to suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to magistrates and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ. He would have spoken more, but he was not allowed to by the officers, crying, "Dispatch him! dispatch him! Do not let him speak." Then saying a few words softly in the ear of the Carmelite whom he had converted, he was bid to step up to the stage. There the people beginning to listen to him, he said this:

"O Lord, make haste to help me; do not tarry; do not despise the works of your hands. And you, my brethren, who are students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel. For the word of God abides forever. Labor to know the will of God, and do not fear those who kill the body, but have no power upon your souls. My flesh strives against the spirit, but I will shortly cast it away. My good masters, I beseech you, pray for me. O Lord my God, into your hands I commend my soul."

As he was often repeating the same words, the executioner took and strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life; his body afterwards was consumed with fire.

*Francis Bribard*, A.D. 1544, was said to be the secretary of the cardinal of Ballaie. Being condemned for the gospel, his tongue was cut off, and with great constancy he suffered martyrdom by burning.

*William Husson, an apothecary at Rouen, in 1544,*

Husson went to the palace, and there he scattered certain books concerning Christian doctrine, and the abuse of human tradition. The council was so provoked by this, that they commanded all the gates of the city to be locked, and a diligent search be made to find out the author. So that William Husson was taken on the way, riding to Dieppe, and brought back to Rouen. Being examined there, he declared his faith boldly, and how he came purposely to disperse those books in Rouen, and had gone to do likewise at Dieppe.

The week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the sentence he was brought in a cart, accompanied with a doctor, a Carmelite friar. This Carmelite friar was called Delanda, who afterwards was converted, and preached the gospel. Before the great church they put a torch into Husson's hand, and required him to do homage to the image of the Virgin Mary. Because he refused to do this, they cut out his tongue. The friar then preached a sermon, and when he said anything of the mercies of God, William hearkened to him; but when he spoke of the merits of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head. The friar looking upon the countenance of Husson, lifted up his hand to heaven, saying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was possessed with a devil. When the friar ceased his sermon, this godly Husson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the air. When the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the blessed martyr with a smiling and cheerful countenance looked up to heaven, never moving or stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his spirit. All the people present there were not a little astonished, some saying that he had a devil; others maintained the contrary, saying that if he had a devil, he would have fallen into despair.

*James Cobard, a schoolmaster, and many others  
taken at the same time, 1545.*

This James, schoolmaster in the dukedom of Barens in Lorraine, disputed with three priests, that the sacrament of baptism, and of the supper did not avail, unless they were received with faith. This was as much as saying that the mass profited neither the quick nor



the dead. For this, and also for his confession which, while in prison, he sent to the judge by his mother, he was burned, and suffered most quietly.

Also in 1546, *William Briconatus* was bishop at Meaux, a city in France near Paris. There he did much good, and brought the light of the gospel to them, and reformed the church. But afterwards, though he apostatized, there were many who remained constant. Then came the burning of *James Pavane*. As superstition began to grow more and more, those who had continued steadfast began to assemble in the house of *Etienne Mangin*, and to set up a church for themselves.<sup>35</sup> They followed the example of the French church in Strasburg. Beginning with twenty or thirty, they increased in a short time to three or four hundred. Once the matter was known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where those persons were, and they were taken. Sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms, especially Psalm 79. It was chiefly objected against them, that being laymen, they ministered the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

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Of these sixty-two, fourteen were especially steadfast, and were condemned, and racked to compel them to confess more of their fellows; but they would not do so. The rest were scourged and banished from the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted; but that would not work. They were then sent in a cart to Meaux to be burned. On the way, about three miles from Paris, they met by chance a weaver of Couberon, who cried aloud to them, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cling fast to the Lord. This man was also taken, and bound and put in the cart with them. On coming to the place of execution, which was in front of Mangin's house, they were told that those who would be confessed would not have their tongues cut out, but the others would. Of the fourteen, there were seven who confessed to save their tongues; the other seven refused. As they were burning, the people sang psalms. The priests would also sing their songs: "O saving Host," etc. and "Hail, O Queen of heaven," etc. while the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were afterwards put in prison, from which they were promised to be freed if they would only say that their husbands were damned; but they refused.

At Paris, in 1546, *Peter Chapot*, a printer, came into France after having been at Geneva. He brought with him some books of the holy Scripture, which he dispersed abroad among the faithful, when his great zeal caused him to be apprehended.

On being brought before the commissaries, he rendered an account of his faith, and exhibited a supplication, or writing, in which he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Three doctors of the Sorbonne were assigned to dispute with him. When they could find no advantage, but rather were shamed at his hands, they were angry with the judges for making them dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting on his condemnation could not agree. So that Chapot might have escaped, had not a wicked person so wrought his condemnation, that he would be burned. At his execution, friar Maillard called upon him not to speak to the people, but he desired him to pray. Then he bid him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. Chapot confessed that she was a blessed Virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to speak of the mass, but Maillard would not let him, hastening to his execution. He said that unless Chapot said the "Hail Mary," he would be burnt. Then

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<sup>35</sup> [In this house began the first Calvin-inspired Protestant church in France.](#)

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Chapot prayed, "O Jesus Son of David, have mercy upon me." Maillard then bid him say, "Jesus, Maria," and he would be only strangled. Chapot was so weak that he could not speak. "Say," said Maillard, "Jesus Maria, or else you shall be burned." As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, it suddenly happened that Jesus Maria, slipped from his mouth. But he instantly repressed himself, saying "O God, what have I done! Pardon me, O Lord, to you only have I sinned." Then Maillard commanded the cord to be put about his neck to strangle him. After all things were done, Maillard, full of anger, went to the council-house, declaring what an uproar had almost happened among the people; saying that he would complain of the judges for allowing those heretics to have their tongues. Immediately a decree was made, that all who were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. This law was afterwards diligently observed.

*Saintinus Nivet* at Paris, in 1546. — After the burning of the fourteen, described before, this Saintinus, who was a cripple, had moved away from Meaux. But after a time he returned, and as he was selling certain small wares at the fair, he was known again and apprehended. Information having been given, he was examined, and at first he confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. But as they were examining him on certain points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand to what he said, or not, he gave this answer, which is worthy to be registered in all men's hearts, saying, "And I ask you again, lord judges, dare you be so bold as to deny what is so plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture?" He had so little regard to saving his own life, that he desired the judges, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own lives and souls, and consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily in fighting against Christ Jesus and his gospel. At last, being brought to Paris, he there suffered martyrdom. No kind of cruelty was lacking, which the innocent martyrs of Christ Jesus tended to undergo.

*Stephen Polliot*, in 1546, upon coming out of Normandy, where he was born, to Meaux, was compelled to flee. But he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison. In this prison he was kept in hand and leg fetters a long time, where he saw almost no light. At length, being called before the senate, his sentence was given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, with his books hanging about his neck in a bag. "O Lord," he said, "is the world still in blindness and darkness?" At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ was put into the fire, where with much patience he ended this transitory life.

*John English*, in 1547, was executed and burned at Sens in Burgundy, being condemned by the high court of Paris, for confessing the true word of God.

*Michael Michelote*, a tailor, in 1547, was apprehended for the gospel's sake, and sentenced, if he would turn, to be beheaded. And if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. On being asked which of these two he would choose, he answered that he trusted, that he who had given him grace not to deny the truth, would also give him patience to endure the fire. He was burned.

*Leonard de Prato*, in 1547, was going from Dijon to Bar, a town in Burgundy, with two false brethren, talking with them about religion. He was betrayed by them and later burned.

### *Seven Martyrs, A.D. 1457.*

*John Taffington*, and *Joan* his wife, *Simon Mareschal*, and *Joan* his wife, *William Michaut*, *James Boulerau*, and *James Bretany*. — All seven being from the city of Langres, they were committed to the fire for the word and truth of Jesus Christ. They died with much strength and comfort; but especially *Joan*, who was *Simon's* wife, being reserved to the last because she was the youngest. She confirmed her husband and all the others with words of singular

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consolation — declaring to her husband, that they would the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with Him forever.

*Michael Mareschall, John Camus, Great John Camus, and John Serarphin*, in the same year, and about the same time, for the same confession of Christ's gospel, were condemned by the senate of Paris, and were burned in the same city, with like cruelty.

*Octovien Blondel*, a merchant of precious stones at Paris, 1548. — This Octovien was well known both at court and elsewhere. He was a singularly honest man of great integrity, and also a favorer of God's word. Being at his host's house at Lyons, he rebuked the filthy talk, and superstitious behavior which he heard and saw there. The host, bearing a grudge to him, had some talk with one Gabriel, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels belonging to this Octovien.

Thus these two consulting together, suborned a person to borrow from him a sum of crowns. And because Octovien refused to lend it, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to attach his goods. But such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated in their purpose. Then Blondel being examined as to his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine which he had learned. For this he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners.

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For some who were in debt, he paid their creditors and go them released. To some he gave food, to others raiment. At length, through the importune persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave up and changed his confession. However, the Presenteur Gabriel appealed to the high court of Paris. There Octovien being asked again, regarding his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to? Being admonished before about his fall, and of the offense given by it to the faithful, said he would live and die in his first confession, which he defended as consonant to the truth of God's word. He was therefore condemned to be burned, and his execution was hastened lest his friends at court might save his life.

*Hubert Cheriet*, alias *Burre*, tailor, at Dijon, 1549. — Hubert, being a young man, nineteen years of age, was burned for the gospel at Dijon. He could not be otherwise persuaded by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, but constantly remained in the truth unto death.

Master *Florent Venote*, priest at Paris, 1549. — This Florent remained in prison in Paris, about four years. During this time there was no torment which he did not overcome. Besides other torments, he was put in a narrow prison so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie down. They call it the hose or boot, because it is straight beneath, and wider above. He remained in this seven weeks, where the tormentors affirm that no thief or murderer could ever endure fifteen days without danger of life or madness. At last, when there was a great show in Paris at the king's coming to the city, Florent and other martyrs were put to death. He had his tongue cut off, and was brought to see the execution of them all; then, last of all, he was put in the fire and burned the ninth of July, in the place called Maulbert.

*Ann Audelert*, an apothecary's wife and widow at Orleans, 1549. — Going to Geneva, she was taken and brought to Paris, and adjudged by the council to be burned at Orleans. When the rope was put about her, she called it her wedding-girdle with which she would be married to Christ. And as she was to be burned on Saturday, Michaelmas-eve, she said: "On a Saturday I was first married, and on a Saturday I shall be married again." Seeing the cart brought, in

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which she was to be carried, she rejoiced at it, showing such constancy in her martyrdom as made all the beholders marvel.

*A poor Tailor of Paris, 1549.*

Among many other godly martyrs who suffered in France, the history of this poor tailor is not the least nor the worst to be remembered. His name is not yet revealed in the French histories, through lack of diligence in those writers. The history is this: Not long after the coronation of Henry II, the French king, and upon his coming into Paris, several good martyrs were brought out and burned as a spectacle. A certain poor tailor, who then dwelt not far from the king's palace, was apprehended, because on a certain holy-day he followed his occupation, and worked for his living. Before he was led to prison, the officer asked him why he labored giving no observance to the holy-day? He answered that he was a poor man, living only upon his labor. And as for the day, he knew no other but Sunday in which he might not lawfully work for his living.' Then the officer began to ask him many questions, which the poor tailor so answered, that he was soon clapped in prison. After that, the officer coming into court to show what good service he had done for holy church, declared how he had taken a Lutheran working on a holy-day. When the rumor was rumored in the king's chamber, the poor man was sent to appear, so that the king might hear him

Only a few of the chief peers remained about the king when the simple tailor was brought. The king sitting in his chair, commanded Peter Castellan, bishop of Mascon to question him (a man very fit for such inquisitions). The tailor having entered, and not at all impressed at the king's majesty, after his reverence done to the prince, gave thanks to God that he had so greatly dignified him, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then Castellan, began to reason with him regarding the great and chief matters of religion. The tailor, without fear, or any halting in his speech, with wit and memory, answered excellently in behalf of the sincere doctrine and simple truth of God's gospel.

The nobles who were present, with cruel taunts and rebukes, did what they could to dash his countenance. Yet all this did not terrify him, but with boldness of heart and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord. He neither flattered their persons, nor feared their threats. This was a matter of astonishment to them, to behold that simple poor artisan stand so firm and bold, answering before a king, to the questions propounded against him. When the king seemed to muse with himself, as one who might have been led to further knowledge, the bishop and other courtiers seeing the king in such a muse, said the tailor was an obstinate and stubborn person, and therefore should be sent to the judges, and punished. And so, a few days later, he was condemned to be burned alive.

*Claudius Thierry*, at Orleans, 1549. — The same year, and for the same doctrine of the gospel, this Claudius was burned at the town of Orleans, being apprehended on the way coming from Geneva to his country.

*Leonard Galimard*, at Paris, 1549.— This Leonard, for his like confession of Christ and his gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there, by the sentence of the council, was judged to be burned the same time that Florent Venote, above-mentioned, suffered at Paris.

*Macaus Moreou*, at Troyes, 1549.— He was burned in Troyes in Champagne, remaining constant to the end in the gospel, for which he was apprehended.

*Joannes Godeau*, *Gabriel Beraudinus*, A.D. 1550. — These two were of the church of Geneva. Godeau, standing to his confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began to shrink a little for fear of the torments, yet, being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau,

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recovered, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in God's truth, gave their life for Christ's gospel.

*Thomas Sanpaulinus* at Paris, 1551. — This young man, eighteen years of age, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked a man for swearing. For this cause, suspected of being a Lutheran, was watched and brought before the Council of Paris, and put in prison. There he was racked and miserably tormented, so that he might either change his opinion, or confess others of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore that the sight of them made Aubert, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy of the gospel, turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter nothing, was at last brought to Maulbert place, in Paris, to be burned. Being in the fire, he was plucked up again upon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? He said, "That he was on his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go." Thus this glorious martyr glorified the Lord with constant confession of His truth.

*Mauricius Secenate* in Provence, 1551. — Being interrogated by the lieutenant of that place, this martyr made his answers so that no great advantage could be taken of them. But being greatly troubled in his conscience for dissembling with the truth, and afterwards being called before the chief judge, he answered so directly, that he was condemned and burned.

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*John Putte, or de Puteo*, surnamed *Medicus*, at Uzez in Languedoc, 1551. — This *Medicus* had a controversy about a certain pit with a citizen of the town of Uzez, where he dwelt. To cast *Medicus* in the law, this man accused him of heresy, bringing for his witnesses those laborers whom *Medicus* had hired to work in his vineyard. Being examined on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he was condemned and burned at Uzez in Languedoc.

*Claudius Monerius at Lyons, 1551.*

This man being well-instructed in the knowledge of God's word, came to Lyons, and there he taught children. Hearing of the lord president's coming to the city, he went to give warning to a certain friend of his, and conducted him out of the town. In returning to comfort the man's wife and children, he was taken in his house. And so, confessing what he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much affliction in prisons and dungeons, he was condemned and burned at Lyons. Certain of the judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

In prison he wrote some letters, but one especially was very comfortable to all the faithful. He also wrote down the questions of the official, with his answers, which we have contracted here as follows:

Official. — What do you believe of the sacrament? Is the body of Christ in the bread, or not?

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

Official. — What do you say about purgatory?

Martyr. — Because there is no place of mercy after this life, therefore there is no need of any purgation; but it is necessary that we be purged before we go from here.

Official. — What do you think of the pope?

Martyr. — I say he is a bishop as other bishops are, if he is a true follower of St. Peter.

Official. — What do you say of vows?

Martyr. — No man can vow so much to God, but the law requires much more than he can vow.

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Official. — Are saints not to be invoked?

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

Official — Is it not good to salute the blessed Virgin with the “Hail Mary!”

Martyr. — When she was on earth she had need of the angel’s greeting; for then she had need of salvation, as well as others; but now she is so blessed, that no more blessing can be wished to her.

Official. — Are images not to be had?

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

In 1552, *Renat Poyet*, the son of William Poyet, who was chancellor of France, for the true and sincere profession of the word of God, constantly suffered martyrdom, and was burned in the city of Salmure.

*John Joyer*, and his servant at Toulouse, 1552. — These two coming from Geneva to their country with certain books, were apprehended and brought to Toulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master, saying that he should answer them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man first going up, began to weep. The master fearing lest he would give up, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master standing upright to the stake, shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame. and so expired.

*Hugonius Gravier*, a schoolmaster coming from Geneva to Newcastle, was there elected to be minister of Cortillon. On going to see his wife’s friends at Mascon, he was taken with all his company. Desiring the women and the rest of the company to lay the fault on him for bringing them out, he was sentenced to be burned. Even though the lords of Berne sent their heralds to save his life, and the official declared him to be an honest man, and to hold nothing but what agreed with the Scriptures, in 1552, at Burg in Bresse, a day’s journey from Lyons, this Gravier was burnt.

*Martial Alba, Petrus Scriba, Bernard Segnine,  
Charlea Faber, Peter Navihere, at Lyons, 1555.*

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne a certain time, agreed among themselves, all being Frenchmen, to return home, each one to his country, so that they might instruct their parents and friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their journey they came to Geneva, where they remained a while. From there they went to Lyons, where they were apprehended and led to prison, and where they continued a whole year. As they were learned in the Scriptures, every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith. And through the power of the Lord’s Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed.

They were examined as to the sacrament of the Lord’s body, about purgatory, confession and invocation, free will, and the supremacy, etc. Although they proved their cause by Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they were burnt at Lyons. When set upon the cart, they began to

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sing psalms. As they passed by the marketplace, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews, “The God of peace who brought again from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep by the blood of the everlasting covenant,” etc. <sup>Heb 13.20-21</sup> Coming to the place, the two youngest went upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there were fastened, and so after them the rest. Martial Alba being the eldest, was the last. Being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, he desired this petition of the governor — that he might go about to his companions tied at the stake, and kiss them: which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, “Farewell, my brother.” The other four, following the example, bade each one, “Farewell, my brother.” With that, fire was commanded to be put to them. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spoke to one another to be of good cheer, and so departed.

*Their Examinations briefly touched.*

Friar. — You say, friend, in your confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church. I will prove to the contrary. The pope is successor of Peter, and therefore he is supreme head of the church.

Martyr. — I deny that he is successor to Peter.

Then another friar. — You say St. Peter is not the head of the church, I will prove he is; for our Lord said to Peter, “You shall be called Cephaz;” and Cephaz is the same as saying in Latin, a head; and therefore Peter is head of the church.

Martyr. — Where do you find that interpretation? St. John in his first chapter expounds it otherwise: “You shall be called Cephaz, which is by interpretation a stone.”

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

Friar. — You say in your confession, that a man has no free will, I will prove it. It is written in the gospel, how a man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, and was robbed, maimed, and left half dead, etc. Thomas Aquinas expounds this parable to mean free-will, which he says is *maimed*; yet not so much that some power does not remain in man to work.

Martyr. — This interpretation I refuse and deny.

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Friar. — What! Do you think yourself better learned than St. Thomas?

Martyr. — I claim no such learning for myself. But I say this parable is not to be so expounded, but is set forth by the Lord to commend charity towards our neighbor, how one should help another.

Friar. You say in your confession, that we are justified only by faith, I will prove that we are justified by works. St. Paul, Hebrews 13.16, says, “Do not forget to do good and to distribute; for with such sacrifices God is *merited*.” Now as we *merit* God by our works, so we are *justified* by our works.

Martyr. — The words of St. Paul in that place are to be translated thus: — “With such sacrifices God is *well pleased*.”

Villard the judge turned to the book, and found the place even as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds. One asked then, what he thought of confession?

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The martyr answered that confession is to be made to God alone; and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and others, are to be expounded as brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars had nothing to say against it.

A Black friar. — Do you believe that the body of Christ is be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove it: Jesus Christ taking bread said, "This is my body."

Martyr. — The verb "is" is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as showing the nature of a thing in substance, but as noting the property of a thing, signifying in the manner and phrase of the Scripture; where one thing is usually called by the name of another, so the sign is called by the name of the thing signified, etc. So circumcision is named a covenant, and yet it is not the covenant. So the lamb is called the Passover, yet it is not the same. In these two sacraments of the old law you see the verb "is" must be taken, not as showing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of. And so likewise in the sacrament of the new law.

Friar. — I will prove that those of the Old Testament were not partakers of the same grace with us. "The law," says St. Paul, "works wrath;" and those who are under the law are under a curse; therefore those of the old law and testament were not partakers of the same grace with us.

Martyr. — St. Paul here proves that no man can be justified by the law, but that all men are under the anger and curse of God thereby. Just as no man can perform all that is comprehended in the law, so therefore every man needs to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing that no man can be saved by the law. For whoever trusts to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not in Christ alone, that person remains under the curse. This is not because the law is cursed, nor that any particular time is under the curse, but because of the weakness of our natures, which are not able to perform the law.

The official, seeing the friar here at a sticking point, said, 'You heretic! Do you deny the blessed sacrament?'

Martyr. — No, sir, but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles.

Official. — You deny the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and you call the sacrament bread.

Martyr. — The Scripture teaches us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not on earth, where we read in Col 3.1, "If you are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God," etc. And whereas I affirm that the sacrament is not the body, but bread, speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, I do nothing else than what St. Paul does, who likewise calls it bread four or five times (1Cor 11.26).

Official. — You naughty heretic! Jesus Christ said that he was a vine, and a door, etc., where he speaks figuratively. But the words of the sacrament are not to be so expounded.

Martyr. — Those testimonies which you alleged make more for me than for you.

Official. — What are you saying heretic? That the bread of the Lord's Supper, and the bread that we eat at home, are all one, and there is no difference between them?

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



About the same time, when these five students above specified were apprehended, *Peter Bergerius* also was taken at Lyons, and examined, and made the like confession with them; and shortly after them, he suffered the same martyrdom. He had a wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him there was a certain thief and malefactor who had lain there seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment, cried out to God and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with such bread as even dogs and horses refused to eat. So it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayer of *Bergerius*, he was brought to repentance of himself, and knowledge of God, learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached to him.

*Stephen Peloquine, Dionysius Peloquine*, at Lyons, 1553. — *Stephen Peloquine*, brother to *Dionysius*, was taken, with *Ann Audebert*, and martyred for the gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After them followed *Dionysius Peloquine*, in the same martyrdom. The articles for which he was condemned were the mass, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the pope's supremacy. He suffered in the year 1553. In his martyrdom, God gave him such patience and fortitude that when he was half burned, he never ceased holding up his hands to heaven, and calling upon the Lord, to the great admiration of those who looked on.

*Lewis Marsacus, Michael Gerard, Stephen Gravot*, at Lyons, 1553. — At Lyons, in the same year, these three were also apprehended and sacrificed. *Lewis* had served the king in his wars. He was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. He was examined upon several articles, such as invocation of saints, and of the Virgin Mary, free will, merits, and good works, auricular confession, fasting, the Lord's Supper. In his second examination, they inquired of him, and also of the other two touching vows, the sacraments, the mass, and the vicar of Christ. In all of these articles, because their judgment dissented from the doctrine of the pope's church, they were condemned.

When the sentence of condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad that they went out praising God, and singing psalms. When brought out of prison to the stake, the executioner tied a rope about the necks of the other two. *Marsac* seeing himself spared because of his order and degree, asked that he also might have one of the precious chains about his neck, in honor of his Lord. This being granted, these three blessed martyrs were committed to the fire where, with meek patience, they yielded up their lives into the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his gospel.

*Matthew Dimonetus*, at Lyons, A.D. 1553. This merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life. But notwithstanding, being called by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favor of his word, he was shortly afterwards taken by the lieutenant, and the official. After a little examination, he was sent to prison. Being examined by the inquisitor and the official, he refused to yield any answer, knowing no authority over him, except for the lieutenant.

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His answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal church of Christ truly believed, and all the articles of the creed. To the article of the holy catholic church, being asked to add also Roman (that is, the church of Rome), he refused. He knew no advocates, but Christ alone. He knew no Purgatory, but the cross and passion of the Lamb, which purges the sins of all the world. True confession, he said, ought to be made not to the priest once a year, but every day to God, and to those whom we have offended. Eating the flesh and blood of Christ he took to be spiritual; and the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ to be eaten with

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the mouth, and that sacrament is bread and wine under the name and signification of the body and blood of Christ; the mass was not instituted by Christ, being contrary to his word and will. For the head of the church, he knew none but Christ alone. Being in prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his flesh, but especially with the temptation of his parents, brethren, and kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his mother. Nevertheless, the Lord so assisted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spoke much to the people, and was heard with great attention. He suffered July 15th, 1553.

*William Neel*, a friar, suffered in the same year, and was burned at Eureux in France. His trouble arose first for rebuking the vicious demeanor of the priests there, and of the dean; for which the dean had him sent to the prison of the bishop at Eureux.

*Simon Laloe*, a spectacle-maker at Dijon, in 1553, coming from Geneva into France, was arrested by the bailiff of Dijon. Three things were demanded of him. First, where he dwelt. Secondly, what was his faith. Thirdly, what fellows he knew of his religion. His dwelling, he said, was at Geneva. His religion was such as was then used at Geneva. As for his fellows, he said, he knew none, but only those of the same city of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get no other answer but this, with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his sentence, and pursued the execution of it, which was November 21, 1553.

The executioner was named James Silvester. Seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly martyr Laloe, this James was so touched with repentance, and fell into such despair of himself, that he had much ado, with all the promises of the gospel, to recover any comfort. At last, through the mercy of Christ, he was comforted and also converted; and so he with all his family removed to the church at Geneva.

*Nicholas Nayle*, a shoemaker at Paris, in 1553, was apprehended. Stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, he was tried with such cruel torments that his body was almost separated one joint from another. He was induced to reveal what companions he had of his profession; but he was so constant in his silence that he would reveal none. As they brought him to the stake, they first put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the back of his head, so hard that his mouth on both sides gushed with blood. On the way they passed by a hospital, where they desired him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate; but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For this, the blind people were so enraged that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was burned, but the inward parts were not touched. With that, the cords burst which were about his mouth, by which his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so the blessed martyr departed.

At Toulouse in 1553, *Peter Serve* was first a priest; then changing his religion, he went to Geneva and learned the trade of a shoemaker. Afterwards he came to his brother at Toulouse, to do him good. His brother had a wife, who was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She told another woman, one of her neighbors, about this. What does she do, but go to the official and make him privy of all. The official laid hands upon Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor, to whom Peter made such declarations of his faith, that he seemed to reduce the inquisitor to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, he was condemned by the chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring what his occupation was, he said that of late he was a shoemaker. Whereby the judge, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest

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science of all others in the world. The judge and the people, supposing that he had been some thief, inquired to know what it was; but for shame and sorrow he stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamor, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said that he had been a priest. The judge thereupon was so provoked, that he condemned him. First, he enjoined him in his condemnation to ask the king for forgiveness, and then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so be burned.

As he went to burning, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was bid to honor the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate. On refusing to do so, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut off; and so being put into the fire, he stood so quietly, looking up to heaven all the time of the burning, as though he felt nothing, bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said that to bring the Lutherans to the fire would do more hurt than good.

*Stephen King, Peter Denocheus*, at Chartres, in 1553. These two were suspected of Lutheranism, and so they were apprehended by the marshal, and carried to Chartres where, upon their examination, and after their constant confession, they were committed to prison for a long time. During that time, Stephen King composed many hymns in the praise of the Lord, to refresh his spirit in that doleful captivity. At length they were condemned, and executed with the cruel punishment of fire.

*Antony Magnus*, at Paris, in 1554, was sent to Geneva by those who were in prison at Lyons, and also by others who were in captivity at Paris, to commend them to their prayers to God for them. He returned into France, and within three hours of his coming, he was betrayed and taken by certain priests at Bourges, and delivered to the official. After a few days, the king's justices took him from the official, and sent him to Paris. There, after great rebukes and torments suffered in the prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the truth, he was adjudged by their capital sentence, to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned.

*William Alencon*, a bookseller, did much good in the provinces of France by carrying books. Coming to Montpellier, he was ensnared by false brethren, detected, and laid in prison. He was firm and constant in his faith to the end of his martyrdom, being burnt in 1554.

There was at the same time at Montpellier a certain clothworker, who was enjoined by the judges to make a public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alencon. Beholding Alencon's constancy and death, it pleased God to strike this man with such boldness, that he asked the judges, either that he might burn with this Alencon, or else be brought back to prison. Therefore, three days later he was likewise condemned to the fire and burned.

*Paris Panier*, in 1554. — At Dola a good and godly lawyer, named Paris Panier was beheaded for his constant standing to the gospel of Christ.

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*Peter du Val*, shoe-maker, at Nismes, in 1554, sustained grievous rackings and torments. His body being broken, dislocated, and maimed, he yet manfully bore all their extremity, and would name and reveal no one. Then he was taken to the fire, and consumed.

*John Filieul*, carpenter, *Julian le Ville*, point-maker, in 1554.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by the marshal. Overtaking them on the way, the marshal most wickedly and Judas-like pretended great favor towards them, and to their religion, which he supposed them to be of. With these and many other fair words, he allured

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them to confess what was their faith; where they were going with their children; and also that their wives were at Geneva. When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to the horseman, and these simple saints of Christ were entrapped and brought to the castle of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined, and answered uprightly according to their faith.

Touching the sacrament, they affirmed that the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome was against the article of the Creed, which says that Christ has gone up to heaven, and there sits at the right hand of God. And therefore the bread and wine must remain in their proper nature, being, however, a sacrament or a holy sign of the body and blood of the Lord. For as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed spiritually, has the same operation in the souls of believers.

As for the mass, they said it was a most superstitious thing, and mere idolatry. And if we put any salvation in it, that was utterly robbing the passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named in a Christian's mouth. Also, that those who say that Peter either was pope, or author of the mass, are far deceived. As for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error, they said, more of madmen than anything else. For God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. They denied purgatory, except through the blood of Jesus Christ.

As they would not deprive the saints of God of their due honor, so neither the saints themselves, they said, will be content to rob God of the honor due only to him.

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

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

The officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments. When all that would not turn them, he sent them to a friar to press them in disputation. But as he could do no hurt to them, so they could do no good to him. When their execution approached, the officer put a wooden cross into their hands, which were tied. They took this cross with their teeth and flung it away, for which the officer commanded their tongues be cut off. At last when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, "Go on," they said, "salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh." Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they persisted constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms.

*Denis Vayre*, in this same year 1554, suffered at Rouen. First leaving his popish priesthood, he went to Geneva, where he learned the art of bookbinding, and many times he brought books into France. After that, in the reign of King Edward VI, he came to Jersey. There he was a minister, and preached. He came into Normandy with his books, to a town called Fueille. When he went to hire a cart, William Langlois with John Langlois, came and stopped his books, and also the one who had custody of them. Denis might have escaped; but hearing that the keeper of his books was in trouble, he came and presented himself. He was committed, and the other was delivered. After two and a half months imprisonment, he was charged with being a spy, because he came out of England. Then he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen, where sentence was given that he should be burned alive, and three times lifted up and let down again into the fire. After the sentence was

given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose those whom he knew of that side. He answered that the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion. Notwithstanding, he would reveal no man's name to them. And as for their torments, he said he did not care. For if he were killed with racking, then he would not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him care so little for their torments, they proceeded to his burning. First they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because coming by the image of the Virgin Mary he would not adore it, they cried, "Cut out his tongue!" And so they cast him into the fire, where he was three times taken up. But the flame went so high that the executioner, being unable to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help him. And the officers with their staves laid upon the people, to help their tormentors, but never a man would stir. Tis was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.

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

*Thomas Calbergne*, a coverlet-maker, 1554. — This Thomas had copied certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent to one of his friends. This book being seen, he was summoned before the justice, and examined about the book, which he said contained nothing but what was agreeing to the Scripture, and that he would stand by it. Then he was confined in the castle. After nineteen days he was brought to the town-house, and there adjudged to the fire. He went cheerfully to it, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, "Turn, Thomas — Thomas, there is yet time. Remember him who came at the last hour." <sup>Luk 23.42-43</sup> Thomas cried out to him from the flames with a loud voice, "And I trust to be one of that sort." And so calling upon the name of the Lord, he gave up his spirit.

*Richard Feurus*, a goldsmith, 1554. When in England he received the knowledge of God's word. Then he went to Geneva, where he remained nine or ten years. Returning from there to Lyons, he was apprehended and condemned, but escaped. After that, continuing at Geneva for about three years, he came on business to the province of Dauphiny. There he found fault with the grace being said in Latin. He was detected, and taken at his inn in the night by the under-marshal. The next day he was sent to the justice, and from him to the bishop. Ridding their hands of him, he was brought to the lieutenant who sent his advocate with a notary, to examine him about his faith.

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The whole process of his examinations, with his adversaries and the friars, is long. The principal contents came to this effect:

Inquisitor. — Do you believe the church of Rome?

Martyr. — No, but I believe the catholic and universal church.

Inquisitor. — What catholic church is that?

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Martyr. — The congregation or communion of Christians.

Inquisitor. — What congregation is that, or of whom does it consist?

Martyr. — It consists in the number of God's elect, whom God has chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the Head.

Inquisitor. — Where is the congregation, or how is it known?

Martyr. — It is dispersed throughout the universal world, in diverse regions, and is known by the spiritual direction with which it is governed; that is to say, both by the word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's sacraments.

Inquisitor. — Do you think the church that is at Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, and such other places, a truer church than the holy church of Rome?

Martyr. — Yes, truly, for these have the notes of the true church.

Inquisitor. — What difference then do you make between those churches and the church of Rome?

Martyr. — Much; for the church of Rome is governed only by the traditions of men, but those others are ruled only by the word of God.

Inquisitor. — Do you not believe the Virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and advocate to God for sinners?

Martyr. — I believe, as testified in the word of God, Jesus Christ to be the only mediator and advocate for all sinners. Although the Virgin Mary was a blessed woman, yet the office of an advocate does not belong to her.

Inquisitor. — The saints that are in paradise, to they have no power to pray for us?

Martyr. — No, but I judged them to be blessed, and to be contented with that grace and glory which they have.

Inquisitor. — And what then do you judge of those who follow the religion of the church of Rome? Do you think they are Christians?

Martyr. — No, because that church is not governed by the Spirit of God, but rather fights against the same.

Inquisitor. — Do you then esteem all those who separate themselves from the church of Rome to be Christians?

Martyr. — I cannot answer for others, but only for myself. "Every man (says St. Paul) shall bear his own burden." Gal 6.5

At the next examination, a Franciscan friar was brought to him. First touching the words that Feurus spoke at the inn, he asked him, "Why may grace not be said in Latin?"

Martyr. — Because by the word of God, Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood, and serves best to the edification of the hearers."

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

Martyr. — My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it is Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other; only that the same is understood, and may edify the hearers.

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Inquisitor. — Do you believe in the holy host which the priest consecrates at the mass or not?

Martyr. — I believe neither in the host, nor in any such consecration.

Inquisitor. — Why? Do you not believe the holy sacrament of the altar was ordained by Christ Jesus himself?

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

Friar. — The friar then adduced the words of St. John's gospel, saying, "My flesh is food indeed," etc. And he said that the doctors of the church had decided that matter already, and had approved the mass to be a holy memory of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

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

Inquisitor. — Do you believe in any purgatory?

Martyr. — I believe that Christ with his precious blood has made an end of all purgatory, and purgation of our sins.

Inquisitor. — And do you think, then, there is no place after this life, where souls of men departed remain till they have made satisfaction for their sins?

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

Friar. — In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, Christ spoke by way of a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel servant who, because he would not forgive his fellow servant, was cast into prison. Christ says that he shall not come out from there till he has paid the uttermost farthing. This similitude signifies to us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins.

Martyr. — First, the satisfaction for our sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures, such as in these places: "Come to me, all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," Mat 11.28. "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved," Joh 10.9. "I am the way, the truth, and the life," John 14.6. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors," Rev 14.13. Also to the thief who hanged with the Lord, it was said, "This day you shall be with me in paradise," etc. <sup>Luk 23.43</sup> Secondly; as to this similitude, it has no other object but to admonish us of our duty to show charity, and forgive one another. Unless we do this, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God.

Friar. — Christ gave to St. Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the pope. It is for the government of the church, that it might have one head in the world, as it has in heaven. And though the pastors do not live according to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teaches.

Martyr. — If the pope and his adherents would preach the word purely and sincerely, mixing no inventions of their own, nor imposing laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, however contrary their life was — as Christ tells us of the scribes and Pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives, Mat 23.3. But there is a great difference, whether they sit in Moses's chair, or else in the chair of abomination spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he says that, "The man of sin, the son of perdition shall sit

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in the temple of God, exalting himself above all that is called God," 2The 2.3-4. And regarding the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, in this Christ assigned to Peter *and* to the other apostles, the office of preaching the word of the gospel. This they well observed, in preaching nothing else but the word; and in this word all the power is contained of binding and loosing. Nor is it to be granted that the church has two heads, one in heaven, another in earth. There is but one head, even Jesus Christ, whom the Father has appointed to be head alone both in heaven and earth. <sup>Eph 1.22</sup>

Friar. — You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to auricular confession?

[465] A.D. 1527—1557.

Martyr. — I know no other confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbor, which Christ and his apostles have commended to us.

Friar. — Have you not read in the gospel, how Christ bids us to confess to the priest, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to show himself to the priest?

Martyr. — The true church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our sins to the priest's ear. And though the church of Rome has intruded this manner of confessing, it does not follow that it is to be received. And as for the leper whom the Lord sent to the priest, he was not sent to whisper his sins in the priest's ear, but only as a testimony of his health received, according to the law. Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of David in the Psalms, where he says that he confessed his sins to the Lord, and received forgiveness of them (Psa 32.5; 51.4).

And thus this godly Feurus was remanded again by the deputy to the bishop's prison, and from there, shortly after, he was removed to Lyons. After he had come to Lyons, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him first to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteousness' sake, thus finishing his martyrdom, July 7, 1554.

*Nicholas du Chesne, A.D. 1554.*

The occasion why this Nicholas came into trouble, was that going from Lausanne to his sister, and her husband, and other friends of his, as he went from Besanson, toward the town of Gry, he did not pay homage to a cross in the way. There a monk, who was an inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the monk, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gry, where the justice of the place took him. Nicholas seeing how he was betrayed by the monk, said, "O false traitor, have you betrayed me?" Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdom, he was promised that if he would kneel down and hear a mass, he would be let go. But Nicholas, armed with perseverance, said that he would rather die than commit such an act. Calling upon the name of the Lord, he took his death patiently.

*John Bertrand, a Forester, A.D. 1556.*

For the religion and gospel of Christ, this John was apprehended, and led bound to Blois. There he was examined on diverse points, such as, whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the church, and the he-saints, and she-saints of paradise? He said. No. Whether at any time he had called the mass abominable? He granted this, because finding no mass in all the Scripture, he was commanded by St. Paul, that if an angel from heaven



preached any other gospel than that which was already received, he should be accursed. <sup>Gal 1.8</sup> After his condemnation, they would have him confess, and they presented him with a cross to kiss. But he bade the friars to depart with their cross. “That is not the cross that I must carry,” he said. Entering into the cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murder, theft, or blasphemy, but only for the cause of our Savior. Being tied to the post, he sung the 25th Psalm.<sup>36</sup> He was young; his countenance was exceedingly cheerful and amiable; his eyes looked up to heaven. “O the happy journey,” he said, seeing the place where he would suffer, “and the fair place that is prepared for me!” When the fire was kindled about him, “O Lord,” he cried, “give your hand to your servant; I commend my soul to you;” and so he meekly yielded up his spirit. His patient and joyful constancy astonished the people.

*Peter Rousseau*, being constant in his confession, was put to the rack three times, which he suffered constantly with great torments. Afterwards he had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. Thus broken and maimed, he was drawn upon a hurdle (sled) to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air, and let down three times. When he was half-burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and with a loud voice he called on the name of God, saying, “Jesus Christ assist me.” And so this blessed martyr gave up his life to God, A.D. 1556.

*Arnold Moniere* and *John de Cazes*, A.D. 1556. — After Arnold Moniere was taken and laid in prison, John de Cazes heard about him. Even though warned that if he visited him he would be impeached for heresy, went to comfort him, and was imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time of their martyrdom came, they were drawn to the place through the dirt, on a hurdle (sled), accompanied by a number of bills (infantrymen), glaves (lancers), gunners, and trumpeters. When the blessed martyrs were bound to the post, rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, they confessed their faith, and gave many exhortations to the people. But to prevent the people hearing these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound their trumpets, which never ceased during the whole time of their suffering.

*Bartholomew Hector*, A.D. 1556. — This Hector came into Piedmont, to get his living by selling books, he was taken by a certain gentleman, and there arrested and sent to Turin, then examined, and at last condemned. Being condemned, he was threatened that if he spoke anything to the people, his tongue would be cut off. Nevertheless he did not cease to speak. After his prayer, in which he prayed for the judges, that God would forgive them and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the stake if he would recant; which he refused. Then he prepared himself for death, which he took patiently. Many of the people wept at this, saying, “Why does this man die, who speaks of nothing but God?”

*Philip Cene*, and *James* his companion, A.D. 1557. — This Philip Cene was an apothecary at Geneva. He was taken at Dijon, imprisoned, and there burned with one James his companion. As Philip went to his death singing psalms, a friar stopped his mouth with his hand. Most of the people wept bitterly, saying, “Be of good courage, brethren, do not be afraid of death.” When one of the adversaries heard this, he said to one of the magistrates, “Do you not see how almost half the people are on their side, and comfort them?”

*Archambant Ceraphon*, and *Matthew Nicholas du Russeau*, A.D. 1557. — These two also were in prison at Dijon. Archambant heard of certain prisoners at Dijon, to whom he wrote to comfort them with his letters. The next day he was searched, and letters were found about

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<sup>36</sup> **Psa 25.1.** To You, O LORD, I lift up my soul. <sup>2</sup> O my God, I trust in You; Let me not be ashamed; Let not my enemies triumph over me.

him. Then he was brought to Dijon where he, with the other, called Master Nicholas du Rousseau, suffered with great constancy.

*Philbert Hamlin* was first a priest, and then he went to Geneva, where he practiced printing. After that, he was made minister at the town of Allenart, where he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel. After confession of his faith, he was carried with the priest to Bordeaux before the president. While he was in prison, a priest came in on a Sunday to say mass. Philbert came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass-garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down and were broken. The priest said, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailer hearing this, in his fury laid upon Philbert with his staff. He was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen, and there he continued eight days.

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At last Philbert was brought to the place of his martyrdom. As he was exhorting the people, the trumpets blew without ceasing, so that his words might not be heard. Being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body consumed with fire on Palm Sunday eve, 1557.

In 1557 *Nicholas Sartorius*, twenty-six years of age, came to Cambray, where a warden of the friars in the town of Ost had preached on Good Friday about the Passion. The report of this sermon being recited to Sartorius, he reprehended the error and its blasphemies against the holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him about the sermon went to a secretary named Ripet, who came to entrap Nicholas. He said "Did our preacher not preach well?" — "No." said Nicholas, "Rather, he lied falsely." Ripet asked, "And do you not believe the body of the Lord to be in the host?" Nicholas answered, "That would be against our Creed, which says, 'That he ascended up, and sits,' etc." Ripet went immediately to the friar to have Nicholas apprehended. His friends perceiving the danger, wished him to flee and save himself, and they accompanied him out of the town about three leagues. But he was taken at the town of St. Remy, at the foot of the mountain of Great St. Bernard. They brought him to the rack. When the sergeant refused to draw the cord, the bailiff himself, and the receiver, with a canon, put him to the rack with their own hands. They pronounced sentence that he should be burned. He received this sentence with such constancy, that neither the king's receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body.

*George Tardif*, with someone from Tours, an embroiderer, and *Nicholas*, a shoemaker from Joinville, A.D. 1558. — The historian of the French martyrs memorializes George Tardif, an embroiderer of Tours, and Nicholas of Joinville, declaring that these three were together in prison, and afterward suffered in various places one from the other. George Tardif was executed at Sens.

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

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The third, which was Nicholas, was condemned and set in a cart. His father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the officers would not allow it. They would have struck the old man, but the son cried out to the officers, desiring them to let his father alone. He said that his father had power over him to do with him what he would. And so going to the place where he was to suffer, having a ball of iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the town of Joinville, where he patiently received his death and martyrdom.

### *The Congregation of Paris persecuted, numbering three or four hundred, at Paris, A.D. 1558.*

On September 4th, 1558, a company of the faithful, numbering three or four hundred, were assembled at Paris in a house to communicate the Lord's Supper together. But they were discovered by certain priests, who beset the house, and made an outcry, so that the watch might come to take them. In a short time, almost the whole city was in arms, thinking some conspiracy occurred in the city. Then perceiving that they were Lutherans, most of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking their blood. They sealed the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none might escape. The faithful seeing the suddenness of their fury, were in great fear. But being exhorted by the leaders of the congregation, they went to prayer. It was then resolved that the men who had weapons should venture through the press of the crowd. The women and children remained in the house, with a few men who were less bold than the others, numbering over a hundred and twenty. Of those who went out with weapons, all escaped except one, who was beaten down with stones; and so he was killed. Of the women, who were all gentlewomen or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted, seeing no hope, and perceiving the fury of the people, went up to the windows, crying, "Mercy," and showing their innocence, required ordinary justice. The king's attorney, with the commissaries and sergeants, appeased the people with much ado, and entered the house. There, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture prepared for that congregation, they perceived sufficient testimonies of their innocence; so that for pity, the attorney's eyes could not refrain from tears. However, proceeding in his office, he brought them all to prison. I omit here the furious usage of the people along the way, how despitefully they plucked and hailed the women, tore their garments, tore their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt.

Besides these wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, there followed the cruel and slanderous reports of the friars and priests. In their railing sermons, they uttered horrible falsehoods and calumnies against their morals. These rumors and defamations were no sooner given out, than they were received and spread far — not only among the vulgar, but also among the court, and even to the king's ears.

Here the enemies began to triumph, thinking that the gospel was overthrown forever. On the other side there was no less perplexity and lamentation among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their companions. However, they did not lose their courage altogether, but exhorted one another, considering the great favor and providence of God in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. They experienced some comfort, consulting together in this order: that first they should humble themselves before God in their own private families. Secondly, to stop the slanders against their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people. Thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first apology was written to the king, and conveyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the king and all his nobles. The Christians learnedly and discreetly cleared themselves of those reports, and showed the malice of their

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enemies, especially of Satan, who from the beginning of the church has ever and still goes about to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose. But the other apology to the people did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumors and defending the true cause of the gospel.

As the faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries were not idle. They sought all possible means to hasten the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of those whose religion they hated.

Finally, a commission was directed by the king, and presidents and councilors were appointed to oversee the matter. Thereupon many of the poor afflicted Christians were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom.

[467] A.D. 1527-1558.

The first of this godly company was *Nicholas Clinet*, sixty years of age. He was suspected by the judges of being a minister, and therefore he was set to dispute against the chief of the Sorbonists, especially Maillard. Clinet so confuted him, both by the Scriptures and also by their own sorbonical divinity (in which he had been well-exercised and expert) in the presence of the lieutenant-civil, that the lieutenant confessed that he never heard a man better learned, and of greater intelligence.

Another was named *Taurin Gravelle*, a lawyer. He was first a student of the law at Toulouse. After that, he was made an advocate in the court of Paris. And lastly, for his godliness he was ordained an elder to the congregation, with Clinet. This Taurin having a certain house, and seeing the congregation destitute of room, received them into his house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, though he might have escaped, he would not, being prepared to answer for receiving the assembly into his house. The constancy of this man was invincible in sustaining his conflicts with the sorbonists. In fine, these two godly elders finished their martyrdom in the cruel pains of the fire.

Next to Clinet and Gravelle was brought out *Mistress Philip*, gentlewoman, aged twenty-three. She was a widow who did not cease to serve the Lord in his church. She had many conflicts with the judges and the sorbonists, namely, Maillard. To the judges her answer was that she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and would live and die in the same. And being demanded whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament: "How is that possible," she asked, "to be the body of Christ to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it and tear it in pieces?" Her petition to them was that, as they had taken her sister from her, they would yet let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbors, although they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet they laid many things to her charge — such as, that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and twice or three times an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also, when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; nor was it known where he was buried; nor did they ever hear any word of their infant being baptized.

These three holy martyrs were condemned September 27<sup>th</sup>. Being put in a chapel, doctors were sent to them, but their constancy remained immovable. After that, they were sent in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. On the way Clinet, ever protested that he said or maintained nothing but the truth of God.

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The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said that she had confessed to God, and had received remission from him; she found no other absolution in Scripture. And when certain councilors urged her to take the wooden cross in her hands, alleging how Christ commanded everyone to bear his cross: she answered, "My lords, you in very deed make me bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the cause of my Lord Jesus Christ; who wills us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of."

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and showed a cheerful color, declaring how little he regretted his condemnation. And being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned, he said; "I see well that I am condemned to death. But to what death or torment I do not regard." And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they were about to cut out his tongue, he willingly offered his tongue to be cut.

The gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: — "Seeing that I do not refuse to give my body, shall I refuse to give my tongue? No, no." The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groans to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. Clinet was somewhat sadder than the other, because of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, changing neither countenance nor color.

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

Of the same company was also *Nicholas Cene*, a physician, and *Peter Gabart*. About five or six days after the other three, they were brought out to their death. When the time of their execution had come, they perceived that the judges intended that if they would relent, they would be strangled. If not, they would be burned alive, and their tongues be cut from them. Being content to suffer these torments for our Savior Jesus Christ, they offered their tongues willingly to be cut. Gabart began to sigh because he could no more praise the Lord with his tongue. Then they were drawn out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of St. Germain. The people, in rage and madness, followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves. The cruelty of their death was such as has seldom been seen: for they were held in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off", before the higher parts were severely harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed saints did not ceased in all these torments to turn their eyes to heaven, and to show infinite testimonies of their faith and constancy.

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

*Frederick Danvile*, and *Francis Rebezies*, neither of them past twenty years of age, were among the company. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ. What confession they made, what conflicts they had disputing with the doctors of the Sorbonne, their own letters left in writing record. To briefly touch the effect of these, first, concerning Frederick Danvile.

On the 12th of Sept. Frederick was brought before Benedict Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, who thus began to argue with him:

Doctor. — Which do you think is the true church, the church of the Protestants, or the church of Paris?

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Martyr. — I recognize that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly ministered, as they were left by Jesus Christ and his apostles.

Doctor. — And is the church of Geneva such a one as you speak of?

Martyr. — I judge it to be so.

Doctor. — And what if I prove the contrary? Will you believe me?

Martyr. — Yes, if you prove it by the Scripture.

Doctor. — Or will you believe St. Augustine and innumerable other holy doctors?

Martyr. — Yes, if they do not dissent from the Scripture and the word of God.

Doctor. — By the authority of St. Augustine, the church is where there is the succession of bishops. On this I frame this argument: — The church is where there is the perpetual succession of bishops. In the church of Paris, there is such succession of bishops. And therefore the church of Paris is the true church.

Martyr. — I answer that if St. Augustine meant the succession of those who are true bishops indeed, who truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, then I suppose such bishops are at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments duly ministered, and not in the church of Paris. But if St. Augustine meant the succession of *false* bishops, those who neither preach nor minister according to God's word, then that is in no way to be granted.

Doctor. — What do you say about auricular confession?

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Martyr. — The same that I said before to monsieur lieutenant. That is, I take it as a plantation *not* planted by God in his word.

*The Examination of Francis Rebezies.*

Rebezies had three examinations: the first with the civil lieutenant; the second with the presidents and the councilors; the third with the friars. He was asked whether he did not like to resort to the beautified temples to hear mass, or whether he did not take the mass to be a holy thing, ordained by God? He answered that he believed it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up by the devil. Whether he acknowledged purgatory? Yes, that purgatory which is the death and passion of Christ, which takes away the sins of the world. "The death of Christ is the principal," they said, "but you must also believe another." "Alas," he said, "can we never content ourselves with the simplicity of the gospel, but man will always put in something of his own brain. In so many places of the Scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient." When they objected and repeated the words of the parable, "You shall not come out till you have paid the last farthing," <sup>Mat 5.26</sup> he answered that "the words of that parable had no relation to anything but civil matters; and that this word "until" means as much as never." The president asked if he was not afraid to be burned, and bring his parents into such dishonor? He answered that he knew well, "That all who would live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." And that to him, either to live or die was an advantage in the Lord. As to his parents he said, "Christ himself forewarns that whoever loves father or mother more than him, is not worthy of him."—"Jesus Maria!" said the president, "what youth is this now-a-days, who cast themselves so headlong into the fire!"

He was brought before Benet, master of the doctors of the Sorbonne, and another called Jacobine, on the 14th of October. The doctor began to object as follows:

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Doctor. — I know well that you hold the church to be where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments sincerely ministered, as they are left by Christ and his apostles.

Martyr. — That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.

Doctor. — Do you not believe that whoever is outside that church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?

Martyr. — Whoever separates himself from that church, to make either sect, part, or division, cannot obtain remission of his sins.

Doctor. — Now let us consider two churches, the one in which the word is rightly preached, and the sacraments administered; the other, in which the word and sacraments are used otherwise. Which of these two ought we to believe.?

Martyr. — The first.

Doctor.— Well said. Next is to speak of the gifts given to the church, such as the power of the keys, confession for the remission of sins after we are confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the church are truly administered, as they are here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is ministered, and the gospel is truly preached.

Martyr.— Sir, now you begin to halt. For my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which were instituted for the whole community of Christians. And concerning the power of keys, and your confession, I believe that for remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but God alone, as we read in 1Joh 1.9, “If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.”

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

Martyr. —The power that Christ gave to his apostles, if it is well considered, does not disagree at all with my statement. And therefore I began to say, what I confess here, that the Lord gave to his apostles to preach the word, and so to remit sins by that same word.

Doctor. — Do you then deny auricular confession?

Martyr. — Yes, truly I do.

Doctor. — Should we pray to saints?

Martyr. — I believe not.

Doctor. — Jesus Christ being here upon the earth, was he not then sufficient to hear the whole world and to be intercessor for all, as well as he is now?

Martyr. — Yes.

Doctor. — But we find that when he was here on earth, his apostles made intercession for the people. And why may they not also do the same now?

Martyr. — So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministry, and prayed for one another. But now being in paradise, all their prayer that they make is this: that they wish that those who are yet on earth may attain to their felicity. But to obtain anything at the Father’s hand, we must have recourse only to his Son.

Doctor. — If one man has such charge to pray for another, may he not then be called an intercessor?

Martyr. — I grant that.

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Doctor. — Well, then, you say there is but one intercessor. Whereupon I infer that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him be an intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so we should truly believe.

Martyr. — You do not understand, sir, that if God does not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then we shall never be able to stand in his sight. For if he looks upon us, he can see nothing but sin. And if the heavens are not pure in his eyes, what then should be thought of man, who is so abominable and unprofitable, “Who drinks in iniquity like water,” as Job says? <sup>Job 15.16</sup>

Then the other friar, seeing his fellow have nothing to answer to this, inferred as follows:

Doctor. — No, my friend, as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand. And now to speak of ourselves, this we know: that God is not displeased with those who have recourse to his saints.

Martyr. — Sir, we must not do according to our own wills, but according to what God wills and commands.

Doctor. — As no man comes into the presence of an earthly king or prince without means made by some about him, so, or rather much more, he comes to the heavenly king above, etc.

Martyr. — To this earthly example I will answer with another heavenly example of the prodigal son, who sought no other means to obtain his father’s grace, but came to the father himself.

Doctor. — Touching the mass, what do you say? Do you not believe that when the priest has consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well as he was hanging upon the cross?

Martyr. — No, truly; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as it appears from Heb 10.12, 1Cor 15. Col 3.1. And therefore, to be brief with you, I hold your mass as none other than a false and counterfeited service, set up by Satan, and retained by his ministers, by which you annihilate the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own body. And you know right well that it is sufficient, and should not be reiterated.

Doctor. — You deceive yourselves in the word *reiteration*, for we do not reiterate it as you think; as I will show you by example. You see me now in this religious garment. But if I should put a soldier’s attire on me, then I would be disguised. And yet for all that, I would remain the same within my doublet, that I was before in my friar’s attire. So it is with the sacrifice. We confess and grant that naturally he was once offered in sacrifice; but supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration.

Martyr. — Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice, is a diabolical sacrifice; and this you may take as a resolution.

Doctor.— And how is your belief regarding the holy supper?

Martyr.— That if it is ministered to me by the minister, as it has been left by Christ and his apostles, also preaching the word purely with it, I believe that, in receiving the material bread and wine, I receive with lively faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ spiritually.

[469] A.D. 1527-1558.

Doctor. — Say corporally.

Martyr. — No, sir, for his words are spirit and life; and let this content you.

Doctor. — What do you say, is it lawful for a priest to marry?



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Martyr. — I believe it to be lawful for him, as the apostle says, “Whoever does not have the gift of continence, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn.” <sup>1Cor 7.9</sup> And if this does not content you, you may read what he writes about bishops and elders, in 1Tim 3, and Tit 1.

And thus these doctors, affirming that he denied priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, “God have mercy on you.” He said, “Amen.”

After this, Rebezies and Frederick Danville were brought to be racked, so that they might inform about the rest of the congregation. In the chamber they found three councilors, who thus began with them: — “Lift up your hand. You shall swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image you see here,” showing him a great picture. Rebezies answered, “I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart.” “Why do you not swear” said the councilors, “as we say to you?” “Because,” he said, “it is a great blasphemy against the Lord.” Then the councilors read the depositions, and beginning with Rebezies, said, “Will you not tell us the truth, what companions you know to be of this assembly?” Rebezies named Gravelle and Clinet, who were already burned, and John Sansot. They said, that the court had ordered that if they would give no other answer than that, he would be put to the torture or rack. And so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary. But he would neither receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion’s mouth. And so, being drawn and stretched, he began to cry out, “Come Lord, and show your strength, so that man does not prevail,” etc. But they cried, “Tell the truth, and you will be let down.” Nevertheless, he continued in his calling and prayer to the Lord, so that they could get nothing from him. After they had long tormented him, the councilors said, “Will you say nothing else?” He replied, “I have nothing else to say.” And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fireside. Being loosed, he said to them, “Is this how you handle the poor servants of God?” The like was done to Frederick Danville also, from whom they could get no other answer — so mightily did God assist and strengthen His servants.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture to their fellow prisoners, did not cease to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederick sighed often. Being asked why he did so, he said it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they would suffer afterwards. “Notwithstanding,” he said, “be strong, brethren, and do not be afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, who succored us, and will also comfort you.” Rebezies was so drawn and stretched with the rack, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on one side, so that he could not move himself. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and with contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day.

The next day they were again required to inform. When they refused, the sentence was read, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Maulbert place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterward strangled, and so burned to ashes.

Being brought to the place of execution, a cross was again offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. “Let God,” they said, “reign alone.” The people standing by said, “Ah, mischievous Lutheran!” He replied, “No, a true Christian I am.” When they were tied to their stakes, after their prayers, and they were ordered to be dispatched, one of them comforting the other, said; “Be strong, my brother, be strong. Satan, *away* from us!” One standing by, said, “These Lutherans call upon Satan.” One *John Morel*, who afterward died a martyr, answered, “I pray you, let us hear what they

## Bk. VII. The reign of King Henry VIII

say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God." Upon this the people listened better to them, to hear as well as they could what they said. Crying still as much as their mouths being stopped could utter, they said, "Assist us, O Lord." And so, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, they consummated their martyrdom.

After the martyrdom of these two mentioned above, the intention of the judges was to dispatch the rest one after another; they had procured process against twelve or thirteen. But a certain gentlewoman, then a prisoner among them, had presented causes for exceptions against them, by which the cruel rage of the enemies was stayed to the month of July following. In the meantime, as this persecution spread into other countries, the faithful cantons of Switzerland, perceiving these good men to be afflicted for the same doctrine which they preached in their churches, sent their ambassadors to the king to make supplication for them.

At the same time also came letters from the county palatine elector, to solicit the king for them. The king standing then in great need of the Germans for his wars, was contented at least, that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire ceased for that time. Most of them were sent to abbeys, where they were kept at the charge of the priors, to be constrained to be present at the service of idolatry, especially the young scholars. Some of them shrunk back; others being more loosely kept, escaped.

Many of this godly company of French protestants were afterwards condemned, and suffered the rack, and were martyred, glorifying God by their faithfulness unto death. We have the account and history of over thirty martyrs in France, but it would occupy too much space to detail them all.

### ***Spain.***

#### THE SPANISH MARTYRS.

##### *Franciscus San Romanus* (or San Romane).

In the year 1540, this Francis was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Breme, where, hearing the prior of the Austin friars preach, he was so touched through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, that he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, so that in a short time he had grown ripe in knowledge in the word of life.

In the meantime, the Spanish merchants of Antwerp understanding by his letters, that he had a change of religion, sent him letters, pretending outwardly much good-will, but secretly practicing his destruction. For at the day appointed for his coming, some friars were ready to receive him. They took him dismounting from his horse, rifled his books, and brought him into a merchant's house near at hand, where they examined him. When they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn himself also. Diverse Spaniards were present at this disputation within the house, which made the friars bolder. Being demanded of what faith and religion he was, he said, "My faith, is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ through the whole world. But you have corrupted this faith and doctrine, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety you have brought most of the world into most miserable blindness." To explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the creed.

This done, the friars then asked whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, being able to bind and loose? Also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his own will?

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Francis answered, "That he believed none of all this, but the contrary; namely, that the pope was antichrist, born of the devil, the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honor, and being incited by the devil, turning all things upside down, and corrupting the purity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretenses beguiling, and partly by his extreme cruelty destroying the poor flock of Christ," etc. With like boldness he uttered his mind against the mass and purgatory. The friars allowed him to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit. And then they could bear it no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis seeing that, began to thunder out against them again. The Spaniards supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him to a tower six miles from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep cave or dungeon, with much misery, for eight months. In this time of his imprisonment, many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him to change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis replied that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical. And if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him so much as to their own importunity. Hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Whereupon the Spaniards thinking he had come to himself, discharged him out of prison, A.D. 1541.

San Romane being thus freed out of prison, came to a certain friend of his, named *Franciscus Dryander* (who afterward died a martyr in Italy) with whom he had much conference about religion; Franciscus gave him counsel. As to religion his counsel was that he should say or do nothing for favor of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but he required a sound and right judgment conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might happen to him, as it did to many, who being carried away with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their proper callings. While they think to do good, and to edify, they destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger. "It is God," he said, "who has the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for it. He does not care for those who rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling."

San Romane willingly accepted this advice, promising to moderate himself more considerately. But this promise was shortly broken, as you will hear. For leaving Dryander, he went to Ratisbone, and there having an opportunity to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly to him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the purity of Christ's doctrine. He declared and protested that the princes and protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly different from the true and perfect word of God. All this while the emperor gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider the matter, and so act as he trusted would be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered no little encouragement to him. He went to the emperor a second, and also a third time, who quietly answered him as before. Yet Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought to speak to the emperor a fourth time, but was repulsed by the Spaniards about the emperor. They would have thrown him headlong into the Danube, had the emperor not stopped them, and commanded him to be judged by the laws of the empire. Then Francis, with other captives, was delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under ground. Many times he was called for to be examined, and he suffered great injuries and abuses, but ever remained firm and immovable in his conscience. The articles on which he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these:

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- That life and salvation in the sight of God, comes to no man in his own strength, by works or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.
- That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists count available *ex opere operato*,<sup>37</sup> for the remission of sin, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.
- That auricular confession with its numbering of sins, satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, worshipping of images, are blasphemy against the living God.
- That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in these popish doctrines.

After the inquisitors perceived that he could by no means be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded to the sentence, condemning him to be burned as a heretic. Many other malefactors were also brought with him to the place of execution, but they were all pardoned; he alone, for the gospel, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a miter (a hat) made of paper, painted full of devils.

As he was brought out of the city-gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way. Francis was required to do homage to it, which he refused, answering that, “The manner of Christians is not to worship wood,” and that he was a Christian. Upon this a great clamor arose among the vulgar people. But this was turned into a miracle. Such was the blind crudeness of the people, that they imputed this to the divine virtue, that it would not allow itself to be worshipped by a heretic. And immediately, from the opinion of that miracle, the multitude with their swords hewed the cross in pieces, every man thinking himself happy that he could carry away some chip or fragment of it!

As he was laid upon the wood, and the fire kindled about him, he lifted up his head toward heaven. When the inquisitors perceived this, hoping that he would recant, they had him taken from the fire. But when they were frustrated in their expectation, they commanded him to be thrown in again, and so he was immediately dispatched.

After the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummated, the inquisitors proclaimed openly that he was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; and that whoever doubted his damnation were heretics.

*Rochus, 1545.* — Rochus was a carver, or engraver of images. As soon as he began to taste the gospel, he ceased to make the images that were used to serve for idolatry in the temples, and instead occupied himself in making seals. Only he kept at his stall, an image of the Virgin Mary, artificially graven, as a sign of his occupation. It happened that a certain inquisitor passing by, and beholding the carved image, asked of Rochus what was the price? When Rochus had set it, the inquisitor offered him scarcely half the money. Rochus said that he could not live at such a price. But still the inquisitor urged him to take his offer. Rochus said, “It shall be yours if you will give me what my labor and charges are worth, but I cannot afford it at that price. I would rather break it in pieces.” “Yes,” says the inquisitor; “break it; let me see you.” With that, Rochus took up a chisel, and dashed it upon the face of the image, so that the nose, or some other part of the face was blemished. The inquisitor cried out as if he was mad, and commanded Rochus immediately to prison. Rochus said that he might do what he liked with his own works. If the workmanship of the image was not according to his fancy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Rochus, and within three days, sentence was given that he should be burned. And so he was committed to the executioners.

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<sup>37</sup> *ex opere operato*: “by the work worked;” meaning the sacraments confer grace by themselves, by the performance of the action, rather than through the faith of the believer by the grace of God (e.g., prayer for the dead).

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I understand that there were many others in Spain whose hearts God had illuminated and stirred up, both before and also after the establishment of the inquisition, to stand in defense of his gospel; and who were so persecuted and died in prison. We will come now to this inquisition, saying something about the ceremonial pomp, and also about the barbarous abuse and cruelty of it.

[471] A.D. 1527-1558.

#### **THE SPANISH INQUISITION.**

The cruel and barbarous inquisition of Spain began under King Ferdinand I (r. 1479-1516), and Elizabeth (Isabella) his wife. It was instituted against the Jews who, after their baptism, again maintained their own ceremonies. But now <sup>38</sup> it is employed against those who are ever so little suspected to favor the truth of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great divines there, hold that this holy and Sacred inquisition cannot err, and that the holy fathers, the inquisitors, cannot be deceived.

Three sorts of men are principally in danger of these inquisitors. Those who are rich, for the spoil of their goods. Those who are learned, because they will not have their secret abuses detected. Those who are in honor and dignity, lest they work some shame or dishonor against them.

The abuse of this inquisition is most execrable. If any word passes out of the mouth of anyone, which may be taken in an evil way — yes, even if no word is spoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil will against the one speaking — they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible prison. Then they invent crimes against him at their leisure. And in the meantime, no man living is so hardy as to once open his mouth in favor of him. If the father speaks one word for his child, he is also taken and cast into prison as a favorer of heretics. Nor is it permitted to any person to go to the prisoner. But there he is alone, where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is. And he is not allowed either to read or write, but there he continues in palpable darkness, in infinite horrors, in miserable fear, wrestling with the assaults of death.

By this it may be imagined what trouble and sorrow, what pensive sighs and thoughts they undergo, who are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. We must add, moreover, to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, scourgings, irons, tortures, and racks which they endure. Sometimes they are brought out, and shown in some high place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus they are detained there, some many years, and murdered by long torments, and whole days together — treated much more cruelly out of all comparison, than if they were in the hangman's hands to be slain at once. During all this time, what is done in the process no person knows, except the "holy fathers" and the tormentors who are sworn to execute the torments. All is done in secret. And after all these torments endured so many years in the prison, if any man is saved, it must be known only by guessing. For all the proceedings of the court of that execrable inquisition are open to no man; but all is done in close corners, by windings, by covert ways, and secret counsels. The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witness secret, whatever is done is secret, and the poor prisoner is never informed of anything.

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<sup>38</sup> As Foxe wrote this, King Philip II of Spain reigned (1556-1598). His mother was Isabella of Portugal; his cousin was queen Mary I of England (Bloody Mary, r. 1553-1558). He married her in 1554, becoming king consort of England. When he was crowned king of Spain in 1556, Mary became queen of Spain as well.

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By this inquisition many good true servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these later years, since the royal and peaceable reign of our Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603). Their names and histories we will recite in part here, as we have faithful records of those who have come to our hands by writing.

May 21st, A.D. 1556, in the town of Valladolid, where the council of the inquisition is usually kept, the inquisitors had brought together thirty prisoners, of both high and low estate; also the coffin of a certain noble woman, with her picture lying upon it, who had been dead long before, there to receive judgment and sentence. To hear this sentence, they had ordained three mighty theatres or stages in this town. On the first was placed Dame Jane, sister to King Philip, and chief regent of his realms; also Prince Charles, King Philip's son, with other princes and states of Spain. On the other scaffold was mounted the archbishop of Seville, prince of the synagogue of the inquisitors, with the council of the inquisition; also other bishops of the land, and the king's council with them.

After the princes and other spiritual judges and councilors were thus seated in their places, with a great guard of archers and halberdiers (guards),<sup>39</sup> and armed soldiers, with four heralds-of-arms giving their attendance, and the earl marshal bearing the naked sword. The market-place where the stages were placed, was filled with an infinite multitude of all sorts — standing there, or gazing out of windows and houses — to hear and see the sentences and judgments of this inquisition. Then, after all, the poor servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, all thirty of them, were brought out as a spectacle and triumph, clothed with their vesture of yellow cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red crosses, and having burning tapers in their hands. Also before them, a crucifix was borne, covered with black linen cloth in token of mourning. Those who were to receive the sentence of death had miters of paper on their heads. They were placed in their order, one under another.

Things thus being settled, a sermon then followed, given by a Dominican friar; this persisted about an hour. After the sermon, the procurator general, with the archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and nobles stood, to administer a solemn oath to them upon the crucifix. The tenor of the oath was this:

“Your majesties shall swear that you will favor the holy inquisition, and also give your consent to the same; and not only that you shall in no way hinder and impeach the same, but you shall also employ the utmost of your help and endeavor hereafter to see all them executed, who swerve from the church of Rome, and adjoin themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretics, without any respect of any person or persons of whatever estate, degree, quality, or condition they may be.”

Thus much for the first article of the oath; the second was as follows:

“Your majesties shall swear that you will constrain all your subjects to submit themselves to the church of Rome, and to hold in reverence all the laws and commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against whoever holds the heresy of the Lutherans, or takes any part with them.”

In this sort and manner, when all the princes and states, every one in their degree, had received their oath, then the archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his benediction saying, “God bless your highnesses, and give you long life.” This solemn pageant thus

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<sup>39</sup> A halberd is a combination of spear and ax, used as a fearsome symbol of their power.

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finished, the poor captives and prisoners were at last called out, the procurator fiscal, or the pope's great collector, first began with Dr. Cacalla, and so proceeding to the others in order.

They then proceeded to the trial and condemnation of twenty-seven godly Christians, including thirteen pious females, whose only sin was that they loved the gospel of Jesus Christ, as contained in his holy word, instead of the traditions of the papacy. It would be too tedious to mention all in detail. At last they came to the coffin and picture of the lady.

This poor coffin contained the corpse of dame Leonora de Bivero, already long dead. Her picture was laid above her coffin, which was also condemned with her dead corpse, to be burned as a heretic. And yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture held either with or against the church of Rome. This good mother, while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's gospel, with great integrity of life; and she retained diverse assemblies of the saints in her house, for the preaching of the word of God. In fine, her corpse and image also, being brought before the fiscal, were likewise condemned to be burned as a Lutheran heretic; all her goods were to be seized; and her house was to be torn down to the ground. As a memorial of this, a marble stone was appointed to be set up in the house, in which the reason for her burning would be engraved.

After these sentences were thus pronounced, those who were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead lady and her picture upon it, were committed to the secular magistrate, and to their executioners. Then they were all taken, and every one of them was set upon an ass, their faces turned backward. They were led with a great garrison of armed soldiers to the place of punishment, which was outside the gate of a town called Del Campo.

When they had come to the place, there were fourteen stakes set up of equal distance from one another, to which everyone was fastened.

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They were all first strangled, and then burnt to ashes, except Anthony Huezuello. This was because he had, both within and without the prison, vehemently detested the pope's spirituality. He was therefore burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure word of God, were led to death as sheep to the slaughter house; who not only most Christianly comforted one another, but so exhorted all those who were present, that all men greatly marvelled, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

### **Italy.**

#### THE ITALIAN MARTYRS.

*Encenas*, otherwise called *Dryander*, A.D. 1546.

This Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, was sent by his superstitious parents, when young, to Rome. There growing up in age and knowledge, he was instructed by the Lord in the truth of His word. After he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine and the impure doings at Rome, he was apprehended by some of his own countrymen at Rome. He was brought before the cardinals, and committed to prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine. In the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, he boldly and constantly defended it. So that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards being offended, cried out that he should be burned. The cardinals came to him before the sentence of death was given, offering life if he would take the badge of reconciliation. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, refused to receive any other condition or badge but the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his

religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the faithful servant and witness of Christ was condemned to the fire. There, in the sight of the cardinals and in the face of the apostolic see, he gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.

And as mention was made earlier, both in this history and others, of his brother *Francis Encenas* (Dryander, p. 470), it is not to be omitted here how Francis being a man of notable learning as ever was in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered the emperor, Charles V, the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For this he was cast into prison where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity for fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the providence of Almighty God, the first day of February A.D. 1545, he found the doors of the prison open. And so, issuing out of the prison, he escaped and went to Germany.

*Faninas*, A.D. 1550.— Faninus, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue, was converted from great blindness to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his word. There was no diligence lacking in him to communicate to others what he had received of the Lord. Being persuaded that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his truth, should in no case hide it in silence, like a candle under a bushel. And therefore, being occupied diligently in that, although he used not to preach publicly, but taught by private conference, he was at length apprehended and committed to prison. He did not remain long in prison, for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his wife, his children, and other friends, he was so overcome that he gave up, and so he was shortly dismissed out of prison. After this, it was not long until he fell into horrible distraction of mind. So that, if the great mercy of God had not kept him up, he would have fallen into utter desperation, for falling from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred above the service of Jesus Christ whom he had professed so earnestly before. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind to hazard his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel with great fruit and effect. As he was thus laboring, he was apprehended again, A.D. 1547, and condemned to be burned. But he said his hour had not yet come, and so it had not. For shortly after, he was removed to Ferrara, where he was detained for two years. At last the inquisitors of the pope's heresies condemned him to death, in 1549. And yet his time not having come, he remained after that to September 1550. In the meantime, many faithful and good men came to visit him. For this reason, the pope commanded him to be enclosed in stricter custody, in which he suffered great torments for eighteen months. Yet he would have suffered greater if the Dominican friars could have gotten him in their hands.

At length he was brought to a prison where there were diverse great lords, captains, and noble personages committed for stirring up commotions and factions (as the country of Italy is full of such things). At first hearing him speak, they began to disregard and deride him, supposing that it was but a melancholy humor that troubled his brain. Those who seemed more sage among them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind; rather, he ought to suspend his judgment till the matter was decided in the general council. Faninus, first thanking them for their friendly good will, modestly and quietly declared to them how the doctrine which he professed was not humor (mere emotion), nor the opinion of man's brain. Rather, it was the pure truth of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ. And especially



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now, it was being restored in their days. This truth he had fully determined in his mind never to deny. And as in his soul, which was redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage, so likewise, regarding councils, he looked for no other sentence nor authority than that which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his gospel, which He both preached with his word, and confirmed with his blood, etc. With these and other such words, he so moved their minds, that they were wholly altered to a new life, holding him now in admiration, whom before they held in derision. He proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner. But by faith in the Lord Jesus, and through His grace alone, he was fully persuaded and well assured that his sins were forgiven; as all their sins would also be remitted through their faith in Christ alone, by believing His gospel. There were also others besides these, who having lived a more delicate kind of life before, could not well bear with the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort from Faninus, that not only were they quietly contented, but they also rejoiced in their captivity, by the occasion of which they had received and learned a better liberty than they ever knew before.

When the imprisonment of Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and have a care for his poor family. He answered that his Lord and Master had commanded him not to deny him by looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Therefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more. For, he said, he knew his end drew near, and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time, Pope Paul III died, and after him succeeded Julius III, who sent letters and commandment that Faninus should be executed. When one of the magistrate's officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced at it, and gave the messenger thanks. He began to preach a long sermon to those who were about him, on the felicity and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him that, if he would change his opinion, he would save both his present life, and enjoy that which was to come. Another asked him how he could leave his little children and his wife? Faninus answered that he had left them with an overseer, who would see to them sufficiently.

[473] A.D. 1527-1558.

And being asked who that was, he said, "The Lord Jesus Christ, a faithful keeper and preserver of all that is committed to him." <sup>2Tim 1.12</sup> After the messenger had departed from Faninus, all full of tears and sorrow, the following day Faninus was removed to the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. In all his ways, his words, his gestures, and countenance, he showed such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners, and tranquility of mind, that those who previously were violent against him, thinking him to have a devil, now began to hearken to him favorably, and to commend him. He talked with such grace and sweetness, ever speaking of the word of God, that several of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The executioner himself also wept. One of the public scribes came to him and said that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was that he should be saved: but he refused it. This was surprising, that he recited so many places of Scripture without a book, and did that so truly and promptly, as though he had studied nothing else. One seeing him so cheerful and happy going to his death, asked him why he was so cheerful at his death, seeing that Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? "Christ," he said, "sustained in his body all the sorrows and conflicts, with hell and death due to us. By his suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of

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them all.” Early in the morning he was brought forth. After his prayers were most earnestly made to the Lord, he meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake. There with a cord drawn about his neck he was strangled by the executioner in the city of Ferrara, three hours before daylight, so that the people would not see him, nor hear him speak. And about noon his body was burned.

*Dominic de Basana, at Placentia, A.D. 1550.*

The same year also, Dominic suffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominic was in Germany when he received the first taste of Christ’s gospel. He increased in this more and more, by conferring and reasoning with learned men; so that, in a short time he was able to instruct many. And he did so, till in the year 1550, coming to the city of Naples, he there preached the word; and then proceeding to Placentia, he likewise preached to the people there, about true confession, purgatory, and pardons. The next day he treated true faith and good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising to speak the day after about antichrist, and to paint him out in his colors. When the hour came that he was to begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the marketplace, and he delivered him to the officers. Dominic was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, “That he much wondered that the devil would permit him so long in that kind of exercise.” He was led to the bishop’s chancellor, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function. He answered, “That he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office.” Then it was demanded of him, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, “That he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which he was ready to seal with his blood, and also he gave hearty thanks to God, who so accounted him worthy to glorify His name with his martyrdom.” Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison where, after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted to recant, or otherwise he would suffer. But still he remained constant in his doctrine. When the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the marketplace where he had preached, and there he was hanged. Most heartily praying for his enemies, he so finished his days in this miserable wretched world.

*Galeazius Treccius, A.D. 1551.*

In St. Angelo was a house of Augustinian friars, to whom a certain friar named Maianard used to resort, a man expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this Maianard, several townsmen, not only of the friars, but also others, were brought to the love and knowledge of God’s word, and to the detestation of the pope’s abuses. Among them was this Galeazius, a gentleman of good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very benevolent to the poor. In process of time, this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, in setting forth the wholesome word of God’s grace. As a light shining in darkness, he could not so be hidden, but at last, in the year 1551, certain persons were sent to arrest and bring him to the bishop’s palace, where he was kept in bonds.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons for his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scriptures, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to those who heard him. Not long after, through the importunate persuasion of his kinsfolk and friends, and other cold gossellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope’s doctrine. Yet the mercy of God, which thus began with him, did not leave him, but brought him back to such repentance, and bewailing of what he had done, that afterward he became still more valiant in defense of Christ. He affirmed that he never felt more joy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he

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stood to the constant confession of the truth; and that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped from that by dissimulation. Declaring to his brethren, that death was much sweeter to him with testimony of the truth, than life with the least denial of truth, and with the loss of a good conscience.

As Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for some occasion to recover from his fall, the inquisitors and priests again repaired to him, supposing that he would now confirm what he had granted to them before. But Galeazius returned again to the defense of his former doctrine, with much more boldness of spirit — confessing Christ, and declaring his detestation of images, affirming and proving that God alone is to be worshipped, and that is to be done in spirit and in truth; also that there are no mediators but Christ alone, and that He alone, and sufficiently by his suffering, has taken away the sins of the whole world; and hence, that all those who depart this life in this faith, are certain of everlasting life; those who do not, are under everlasting damnation; along with such other matter as was utterly repugnant to the pope's proceedings. With this confession, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled. At last, perceiving that he could not be revoked, they had him committed to the secular judge to be burned.

Thus Galeazius, early in the morning, being brought out of prison to the marketplace, was left standing there bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all men to look upon. In the meantime many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not to cast away his life, when with ten words he might save it. But nothing could stir the mind of this valiant martyr. Fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him, and he was consumed without any noise or crying, except these words heard in the middle of the flame: "Lord Jesus!" This was November 24, A.D. 1551.

Regarding the story of this blessed martyr, this is to be noted, that a little before Galeazius was burned, there was a controversy between the major of the city, and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that would go to his burning. Hearing of it, Galeazius sent word to both parties to agree, for he would see the cost of that matter, discharged from his own goods.

*Doctor John Mollius, a Gray Friar,  
and a certain Weaver, A.D. 1553.*

John Mollius Montilcinus, when but twelve years old, with his brother Augustinus, was placed by his parents in the house of the Gray Friars. There, in a short time, having a fresh wit, he far excelled his fellows in all languages and sciences. So growing up to the age of eighteen, he was ordained priest, and sang his first mass. After that, he was sent to Ferrara to study.

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He so profited there in six years, that he was assigned by Vigerius, general of that order, to be a doctor, and then a reader in divinity. He then, with his sophistry, opposed himself to the gospel. Afterwards he was connected with several universities with much distinction. In the meantime, God wrought in his soul such light of his word, and of true religion, that Mollius began secretly to expound the Epistle of St. Paul to a few of the Romans. This being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. As the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds increased. So that almost every man came with his pen and ink to write. This was about the year 1538. There was at the same time, at Bononia, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler who, envying John, took it upon himself, at the request of Cardinal Campejus, to expound the same epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of John Mollius, and

extolling the pope with all his traditions. John extolled and commended only Christ and his merits to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to nothing. For the auditors who came to Cornelius at first, began to fall away from him little by little, while the concourse of the John's auditors increased more and more.

When Cornelius perceived this, he persuaded Campejus that unless he dispatched that man, the esteem of the church of Rome would greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring about their purpose, this secret way was devised: that Cornelius and John should come to open disputation. This disputation endured till three in the morning. At length, when neither party could agree, John was bid to return home to his house. As he was coming down to the lower steps, where the place was most confined and his friends could not come to rescue him (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills), he was taken and laid in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole city, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself. Also Campejus, the cardinal, with the bishop, were both scorned by the students. The next day the bishop of Bononia sent his chancellor to John in the prison, to signify to him that either he must recant, or be burned. But being of a bold and cheerful spirit, he could in no way be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him: that he should be condemned without his cause being heard.

In the meantime, Laurentius Spatha, general of the order of Gray Friars, posted up to Rome, and there he so dealt with the cardinal of the Holy Cross, the proctor in the court of Rome for the Gray friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to Campejus, that he should deliver John out of prison, so that within three months, Mollius would personally appear at Rome. His friends counselled him not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, "That the gospel must also be preached at Rome." After he had come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul III, he humbly desired that the cause might come in public hearing, but that could not be obtained. Then he was commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs, which he diligently performed. He addressed original sin, justification by faith, free will, purgatory, and other such doctrines; proving the articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of the ancient fathers, and exhibited them to the bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to give the cause a hearing. They disputed with him three days, and could not sense that which he had proved. At last an answer was made to him that it was truth which he affirmed. Nevertheless it was not appropriate for this present time; for it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see. Therefore he should afterwards abstain from the epistles of St. Paul, and so return again safe to Bononia, and there profess philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bononia, and all men there desired to know of his case, how it went at Rome, he declared openly in the pulpit all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Herewith Campejus, being more offended than before, obtained from the pope, that the general of the order should remove John Mollius from Bononia, and place him somewhere else. So Mollius was sent to Naples, and there he was appointed leader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy there, could not abide John's doctrine. He so nearly sought John's death, that he had much ado to escape with life. And so, departing from there, John went wandering from place to place in Italy, preaching Christ wherever he went. Not long after this, when Cardinal Campejus was dead, John was called back to Bononia by a good abbot named De Grassis, A.D. 1543. There he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's epistles in a secret way, as he did before; but that could not go undiscovered for long. By means of Cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventura the general, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Faventia, and laid there in a filthy and stinking prison.

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There he continued for four years, no man having leave to come to him. At length, through the intercession of the Earl Petilian, and of the good abbot De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months. There again he taught the gospel of Christ as before. And whenever he spoke of the name of Jesus, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

In process of time, when this abbot was dead, John's sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so he was again, for the third time, reduced to prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority who, being stirred up by God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison. One of these sureties took Mollius home to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man, such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the church of Rome.

Whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate to lay hands on Mollius, and to send him up fast-bound to Rome. There again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and he continued there eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give up his opinion. But his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock. Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defense of Christ's gospel, was brought, with other men (who were also apprehended for religion) into the temple of St. Mary (called De Minerva) the fifth of September 1553; either to revoke (recant) or to be burned. There sat six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge. Before him a Dominican friar preached, inveighing against the poor prisoners with cruelty. He incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency that he might, to condemn the prisoners. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands: some revoked for fear of death. But this Doctor Mollius, with a weaver from Perusium, remained constant. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, in which he confirmed the articles of the faith by the sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but antichrist, and that the whore of Babylon prefigures his sectaries. He cited them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and threw the burning taper away from him. They condemned him and the weaver to the fire, and commanded them to be taken away. So they were carried to the field called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the weaver was hanged. Mollius then began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other saviors but Christ alone. For he alone is the Mediator between God and man. And so Mollius too was hanged, commending his soul to God, and afterwards laid in the fire and burned.

Two Monks, (A.D. 1554). — In the same city of Rome, at about the same time, in the monastery of St. Austin, two monks were found in their cells with their tongues and their heads cut off, merely for rebuking the immoderate and outrageous excess of the cardinals.

[475] A.D. 1527-1558.

In the same year, *Francis Gamba*, after he had received the knowledge of the gospel, went to Geneva to confer with the wise and learned in that church, and there at the same time, he communicated with them. Afterward, on his returning home, as he was passing over the Lake of Como (in Lombardy), he was taken and brought to Como, and committed to a ward. During the time of his imprisonment, nobles and others, with doctors also, especially priests and monks, resorted to him, laboring by all manner of means and most fair promises, to reduce him from his opinions. These seemed to some but fantasies coming of some ill humor: to others they seemed uncatholic or heretical. But constantly (faithfully) disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, he declared that the opinions which he defended were

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not any vain speculations or imaginary fantasies of man's dotting brain, but the pure truth of God, and the evident doctrine of Jesus Christ, expressed in his word — necessary for all men to believe, and also to maintain unto death. And therefore, for his part, rather than be found false to Christ and His word, he was there ready not to *deny*, but to *stand* to Christ's gospel, even to the shedding of his blood.

When he could in no way be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the senate of Milan, that he should be executed. But through intercession of his friends, one week's respite was granted to him, to prove whether he might be won again to the pope's church (that is to say, lost from God). Thus being long and mightily assailed by friends, and terrified by enemies, yet by no persuasions could he be overcome. Instead, he gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this world, and cruel death, for the testimony of his Son. And so he went cheerfully to his death. Then certain Franciscan friars came to him to hear his confession, which he refused. They brought in their hands a cross for him to behold, to keep him from desperation upon feeling the fire. But his mind, he said, was so filled with joy and comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their cross, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the people, about the fruition of those heavenly joys above, which God has prepared for His own, his tongue was bored through so that he could speak no more to the people. Immediately being tied to the stake, he was strangled to death. Every man there who saw Francis' constancy in giving testimony, saw that he died a good man.

*Pomponius Algerius, at Rome, A.D. 1555.*

Pomponius Algerius, a young man of great learning, was student in the university of Padua. There, not being able to conceal and keep close the truth of Christ's gospel, he did not cease both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could, and to bring them to Christ. For this he was accused of heresy to Pope Paul IV, who sent immediately to the magistrates of Venice, to have Algerius apprehended at Padua, and carried to Venice. There he was long detained in prison, till at last the pope commanded the magistrates there to send him bound to Rome. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurements were tried to remove this virtuous and blessed young man from his opinions. But when no persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, he was then judged to be burned alive. This death he sustained most constantly, to the great admiration of all who beheld him.

Being in prison at Venice, Algerius wrote an epistle to the afflicted saints. It is notable for its sweetness, and it contains the most wonderful consolation in showing forth the mighty operation of God's holy power working in his afflicted saints who suffer for his sake. Thus I thought it good and expedient to communicate it, as a principal monument among all other martyrs' letters, not only with the other letters which will be inserted later (the Lord willing) at the end of the book, but also to be read in this present place. My intent is that both those who are, or will hereafter suffer affliction, may take consolation. And it is also that those who still follow the trade of this present world, by comparing its joys and commodities with the joys expressed here, may learn and consider what a difference there is between them both. Thereby they may learn to dispose themselves in such a way, as may be to their edification and to the perpetual felicity of their souls. The copy of the letter, which was first written in Latin, we have translated into English. The tenor of it ensues here.

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*A comforting Letter of Pomponius Algerius, an Italian Martyr.*

*To his dearly beloved Brethren and fellow Servants of Christ, who are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion: grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior.*

“To mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I can only impart to you some portion of my delight and joys which I feel and find, so that you may rejoice with me and sing before the Lord, giving thanks to Him. I will utter that which no man will believe when I declare it. I have found a nest of honey and honey-comb in the entrails of a lion. Who will ever believe what I say, or what man will ever think in the deep dark dungeon, to find a paradise of pleasure in the place of sorrow and death — to dwell in tranquility and hope of life — in an infernal cave to find joy of soul — and where other men weep, there to be rejoicing — where others shake and tremble, there to find strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woeful state, such delights? in a place so desolate, such society of good men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord, my brethren, ministers to me. Behold, He that was once far from me, now is present with me. Whom once I could scarcely feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, the same now approaches and reaches his hand to me. He comforts me, and fills me with gladness; he drives away all bitterness, he ministers strength and courage, he heals me, refreshes, advances, and comforts me. O how good is the Lord, who does not allow his servants to be tempted beyond their strength! O how easy and sweet is His yoke! Is there any like the Highest, who receives the afflicted, heals the wounded, and nourishes them? Is there any like Him? Learn, well-beloved, how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful He is, who visits his servants in temptations, and does not disdain to keep company with us in such vile and stinking caves. Do you think the blind and incredulous world will believe this? Or rather, will it not say this:

‘No, you will never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries and other innumerable grievances. How will you suffer the rebukes and frowning faces of men? Do you not consider and revolve in your mind your pleasant country, the riches of the world, your kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honors of this life? Do you forget the solace of your sciences, and the fruit of all your labors? Will you thus lose all your labors which you have sustained up to now — so many nights watched — your painful travels, and all your laudable enterprises, in which you have been exercised continually, even from your childhood? Finally, do you not fear death, which hangs over you, and that for no crime committed? O what a fool you are, who for speaking one word may save all this, and yet you will not. What a rude and unmannerly thing this is, not to be entreated at the instant petitions and desires of those, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, so prudent and gracious senators, and such noble personages,’ etc.

“But now to answer: Let this blind world hearken to this again: What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for you hereafter? And likewise, what snow can be colder than your heart which is in darkness, and has no light? What thing is harder, and sharper, or more crooked, than this present life which we lead here?

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“What thing is more odious and hateful than this world here present? And let these worldly men here answer me: What country can we have that is sweeter than the heavenly country above? What treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who are our kinsmen, but those who hear the word of God? Where are greater riches, or more honorable dignities, than in heaven? And as to the sciences, let this foolish world consider, are they not ordained to learn to know God, whom unless we know Him, all our labors, our night watchings, our

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studies, and all our enterprises serve to no use or purpose? All is but labor lost. Furthermore, let the miserable worldly man answer me: What remedy or safe refuge can there be for him, if he lacks God, who is the life and medicine of all men? And how can he be said to flee from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, how can there be any life without Christ? The heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is fresh springtime in the Lord. He who does not fear to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of the weather? Or what does he care for the pinching frost, who burns with the love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to those who are guilty; but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here drops the delectable dew, here flows the pleasant nectar, here runs the sweet milk, here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself is desert and barren, yet to me it seems a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if there is any plot, pasture, or meadow so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some are overthrown, some are victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is Mount Sion; here I am already in heaven itself. Here stands first Christ Jesus, in the front. About him stand the old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, apostles, and all the servants of God. Some of them embrace and cherish me; some exhort; some open the sacraments to me; some comfort me; others are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many and such as these are? Beholding them is to me both solace and example. Here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder, and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot cauldrons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon. It would take a long time if I were to recite them all.

“To be short, I see many excruciated with many torments: yet, notwithstanding, all are living, and all safe. One plaster (bandage), one salve, cures all their wounds. It also gives me strength and life, so that I sustain all these transitory anguishes and small afflictions, with a quiet mind, having a greater hope laid up in heaven. Nor do I fear my adversaries who persecute me and oppress me here. For He who dwells in heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall hold them in derision. I do not fear thousands of people who compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me — my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who lifts up my head. He shall strike all those who stand up against me without cause, and He shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder. For He alone is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ’s cause makes us joyful; for so it is written, “If you are persecuted and reviled for Christ’s sake, you are blessed; for the glory and Spirit of God rests upon you,” 1Pet 4.14. Be sure, therefore, that our rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no abiding mansion; and therefore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offers itself to me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have already entered on my journey, where my house stands prepared for me, and where I shall have riches, kinsfolks, delights, and never failing honors. As for these earthly things present here, they are transitory shadows, vanishing vapors, and ruinous walls. Briefly, all is truly vanity of vanities. Whereas hope and the substance of eternity to come are lacking, which the merciful goodness of the Lord has given as companions to accompany me, and to comfort me, and now the same begin to work and to bring forth fruits in me.

“I have previously travelled, labored, and sweated early and late, watching day and night; but now my travels begin to come to effect. I have bestowed days and hours upon my studies. Behold, the true countenance of God is sealed upon me; the Lord has given mirth in my heart. And therefore, in *that* I will lay me down in peace and rest, Psalm 4. Who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed, or say that our years are cut off? What man can now quibble



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that these labors of ours are lost, who have followed and found the Lord and Maker of the world; and who have exchanged death with life? My portion is the Lord (says my soul) and therefore I will seek and wait for Him. Now then, if to die in the Lord is not to die, but to live most joyfully, then where is this wretched worldly rebel who accuses us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation! For so the Lord himself has forewarned us, saying, 'What they have done to me, they will also do to you.' <sup>Joh 15.20</sup> Therefore, let the doltish world, with its blind worldlings (who in the bright sunshine, still go stumbling about in darkness, being as blind as beetles) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they account it. To them we answer with the holy apostle, that neither tribulation nor stripes, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor persecution, nor sword, shall ever be able to separate us from the love of Christ: we are slain all day long; we are made like sheep appointed to the slaughter, Rom 8.35-36. Thus we resemble Christ our Head, who said, 'That the disciple cannot be above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord.' <sup>Mat 10.24</sup> The same Lord has also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him, Luk 9.23. Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren, and fellow-servants, and be of good comfort, when you fall into sundry temptations. <sup>Jas 1.2</sup> Let your patience be perfect in all parts. For so it has been foreshown to us, and it is written, that those who kill you, will think they do God good service. <sup>Joh 16.2</sup> Therefore afflictions and death are like tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let Us then be glad and give thanks to the Lord, when being clear from all just accusation, we are persecuted and given to death. For it is better that we suffer in doing well, if it is the will of the Lord, than in doing evil, 1Pet 3.17. We have for our example Christ and the prophets, who spoke in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity murdered. And now we bless and magnify those who then suffered; let us be glad and rejoice in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward those who persecute us; let us refer all vengeance to Him.

"I am accused of foolishness, for I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself of these troubles, when with one word I might. O the blindness of man! who does not see the sun shining, nor remembers the Lord's words! Consider therefore what he says: 'You are the light of the world. A city built on a hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine and give light to them in the house.' <sup>Mat 5.14-15</sup> And in another place he says, 'You shall be led before kings and rulers for My sake; <sup>Mat 13.9</sup> do not fear those who kill the body, but fear Him who kills both body and soul. <sup>Mat 10.28</sup> Whoever confesses me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven. And he who denies me before men, I will also deny him before my Heavenly Father.' <sup>Mat 10.32-33</sup> Therefore seeing that the words of the Lord are so plain, how, or by what authority will this wise counsellor then approve this counsel which He gives? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God, and follow the counsels of men. For it is written; 'Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sits in the seat of the scornful,' Psa 1.1.

[477] A.D. 1527—1560.

"God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess Him. I will not set more by my life than by my soul. Nor will I exchange the life to come, for this present world. O how foolishly he speaks, who accuses me of foolishness.

"Nor do I take it as something so unbecoming or unseemly for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honorable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble senators, whose desires were enough to command me. For we are taught by the apostles, that 'we ought to obey God, rather than men.' <sup>Act 5.29</sup> After we have served and done our duty first to God, *then* we are next bound to obey the powers of this world, whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honorable; yet they are to be made more perfect in the Lord. They are just; yet Christ, the seat

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of justice, is lacking in them. They are wise; but where in is them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? <sup>Psa 111.10</sup> They are called virtuous; yet I wish they were more absolute in Christian charity. They are good and gracious; yet I miss in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwells all goodness and grace. They are honorable; yet they have not received the Lord of glory, who is our Savior, most honorable and glorious. Understand you kings, and learn you who judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in Him with trembling. Harken to doctrine, and get knowledge, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of righteousness. 'Why do you fret, why do you rage, O gentiles! O you people, why do you cast in your heads cogitations of vanity? You kings of the earth, and you princes, why do you conspire together against Christ and against his Holy One?' <sup>Psa 2.1-2</sup>. How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn to the Lord, and do not harden your heart. <sup>Psa 95.8</sup> For this you must confess, that those who persecute the Lord's servants, persecute the Lord himself. For so he says himself: whatever men do to you, I will count it to be done not as to you, but to myself. <sup>Mat 25.40,45</sup>

"And now let these carnal counsellors and disputers of this world tell what they blame me for — if in my examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? Seeing that it is not ourselves who speak, but the Lord who speaks in us; as he himself forewitnessed saying; 'when you are brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you,' <sup>Mat 10.18, 20</sup>. Therefore, if the Lord is true and faithful to his word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me. For He gave the words that I spoke — and who was I, that I could resist His will? If any man reprehends the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord is not to be blamed, then neither am I to be accused in this, who did what I did not purpose, and what I had not forethought. The things which I uttered and expressed there, if they were other than good, let them show it; and then I will say that they were *my* words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such that cannot justly be accused, then it must be granted, in spite of their teeth, that my words proceeded from the Lord. And then, who are they who shall accuse me? A people of prudence! Or who shall condemn me? Just judges! And even if they do, nevertheless the word shall not be frustrated, nor shall the gospel be foolish or therefore decay. But rather, the kingdom of God shall prosper and flourish all the more to the Israelites, and shall pass even sooner to the elect of Christ Jesus. And those who do so, will prove the grievous judgment of God. Nor will they escape without punishment, who are persecutors and murderers of the just. My well-beloved, lift up your eyes, and consider the counsels of God. He showed to us an image of His plague, which was for our correction. And if we will not receive Him, he will draw out his sword, and strike with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation that rises against Christ.

"These have I written for your comfort, dear brethren. Pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with a holy kiss, my good masters Sylvius, Pergula, Justus, also Fidel Rocke, and the one who bears the name of Leila, whom I know, although being absent. Also the governor of the university, Syndicus, and all others whose names are written in the book of life. Farewell all my fellow servants of God; fare you well in the Lord, and pray for me continually. From the delectable orchard of Leonine prison, 12th of August A.D. 1555."

It is written by one Thebrotus, that when he had read the book of Plato, *De Immortalitate Animae*, he was so moved and persuaded by it, that he cast himself headlong down from a high wall, to be rid out of this present life. If those heathen philosophers, having no word of God, nor promise of any resurrection and life to come, could so soon be persuaded by reading the works of Plato, to condemn this world and present life here, then how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many evidences and promises of God's most perfect word, that they should learn to cast off the carnal desires and affections of this miserable pilgrimage? And that is in a double respect — not only in seeing, reading,

and understanding so many examples of the miseries of this wretched world; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly joys and consolations of the other world remaining for us hereafter in the life to come. For a fuller evidence of this, I thought it good to give the letter of Algerius, prefixed above, as an earnest of that, and for a lively testimony for all true Christians to read and consider.

Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our list of Italian martyrs.

*Eighty-eight martyrs in one day, with one butcher's knife, slain like sheep.  
A hundred and sixty others also condemned, at Calabria, A.D. 1560.*

In Calabria, a blessed number of Christ's well beloved saints likewise suffered, both old and young, put together in one house, eighty-eight persons. All of them, one after another, were taken out of the house. And being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife, all were killed in order. It was a most tragic spectacle for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Therefore for further credit about the matter, lest we seem to be either light of credit, or to believe what is not true, or to rashly commit things to pen, without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Master Simon Florius.

*The end of a certain letter of Master Simon Florius, concerning  
a lamentable slaughter of eighty-eight Christian Saints  
in the parts of Calabria.*

"I have nothing to write concerning news, except that I send you a copy of certain letters, printed either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two separate towns of Calabria, 80 Italian miles from the borders of Consentia. The one is called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniory of the duke of Montalto; the other is called Guardia, situated on the sea-coast, and 12 miles from St. Sixtus. These two towns are utterly destroyed, and 800 of the inhabitants there, or (as some write from the city of Rome) no less than 1000. The one who wrote the letter was servant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The country and people there I well knew to have taken the origin of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses. For before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two schoolmasters, and two preachers. Last year the two preachers were martyred, the one at Rome, named *Joannes Aloisius Pascalis*, a citizen of Cunium: the other at Messina, named *James Bovell*, both of Piedmont. This year the remainder of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful fruit."

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Now follows the copy of the letters sent from Montalto, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Consentia, dated the 11th of June 1560. The writer of these letters, as you may perceive, was a Romanist, one of those who call themselves Catholics, and followers of the pope. The letter was sent to a certain friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's people in Calabria, by the new pope, Pius IV. The words of the letter are these:

"Up to now, most noble lord, I have certified to you, what has been done here daily about these heretics. Now I come next to certify to your lordship the horrible judgment begun this day, the eleventh of June, and executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans. When I think upon this, I truly quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their being put to death, was to be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep. For being all thrust up in one house together as in a sheepfold, the executioner comes in, and takes one among them and

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blindfolds him with a muffler about his eyes; and so he leads him out to a place near adjoining, where he commands him to kneel down. This being done, he cuts his throat. Then leaving him half dead, and taking his butcher's knife and muffler all full of blood, he comes again to the rest. And so leading them one after another, he dispatched them all to a total of 88. How doleful and horrible this spectacle was, I leave to your lordship's judgment. For to write of it, I myself cannot choose but to weep. Neither were any of the beholders there present who seeing one die, could abide to behold the death of another. But so humbly and patiently they went to death, that it is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were dying, affirmed that they believed even as we do. Notwithstanding, most of them died in their obstinate opinions. All the aged persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all in clotted blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them by the hand, one after another, and so dispatching them all, not otherwise than a butcher kills his calves and sheep.

"It is moreover appointed, and the carts have come already, that those so put to death should be quartered, and conveyed in carts to parts of Calabria, where they will be hung upon poles in the highways and other places, even to the confines of the same country. Unless the pope's holiness and the lord viceroy of Naples gives a command to the lord marquis of Buccianus, governor of the said province, to stay his hand and go no further, he will proceed with the rack and torture, examining all others, and so increase the number, that he will nearly dispatch them all.

"This day it is also determined, that 100 of the more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and afterward be put to death, so that the mixture may be perfect, so many men for so many women. And thus you have all that I can say of this justice. Now it is about two o'clock in the afternoon; shortly we will hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There are some of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor be confessed to the priest, and they will be burned alive.

"The heretics who are apprehended and condemned number 1,600, but as yet no more than these 88 are already executed. This people have their origin from the valley named Angrognia, near Subaudia; and in Calabria they are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or not, we do not as yet know. For they are but simple people, without learning, wood-gatherers and husbandmen. But as I hear, they are very devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake. — *From Montalto the 11th of June.*"

Marquess Buccianus above specified, had a son or brother, to whom the pope promised a cardinalship at Rome if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. That was probably the cause of his inhuman persecution and effusion of Christian blood.

### ***Merindole and Cabriers in Provence***

After this lamentable slaughter in Calabria, we must insert here the tragic persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock of Christ inhabiting Merindole in France, and also the adjacent towns, in the time of Francis I (r. 1515-1547).<sup>40</sup> The furious cruelty of this persecution, because it cannot be set forth too much at large, we have contracted, omitting nothing which might seem worthy to be recorded.

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<sup>40</sup> Francis I was succeeded by his son Henry II (r. 1547-1559), then by Charles IX (r. 1560-1574).

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Here follows a notable history of the persecution and destruction of the people of Merindole and Cabriers in the country of Provence.<sup>41</sup> Not a few persons, but whole villages and townships, with most of the countryside — men, women, and children — were put to all kinds of cruelty there, and suffered martyrdom for the profession of the gospel.

Those who write of the beginning of this people say that about 200 years ago, they came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit Provence, in certain villages destroyed by wars and in other places. They used such labor and diligence, that they had an abundance of corn, wine, oil, honey, almonds, with other fruits of the earth, and many cattle. Before they came there, Merindole had been a barren desert, and not inhabited. But these good people, in whom God had always reserved some seed of piety, were compelled to dwell in that waste and wild desert which, through the blessing of God, became exceedingly fruitful. The world, in the meantime, so detested and abhorred them, and railed against them in such a manner, that it seemed as if they were not worthy to have the earth bear them. For they had long refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed a more perfect doctrine than others, ever since A.D. 1200.

For this cause they were often accused to the king, as despisers of the magistrates, and rebels. Therefore they were called by diverse names, according to the countries and places where they dwelt. For in the country about Lyons, they were called the "poor people of Lyons;" in the borders of Sarmatia and Livonia, and other countries toward the north, they were called "Lollards;" in Flanders and Artois, "Turelupins," from a desert where wolves haunt. In Dauphiny they were called "Chagnards," because they lived in places open to the sun. But most commonly they were called "Waldois," from Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God. This name continued until the name of "Lutherans" began.

Notwithstanding all this, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindole and Cabriers and thereabouts, always lived so godly, so uprightly and justly, that in all their life and conversation, there appeared to be a great fear of God in them. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they labored to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges to procure the holy Scriptures, or to instruct the most intelligent in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries where they had heard that any light of the gospel had begun to shine, even to the farthest parts of the earth.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in Germany and Switzerland, they sent two learned men there, George Maurell and Peter Latom, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there, in the doctrine of the gospel, to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God; and particularly to have their advice on certain points on which they were not agreed. These two, after long conference with the greatest in the church of God, namely, Oecolampadius at Basel, Bucer and Capito at Strasburg; and Bathold Haller at Berne. As they were returning homeward through Burgundy, Peter Latom was taken at Dijon and cast into prison; Maurell escaped and returned alone to Merindole with the books and letters which he brought with him from the churches of Germany. He declared to his brethren all his commission, and revealed to them how many and great errors they were in.

[479] A.D. 1527-1560.

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<sup>41</sup> [Provence is in southeastern France, at the border of Italy.](#)

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When the people heard these things, they were moved with so much zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the greatest in knowledge and experience in all Calabria and Apulia, to consult with them regarding the reformation of the church. This matter was so handled that it stirred up the bishops, priests, and monks in all Provence with great rage against them. Among others, there was one cruel wretch called John de Roma, a monk. Obtaining a commission to examine those who were suspected to be of the Waldois or Lutheran profession, he did not cease to afflict the faithful in all the kinds of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Among other torments, this was one which he most delighted in and most constantly practiced: he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them on their legs, tying them backward to a form, with their legs hanging down over a small fire; and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end, put them to death most cruelly.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official, continued the persecution, and put a great number of them in prison. Some of them turned from the truth by force of torments; the others who continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were put into the hands of the ordinary judge; without any form of process or order of law, he put them to death with the cruelest torments.

After this, those of Merindole were cited personally to appear before the king's attorney. But hearing that the court had determined to burn them without any further process or order of law, they did not appear at the day appointed. For which the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindole, and condemned all the inhabitants to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, not even the little children and infants. The town was to be razed, and their houses pulled to the ground. Also the trees were to be cut down, olive trees as well as all others, and nothing was to be left, with the intent that it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness.

This bloody decree seemed so strange and shocking, that in every place throughout Provence there was great disputation concerning it, especially among the advocates and men of learning. So that many dared to boldly and openly say that they were greatly shocked how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, as to give out such a decree, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, indeed, to all sense of humanity. It was also contrary to the solemn oath which all those who are received to office in courts of parliament are accustomed to make — that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the law of God, and the just ordinances and laws of the realm, so that God thereby might be honored, and every man's right regarded, without respect to persons.

Some of the advocates or lawyers, defending the decree said that in case of Lutheranism, the judges are not bound to observe either right or reason, law or ordinance; and that the judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatever judgment they give, so that it tends to the ruin and extirpation of all those who are suspected of being Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered that in this way it would follow that the judges should now follow the same manner and form against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesses that the priests, scribes, and Pharisees followed in pursuing, persecuting, and finally condemning our Lord Jesus Christ.

The archbishop of Aries, the bishop of Aix, and diverse abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together to consult how this decree might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution. For otherwise, they said, our state and honor is likely to decay. We shall be reprov'd, despis'd, and derid'd by all men. And if none should thus

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vaunt and set themselves against us but these peasants, and others like them, then it was but a small matter. But many doctors of divinity, and men of the religious order, diverse senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, and also a great part of the nobility, even of the greatest peers in all Europe, began to contemn and despise us (they said), counting us as no true pastors of the church. So that unless we see to this mischief, and provide a remedy in time, it is greatly to be feared that we shall not only be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now enjoy, but also the church being spoiled of her pastors and guides, will hereafter come to miserable ruin, and utter desolation. Then the archbishop of Aries gave his advice as follows:

“Against the nobility, we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can to please them; for they are our shield, — our fortress and defense. And even though we know that many of them both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet we must not reprove them, or exasperate them. We must rather seek to win them, and to make them our friends again by gifts and presents. And by this policy we shall live in safety under their protection.”

The bishop of Aix responded that this was well said.

“But I can show you a good remedy for this disease. We must go about with all our endeavor and power, and policy, and all the friends we can make, sparing no charges, but spending goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolians and rustic peasants, so that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatever they be, yes, even if they are of royal blood, to once open their mouths against us or the ecclesiastical state. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw ourselves to Avignon. In that city we will find many bishops, abbots, and other famous men who will employ their whole endeavor to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother, the church.”

This counsel was well-liked by them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Aries, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon. There they assembled out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to consult of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracy, the bishop of Aix, a stout champion and great defender of the traditions of men, taking it upon himself to be the chief orator, began in a manner as follows:

“O, you fathers and brethren, you are ignorant, that a great tempest is raised up against the little ship of Christ Jesus, now in great danger, and ready to perish. The storm comes from the north, from which all these troubles proceed. The seas rage, the waters rush in on every side, the winds blow and beat upon our house, and without speedy remedy we are likely to sustain shipwreck and loss of all together. For oblations cease, pilgrimage and devotion wax cold, charity is clean gone, our estimation and authority is debased, our jurisdiction decayed, and the ordinances of the church despised. And why are we set and ordained over nations and kingdoms, if not to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow whatever is against our holy mother, the church? Therefore let us now awake; let us stand stoutly in the right of our own profession, so that we may root out from the memory of men forever, the whole rout of the wicked Lutherans — those foxes, I say, which destroy the vineyard of the Lord; those great whales which go about to drown the little ship of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible decree against these cursed heretics of Merindole. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavor, so that nothing happens which may hinder that which we have so happily begun. And let us take good heed that our gold and silver do not witness against us at the day of judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a sacrifice to God. And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of my own costs and charges, a hundred men well horsed, with all other equipment belonging to them, and do that until the utter destruction and subversion of these wretched and cursed caitiffs is fully finished.”

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This oration pleased the whole multitude, except one doctor of divinity, a Jacobin friar named Bassinet, who then replied with this oration:

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“This is a weighty matter, and of great importance. We must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable people wrongfully, when the king and the nobility hear of such a horrible slaughter, we will be in great danger, lest they do to us as we read in the Scriptures was done to the priests of Baal. For my part I must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly signed many processes against those who have been accused of heretical doctrine. But now I protest before God, who sees and knows the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and effect of my assignments, I have had no quietness in my conscience, considering that the secular judges, at the report of the judgment and sentence given by me and other doctors, who are my companions, have condemned all those whom we have judged to be heretics, to most cruel deaths,. And the reason I am thus disquieted in conscience, is this: that now of late, since I have given myself more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, I have perceived that most of those articles which those who are called Lutherans maintain, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer challenge them, unless I willfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy ordinances of God. It seems to me that we should no longer proceed in this matter as we have done in times past. It will be sufficient to punish with fine, or to banish those who speak against the constitutions of the church, and of the pope. And those who are plainly convicted by the holy Scripture to be blasphemous or obstinate heretics, are to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their crimes or errors, or else to perpetual prison. And this is my advice and counsel.”

All the company was offended by this counsel of Bassinet, but especially the bishop of Aix. Lifting his voice above all the rest, he said this to Bassinet:

“O you man of little faith! Of what are you in doubt? Do you repent of what you have well done? You have told here a tale that smells of faggots and brimstone. Is there any difference, do you think, between heresies and blasphemies spoken and maintained against the holy Scriptures, and opinions held against our holy mother the church, and contrary to our holy father, the pope, a most undoubted and true God on earth? ‘Are you a master in Israel, and do you not know these things?’”

Bassinnet responded,

“It is true that my lord, the bishop of Aix, has well set out the manners and state of the clergy, and has aptly reprov'd the vices and heresies of this present time; and therefore as soon as mention was made of the ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all of the high bishop of Jerusalem, the priests, the doctors of the law, the Scribes and Pharisees, who once had the government of this ship. But when they forsook the law of God, and served Him with men’s inventions and traditions, he destroyed those hypocrites in his great indignation. And having compassion and pity upon the people, who were like sheep without a shepherd, he sent diligent fishers to fish for men, faithful workmen into his harvest, and laborers into his vineyard, who will all bring forth true fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the reverend lord bishop of Aix, I called to mind the saying of the apostle in his first epistle to Timothy (chap. 4), ‘That in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils.’ And the apostle gives a mark by which a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ, in the seventh chapter of Matthew, says that, ‘The false prophets shall come clothed in sheepskins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, and by their fruits they shall be known.’ By these, and such other places, it is easy to



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understand who are they that go about drowning this little ship of Christ. Are they not those who fill that ship with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking water? Are they not those who have forsaken Jesus Christ, the fountain of living water, and have dug for themselves pits or cisterns which will hold no water? Truly, are they not those who vaunt themselves to be the salt of the earth, and yet have no savor at all; who call themselves pastors, and yet are not true pastors, for they do not minister to the sheep the true pasture and feeding, nor divide and distribute the true bread of the word of life.

“And, if I may be bold to say it, would it not be at this present time, as great a wonder to hear a bishop preach, as to see an ass fly? Are they not accursed of God who glory and boast that they themselves have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and yet neither enter in themselves, nor allow those who would enter, to come in? They may be known right well by their fruits. For they have forsaken faith, judgment, and mercy, and there is no honest, clean, or undefiled thing in them, but only their habit, their rochet, and their surplice, and such other garments. Outwardly they are exceedingly neat and trim, but within they are full of all abomination, rapine, gluttony, lust, and all manner of uncleanness; they are like painted sepulchers, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within they are full of filth and corruption. I say, a man shall know these ravening wolves by their fruits, who devour the quick and the dead under the pretense of long prayers. And as I am forced to give place to the truth, and that you call me a master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by the holy Scriptures, that your great pilot and patron the pope, and the bishops, the mariners, and such others who forsake the ship of Christ Jesus, in order to embark in pinnaces and brigantines, are pirates and robbers of the sea, false prophets, deceivers, and not true pastors of the church of Jesus Christ.”

When Doctor Bassinet had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and spitefully railed at him. But the bishop of Aix, raging and crying out above others, as if he had been mad:

“Get out from among us, you wicked apostate! You are not worthy to be in this company. We have burned daily a great many who have not so well deserved it, as you have. We may now perceive that there is none more steadfast and fervent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law. And therefore it would be necessary to decree in the next general council, that none should deal in matters of religion except them alone; for these knaves and beggarly monks and friars will bring all to nothing.”

Then the other doctors of the same order boldly reprov'd the bishop of Aix for the injury he had done to them. After this there arose a great dissension among them, so that there was nothing determin'd at that time. After dinner all these reverend prelates assembled together again, but they allow'd neither friar nor monk to be among them, unless he was an abbot. In this assembly they made an agreement and confirm'd it with an oath, that every man should himself endeavor that the decree of Merindole should be executed with all expedition, and that every man should furnish men of war, according to his ability. This charge was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all possible means the presidents and councilors of the court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the decree with drums, ensigns displayed, artillery, and all kinds of weaponry of war.

This conspiracy being concluded and determin'd, the bishop of Aix departed to Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. The next day after the council, they desired him to be at a banquet which would be held at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet those who were known to be the fairest and most beautiful women in all Avignon were called, to refresh and solace these good prelates, after the great pains and travel which they had taken for our holy mother, the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing,

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playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly used at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

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As they passed through the streets, they saw a man who sold lewd images and pictures, with filthy rhymes and ballads. All these pictures were bought up by the bishops. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a bookseller who had set out some bibles for sale in French and Latin, with diverse other books. When the prelates beheld them, they were greatly provoked at this, and said to him, "Dare you be so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell here in this town? Do you not know that such books are forbidden?" The bookseller answered: "Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures which you have bought for these gentlewomen?" He had scarcely spoken these words, when the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of Paradise, if this fellow is not a Lutheran." "Let him be taken," he said, "and examined as to what he is." Instantly the bookseller was taken and carried to prison, and spitefully handled. For a company of knaves and ruffians who waited upon the prelates, began to cry out: "A Lutheran, a Lutheran! — to the fire with him, to the fire with him!" One of them gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such a way that the poor man was covered with blood before he got to prison.

The next day he was brought before the judges, in the presence of the bishops, and was examined in the following manner: "Have you not set out for sale the Bible and the New Testament in French?" The prisoner answered that he had done so. And being demanded, whether he understood or knew that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other language than Latin? He answered that he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tongue, with the *emperor's* privilege, and many others printed at Lyons; also New Testaments printed by the *king's* privilege. Furthermore, he said that he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which did not have the holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue. Afterwards with bold courage, he spoke thus to them:

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

Then the bishop of Aix and the other bishops began to rage and gnash their teeth against this poor prisoner. "Why do you need any more examination? Let him be sent straight to the fire without any more words." But the judge, Laberius, and certain others, were not of that mind. Nor did they find sufficient cause to put him to death, but went about to have him fined, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and others, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered that he could not do it with a good conscience, because he saw before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthy books and

abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God. And therefore he judged them to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, rather than the true pastors of the church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day. For a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two bibles hanging around his neck, the one before, and the other behind him. But this poor man also had the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and did not cease continually by the way, until that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and admonish the people to read the holy Scriptures, so that several were thereby moved to seek the truth.

The bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the decree against Merindole. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the decree of Merindole into execution; also that the decree was made more to keep the Lutherans in fear, than to execute it. Moreover, he said that the decree of Merindole was not definitive, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution of it without further process. Then the bishop said, "If there is either law or statute which hinders or lets you, we carry in our sleeves to dispense with it." The president answered: "It would be a great sin to shed innocent blood." Then the bishop said: "The blood of those of Merindole be upon us, and upon our successors." Then the president said: "I am very well assured, that if the decree of Merindole is put into execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects." Then the bishop said: "Although the king at first thinks it is done evilly, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he will think it well done. For we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Toulon, who will take upon himself the defense of our cause, and we can do him no greater pleasure, than to utterly root out these Lutherans. So that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we will be well assured of him. And is he not the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of these Lutherans, in all Christendom?"

By this and such other talk the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and councilors of the court of parliament, to put the said decree into execution, and by this means, through the authority of the court, the drum was sounded throughout all Provence. The captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of footmen and horsemen began to set forward, and marched out of the town of Aix in order of battle, against Merindole, to execute the decree. The inhabitants of Merindole being notified of this, and seeing nothing but present death, with great lamentation commended themselves and their cause to God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, like sheep led to slaughter.

While they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the father with the son, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, suddenly there was news brought to them, that the army had retired. And no man knew at that time how, or by what means. Yet notwithstanding, afterwards it was known that the lord of Alene, a wise man, and learned in the Scriptures and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared to the president Cassanes, that he should not proceed against the inhabitants of Merindole by way of force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, and without distinguishing between the guilty and the innocent.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks to God, comforting one another with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient to his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself to his Providence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed — that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting riches, having always

before their eyes for an example, our Lord Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who has entered into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all the afflictions that it might please God to lay upon them. And such was their answer to all those who either pitied, or else sought their destruction. Whereupon the noise was so great, about the decree as well as the enterprise of the execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept secret from king Francis, a king of noble courage and great judgment.

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He commanded the noble and virtuous lord Monsieur de Langeay, who was then his lieutenant in Turin, a city in Piedmont, that he should diligently inquire and search out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said Monsieur de Langeay sent to Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving those in charge to bring to him the copy of the decree, and to diligently inquire about all that followed and ensued upon it. And likewise to make diligent inquiry as to the life and manners of the Merindolians, and others who were persecuted in the country of Provence.

These deputies brought the copy of a decree, and of all that happened thereupon, to the said Monsieur de Langeay, declaring to him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, secular as well as ecclesiastical, had used against those of Merindola and others. Regarding the behavior and disposition of those who were persecuted, they reported that the inhabitants of Merindole, and the others who were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved by all their neighbors, men of good behavior, constant in keeping their promise, and paying their debts, without traversing or pleading at the law. They were also charitable men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and allowed none among them to lack or be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harboring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, they were known by this throughout the country of Provence: that they would not swear, nor name the devil, nor easily be brought to take an oath except in judgment, or making some solemn covenant. They were also known by this: that they could never be moved or provoked to talk of any dishonest matters, but in whatever company they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing or blasphemy to the dishonor of God, they straightway departed that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their business, without first saying their prayers.

The people of Provence furthermore affirmed that when the Merindolians came to any fairs or markets, or came to their cities on any occasion, they were never seen in their churches in any manner. And if they were, when they prayed they turned their faces away from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet. Nor would they worship the relics of saints, nor once look upon them. And, moreover, if they passed by any cross or image of the crucifix, or any other saint by the way as they went, they would not do reverence to them. Also the priests testified that they never had them say any masses, nor dirges, nor yet *de profundis* (prayer for the dead), nor would they take any holy water. And if it were carried home to their houses, they would not once say, 'God have mercy.' Indeed, they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vows to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sins with money, even though it might be gotten for a half-penny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise when it thundered or lightened, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their eyes to heaven, fetched deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the sign of the cross, or taking holy water. Also, they were never seen to offer, or cast into the basin anything for the

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maintenance of lights, brotherhoods, churches, or to give any offering either for the quick or the dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved gladly, and thought nothing was too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made to Monsieur de Langeay, regarding the life and behavior of the inhabitants of Merindole, and the others who were persecuted. Of all those things, the said Monsieur de Langeay, according to the charge that was given him, notified the king. Understanding these things, as a good prince moved with mercy and pity, the king sent letters of grace and pardon, not only for those who were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Provence, who were accused and suspected in like cases.

On the other hand, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon still pursued the execution of the decree of Merindole. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that according to the King's letters, John Durand, counsellor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go to Merindole, and there declare to the inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to be contained in their confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information. And having so convicted them by the Word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the heresies. And if the Merindolians refused to abjure, then they would relate it, so that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry till the time appointed by the court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a doctor of Divinity, came to Merindole to make them abjure. The Merindolians answered that he enterprised against the authority of the parliament, and that it was against his commission to do so. Notwithstanding, he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them that if they would do so, he would take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen does her chicks, and that they would no more be robbed or spoiled. Then they requested that he declare to them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them. For he himself would not hesitate to make the same abjuration. The Merindolians replied that they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, in which he commanded that first the errors should be declared to them, of which they were accused. Therefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed of it by the Word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters. Otherwise it was but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it apparent to them by good and sufficient information, that they had held any errors and heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the Word of God, they would willingly abjure. Or if in their confession there was any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke it. On the other hand, if it was not made manifest to them, that they had held any heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their confession was grounded upon it, then they should by no means move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they did not hold, and that it was plainly against all equity and justice to do so.

Then the Bishop of Cavaillon was astonishingly angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God; but in a fury, he cursed and gave him to the devil who first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought there, demanded what articles they were that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindole, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet shown them to him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered to the doctor the confession. After he had read it, the bishop of Cavaillon said, "What! this is full of heresy." Then those of Merindole demanded, "In what point?" The

bishop did not know not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look at the articles of the confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or not. Thus the bishop departed.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies apparent which were in the confession. To which the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed. For when he beheld the articles of the confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were alleged there, he found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities alleged.

[483] A.D. 1527-1560.

Shortly after, the Bishop of Cavaillon came to Merindole. Calling before him the children both great and small, he gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Lord's prayer and the creed in Latin. Most of them answered that they already knew the Lord's prayer and the creed in Latin, but they could not understand what they spoke, except in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered that it was not necessary they should be so clever, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops, curates, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Lord's prayer and the creed. Here the bailiff of Merindole, named Andrew Maynard, asked to what purpose it would serve to say the Lord's prayer and the creed, and not to understand them? For in so doing they would but mock and deride God. Then the bishop said, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, 'I believe in God?'" "The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable if I did not understand it;" and then he began to give an orderly account of his faith. Then the bishop said, "I would not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindole." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindole can do it even more readily than I can. But, I pray you, question but one or two of these young children, so that you may understand whether they are well taught or not." But the bishop either did not know how to question them, or at least he would not.

Then one named Pieron Roy said, "Sir, these children may question one another, if you think it good," and the bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows, with such grace and gravity as if he had been a schoolmaster. And the children one after another so answered to the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear. For it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, who recently came from Paris. One of them said to the bishop, I must confess, that I have often been at the common schools of the Sorbonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines. Yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children. Then William Armant said, "Did you never read that which is written in Matthew 11.25, 26, where it is said, 'I thank you, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them to babes. Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in your sight.'" Then every man marvelled at the ready answers of the children of Merindole.

When the bishop saw that he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by fair and flattering words to bring his purpose to pass. Causing the strangers to go away, he said that he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be. Notwithstanding, it was necessary that they make some small abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest,

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without any notary to record it in writing. And in so doing, they would be loved and favored by all men, even those who now persecuted them.

The bailiff, and the two officers, with diverse other ancients of the town, answered that they were fully resolved not to consent to any abjuration, however it might be done, unless (which was always their exception) they could make it appear to them by the word of God, that they had held or maintained any heresy. They greatly marvelled that he would go about to persuade them to lie to God and to the world.

After this, John Miniers, lord of Opide near Merindole, forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand that those of Merindole, and all the country near about, numbering twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armor with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and to make it one of the cantons of the Switzers (Swiss). And to stay this enterprize, he said, it was necessary to execute the decree. By this means he obtained the king's letters patent, through the help of the cardinal of Toulon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians.

After this he gathered all the king's army, which was then in Provence ready to go against the Englishmen, and took up all besides who were able to bear armor, in the chief towns of Provence, and joined them with the army which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of Venice. He employed the same to the destruction of Merindole, Cabriers, and other towns and villages, numbering twenty-two of them, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child, without mercy.

But before this arch-tyrant came to Merindole, he ransacked and burnt certain towns — namely, La Roche, St. Stephens, Ville Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabriers, St. Martin, Pipin, and other places — even though the decree extended only to Merindole. There most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance. Women with child, and little infants born and to be born, were most cruelly murdered; the nipples of many women were cut off, who suckled their children, who then looking to feed at their mother's breast, died for hunger. There was never any such cruelty and tyranny seen before. The Merindolians seeing all in flames around them, left their houses, and fled into the woods.

Not long after it was shown to them how Miniers was coming with all his power to execute the charge upon them. This was in the evening. That they might go through rough and cumbersome places, hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safeguard to leave behind them all the women and children, with a few others, and among them also certain ministers of the church. The remainder were appointed to go to the town of Mussi. They did this on the hope that the enemy would show mercy to the multitude of women and children who were destitute of all succor. No tongue could express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that woeful departing, when they were compelled to thus be separated, the husband from his dear wife, the father from his sweet babes and tender infants, the one never likely to see the other alive again. Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons with evening prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

In the meantime Miniers came to Merindole, which was taken, ransacked, burnt, razed, and laid even with the ground.

When he had destroyed Merindole, Miniers laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance. But when he could not win it by force, with the lord of the town, and Poulin, his chief captain, he persuaded the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising that if

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they would do so, they would lay down their armor, and also that their cause would be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be shown against them. Upon this promise they opened their gates, and let in Miniers, with his captains and all his army. But once the tyrant had entered, he falsified his promise, and raged like a beast. For first of all he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a meadow near to the town, there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces.

Then he exercised his fury and outrage upon the women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom several were great with child. He put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire. And when the women, running to the great window where the hay is usually cast into the barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberts. Then there was a soldier who, moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them out. But as they were coming out, the tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces. Many fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves. Some of them were carried into the meadow, and after being stripped naked, were slain.

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Others were bound two by two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains, who rejoiced in their cruel and inhuman slaughter. That done, this tyrant, more cruel than Herod ever was, commanded captain John de Gay with a band of ruffians to go into the church, where there was a great number of women, children, and young infants, and to kill all that he found there. The captain at first refused to do this, saying that was a cruelty unusual among men of war. Miniers being displeased at this, charged him upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain fearing what might ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In the meanwhile, certain soldiers went to ransack the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men who had hidden themselves there in cellars and other places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill, kill!" The other soldiers who were outside the town, killed all they could meet with. The number of those who were unmercifully murdered, were about a thousand, men, women, and children. The infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again by their enemies. In token of this victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in Cabriers, on which was engraved the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this town by John Miniers, lord of Opide, and chief president of the parliament of Provence, as a memorial forever of that barbarous cruelty, the likes of which was never heard of before. Whereupon we, with all our posterity have to understand what are the reasons and arguments with which the antichrist of Rome usually upholds the impious seat of his abomination. He now has come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of iniquity, and all justice, equity, and verity being set aside, he seeks the defense of his cause by nothing else but force and violence, terror and oppression, and the shedding of blood.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Merindole and other places were among the mountains and rocks, in great need of food, and in much affliction. They had procured some men who were in some favor and authority with Miniers, to request of him that they might depart safely to where it might please God to lead them with their wives and children, although they had no more than their shirts to cover their nakedness. Miniers made this answer: "I know what I have to do. Not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in hell among the devils."



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Thus you have heard, loving reader, the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals against these faithful men of Merindole.

Now, regarding the people of Merindole, is briefly to be noted that this was not the first time that these men were vexed. For these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about France and Piedmont, had their continuance from ancient times. They received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, who were (some say) about A.D. 1170; or (as others reckon) about A.D. 1216.

These Waldenses, otherwise called the poor men of Lyons, beginning with Peter Waldo, being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed in diverse countries. Some fled to Massilia, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia. Several strayed to France, especially around Provence and Piedmont, from whom these Merindolians came, and the Angregrnians with others. Those who were in the country of Toulouse, were called Albii, or Albigenses, from the place where they frequented. Friar Dominic was a great actor against the Albigenses, laboring and preaching against them for ten years. He caused many of them to be burned, for which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court. At length he was made patriarch of the Dominican friars, by Pope Honorius III, who reigned from 1216-1227.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome, had set up for themselves a bishop of their own, named Bartholomew. The See of Rome took great indignation against the Albigenses for this, and caused all the faithful Catholics and subjects of the church to rise up in armor, and to take the sign of the holy cross upon themselves, and to fight against them, A.D. 1206. Great multitudes of them were cruelly murdered, not only around Toulouse and Avignon, but in all quarters. Miserable slaughters and burnings continued from the reign of the emperor Frederick II almost to this present, through the instigation of the Roman popes.

Among other authors who write about those Waldenses, was John Sleidan. Regarding their continuance and doctrine, he thus writes of them:

“There are in the French Provence a people called *Waldoi*. These of an ancient custom among them do not acknowledge the bishop of Rome, and have ever used a manner of doctrine purer than the rest. But especially since the coming of Luther, they have increased in knowledge and perfection of judgment.”

Concerning the confession and doctrine of the Merindolians received since ancient time from their forefathers, the Waldenses, it thus follows in Sleidan’s book:

“At last — after he had described what great cruelty was shown against them — when the report of it was spread in Germany, it offended the minds of many. And indeed the Switzers, who were then of a contrary religion to the pope, entreated the king that he would show mercy to those who had fled. The year before he had received from his subjects of Merindole, a confession of their faith and doctrine. The articles of it were that, according to the Christian faith, they confessed first, God the Father, Creator of all things: the Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of mankind: the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, and Instructor of all truth. They also confessed the church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God’s elect, of which Jesus Christ is head. They also allowed the ministers of the church, wishing that those who did not do their duty should be removed.

“And as regards magistrates, they likewise granted them to be ordained by God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressors. And how they owe to him, not only love, but also tribute and custom, and no man is to be excepted in this, even by the example of Christ, who paid tribute himself, etc.

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“Likewise about baptism, they confessed it to be a visible and an outward sign, but represents to us the renewing of the spirit, and mortification of the members.

“Regarding the Lord’s Supper, they said and confessed it is a thanksgiving, and a memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

“Matrimony they affirmed to be holy, and instituted by God, and to be prohibited to no man.

“That good works are to be observed and exercised by all men, as the holy Scripture teaches.

“That false doctrine, which leads men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed (shunned).

“Finally, the order and rule of their faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; they professed to believe all those things contained in the apostolic creed; desiring moreover, that the king give credit to their declaration of their faith; so that whatever was said to him to the contrary, was not true, and they would well prove it if they might be heard.”

### ***Persecution of the Waldenses in Piedmont – 1555-1561.***

*The History of the Persecutions and Wars against the people called  
Waldenses or Waldois, in the Valleys of Angrogne, Lucerne,  
St. Martin, Perouse, and others, in the country of Piedmont,  
from the year 1555 to 1561.*

To proceed now in the persecution of these Waldois, or Waldenses, you have heard how spreading themselves into various countries, they fled to Provence and Toulouse. Sufficient has been said of this. Some went to Piedmont, and into the valley of Angrogne.<sup>42</sup> It now follows to address them.

Thus these good men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were afflicted in all places, yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor compelled to yield to the superstitious and false religion of the church of Rome. But they ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry as much as possible, and gave themselves to the word of God, as a rule both to truly serve Him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

[485] A D. 1527-1560.

They had many books of the Old and New Testaments translated into their language. Their ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their enemies who could not abide the light. They lived in great simplicity, and by the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbors, abstaining from blasphemy, the profaning of the name of God by oaths, and such other impieties; also from games, dancing, songs, and other vices and dissolute life; and they conformed their life wholly to the rule of God’s word. Their principal care was always that God might be rightly served, and His word be truly preached. So that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they never spared anything to establish the true and pure ministry of the word of God and His sacraments. This was the reason why Satan with his ministers so persecuted them of late, more cruelly than he ever did before, as it appears by the cruel and horrible persecutions which have been not only in Provence against those of Merindole and Cabriers; but also against those remaining in the valleys of Angrogne and of Lucerne; and also in the valley of St. Martin and Perouse, in Piedmont. These people were persecuted a long time by the

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<sup>42</sup> Piedmont is in northwestern Italy, at the borders of France and Switzerland, “at the foot of the Mountains.”

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papists, and especially these past few years, they have been so vexed that it seems almost incredible. Yet God has miraculously delivered them.

The people of Angrogne, before this time, had some to preach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments to them privately. Yet in the year 1555, at the beginning of August, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and the people intended at first to still keep themselves as secret as they might. But there was such a concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this reason they built a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached.

At this time the French King held these valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. At the end of the following December, news was brought that it was ordained by the parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen would be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogne. Some who pretended great friendship to this people, counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbear a while, and wait for better opportunity. But notwithstanding, calling upon God, they determined with one accord constantly to persist in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God, that this enterprise against Angrogne was soon dashed. At the same time they also began to openly preach in Lucerne.

In the month of March 1556, the ministers of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took prisoner a good man named Bartholomew, a bookbinder, as he passed by the said valley. They sent him to Turin, and there, with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death. Several of the Parliament were shocked and appalled at his constancy.

From there they went to the valley of St. Martin, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that, they came to Lucerne, troubling and vexing the people there in like manner. From there they went to Angrogne, accompanied with many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests.

After they had come to Angrogne, the president having visited the two temples, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being assembled there. He pretended nothing else but to exhort them to return to the obedience of the See of Rome. The aforesaid monk, with the president, and all his whole retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary. But the ministers and all the people remained standing, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the monk had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly that their minister might also be allowed to preach, affirming that the monk had spoken many things which were not according to the word of God. But the president would not grant their request. After that, the president admonished them in the name of the king and the parliament of Turin, that they should return to obedience to the pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life, and utter destruction of their town. He recited to them the piteous discomfiture that had been done before to their brethren and friends in Merindole and Cabriers, and other places in the country of Provence. The ministers and the people answered that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their superiors in all things, so that thereby God was not displeased. And if it were shown to them by the word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours, until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, to which the people gladly agreed.

Here the president remained fourteen days, daily practicing new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations; now calling to him the syndics (magistrates) and head-officers, now separately, now altogether, that so that from fear he might make them relent. He also caused assemblies to be made in every parish by those he appointed, thinking to divide the people thereby. Notwithstanding, he did not prevail with all that he could do. They remained constant, insomuch that with one accord they presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories propounded by the president. In this they confessed,

- That the religion in which both they and their elders had long been instructed and brought up, was the same that is contained both in the Old and New Testament, and which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the Christian belief.
- Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ, by which he distributes abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures to all those who receive it with a true and lively faith.
- Furthermore, that they received the creeds of the four general councils; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and also the creed of Athanasius, in which the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.
- Also, the ten commandments expressed in the 20th chapter of Exodus, and the 5th of Deuteronomy, in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requires of us, is briefly comprised. Therefore, following this article, they did not allow by any means (they said) any gross iniquities to reign among them — such as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, theft, murder, or the like; but wholly endeavored to live in the fear of God, and according to His holy will.
- Moreover, they acknowledged the superior powers, such as princes and magistrates, to be ordained by God; and that whoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God; and therefore they humbly submitted themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they committed nothing against God.
- Finally, they protested, that they would in no point be stubborn, but if their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Their interrogatories concerned the mass, auricular confession, baptism, marriage and burials, according to the institution of the church of Rome.

To the *First*, they answered that they received the Lord's supper as it was instituted by Him and celebrated by his apostles; but regarding the mass, they would not receive it unless it might be proved by the word of God.

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*Secondly*, regarding auricular confession, they said that for their part they confessed themselves daily to God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring from Him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his in the prayer which he taught them. "Lord, forgive our sins;" and as St. John says, "If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" and according to that which God himself says by his prophet, "O Israel, if you return, return to me;" and again, "O Israel, it is I, it is I who forgives you your sins." So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he alone who forgives sins, therefore

they were bound to confess themselves to God alone, and to no other. Also it appears, that David in his Psalms, and the Prophets, and other faithful servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly to God alone. Yet if the contrary might be proved by the word of God, they would (they said) receive it with all humbleness.

*Thirdly*, regarding baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administered it with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy gospel, without any changing, adding or diminishing in any point; and that they did all this in their mother-tongue, according to the rule of St. Paul, who directs that in the church everything be done in the mother-tongue for the edification of our neighbor, 1Cor 14. But as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, unless these might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

*Fourthly*, regarding burials, they answered that they knew there was a difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Spirit, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead. And therefore they are accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the word of God, as well to comfort the parents and friends of the dead, as also to admonish all men to diligently prepare themselves to die. But as for using candles or lights, praying for the dead, and the ringing of bells, unless the same might be proved to be necessary by the word of God, and that God is not offended with it, they would not receive them.

*Fifthly*, regarding obedience to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which, as St. Paul says, serve for order, decency, and reverence of the ministry. But as for other ceremonies which have been brought into the church of God, either as a part of divine service, or to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, they could by no means receive them because they are repugnant to the word of God.

And whereas the commissioners affirmed the said traditions were ordained by councils, they answered first, that most of them were not ordained by councils. Secondly, that councils were not to be preferred above the word of God, which says, "If any man, yes, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you otherwise than that which has been received from the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed." And therefore, they said, if councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the word of God, they would not receive it.

Therefore they requested of the commissioners, that a disputation might be had publicly, and in their presence. And then if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred, either in doctrine, or conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed. Beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors until their time — many hundreds of years — yet for their parts, being convicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defense of it. They said moreover, that together with the said lords' deputies, they all confessed one God, one Savior, one Holy Spirit, one law, one baptism, one hope in heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion was firmly founded and grounded upon the pure word of God.

To be short, seeing that it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews (who are mortal enemies to our Savior Christ), to dwell peaceably in the fairest cities of Christendom, by good reason they too should be permitted to live in the desolate mountains and valleys, having their whole religion founded upon the holy gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus. And therefore they most humbly besought them to have pity and compassion upon them,

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and to allow them to live quietly in their deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their lord and prince, and to his lieutenants and officers.

The president, and rest of the commissions, perceiving that they labored in vain, returned to Turin with the notes of their proceedings. These were immediately sent to the king's court, and there the matter remained for one year before there was any answer made to it. During that time, the Waldois lived in great quietness, as God of his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful was so augmented, that throughout the valleys, God's word was purely preached and his sacraments duly administered, and no mass was sung in Angrogne, nor in diverse other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Pignerol, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne. That is, he sent for six from Angrogne, and for two from every parish besides, and showed them that for the last year they had presented their confession, which was sent to the king's court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore, the king willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the church of Rome, upon pain of loss both of goods and life. He enjoined them moreover to give him a direct answer within three days. From there he went to Lucerne, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble themselves before certain ones appointed by him; but with one assent, they persisted in their former confession. And lest they seem stubborn in the defense of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom. And if any part of it were disproved by the word of God, it would immediately be amended. But contrariwise, if that were not done, then they were to be disquieted no more.

Not contented with this, the next morning the president sent for six persons from Angrogne, and two from every other parish, whom he and the gentlemen of the country threatened very sorely. And they warned twelve of the chief men of Angrogne, and of the other parishes, to appear personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the judges of the parliament their ministers and schoolmasters, thinking that once they were banished from the country, their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To this it was answered that they could not, nor should not obey such a commandment.

A little while after, a proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only those who were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, and others of his officers. It was further proclaimed that upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives, that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion used in the church of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the aforesaid preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, they would immediately be apprehended, and that none of them should be concealed by anyone.

Now after four years, viz., A.D. 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain; the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the Duke of Savoy. Under him the churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont continued in great quietness, and were not molested. The duke himself was content to allow them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, the duke was stirred up by his ministers against the churches of Piedmont, and his own natural subjects.

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For the pope and the cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards this people, incensed him to do that which otherwise he would not have done. The pope's legate also, who then followed the court, and others who favored the church of Rome, labored by all means to persuade the duke that he should banish the Waldois; alleging that he could not allow such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonor to the apostolic see. Also they said that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church. And briefly, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son, then he might no longer suffer these people being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions with which these poor people of the valleys, and in the country of Piedmont, were so long vexed. Foreseeing the great calamities which they were likely to suffer, and if possible, to find some remedy for this, all the churches of Piedmont with one common consent wrote to the duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for which he was so sorely incensed against them by their enemies, was their religion. And their religion was no new or light opinion, but that in which they and their ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved by the same word, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

It is not certain whether this petition was delivered to the duke; for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. However, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poor Christians who were at Carignan. Among them there were certain godly persons who were taken and burnt four days later.

Shortly after, these churches of the Waldois — that is to say, Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, and Suse — were shockingly assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villainy that was committed there would take too long. For brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Suse suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken among others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. The minister was a good and faithful servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces. In the end, he was put to a most cruel and shameful death. The great patience which he showed in the midst of the fire, greatly astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of Larch and Meronne were horrendously tormented and afflicted. For some were taken and sent to the galleys, others consented and yielded to their adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those who yielded to their adversaries were more cruelly handled than the others who continued constant in the truth. By this, God declares how greatly he detests all those who play the apostate, and shrink from the truth.

But for a better understanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldois, here note that first of all the proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the sermons of the Lutherans, but should live according to the customs of the church of Rome, upon pain of forfeiture of their goods, to be condemned to the galleys forever, or else lose their lives. Three of the cruelest persons who could be found, were appointed to execute this commission.

At that time, Charles de Comptes of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the commissioners to use some lenity towards those of the valley of Lucerne. Because of this, they were more gently treated than the rest, for a while. At that season the monks of Pignerol and their associates grievously tormented the churches near them. They

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took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey. Having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil the churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children. Some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to mass; others they sent to the galleys; and some they cruelly burnt. Those who escaped were afterwards so sick that they seemed to have been poisoned.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, threatening them and commanding them to return to mass; also spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the others, there were two especially — that is to say, Charles Truchet and his brother Boniface — who on the 2nd of April, before daylight, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects named Renclaret. As soon as the inhabitants of the village perceived this, they fled to the mountains. Covered with snow, naked, and without victuals, and they remained there until the third night after. In the morning, Charles' retinue took a minister of the valley prisoner, and led him to the abbey. There he was burnt soon after, with one other of the valley of St. Martin.

In the end of June next following, the lord of Raconig and the lord of la Trinite came to Angrogne to mitigate, they said, the sore persecution there. They had the chief rulers and ministers assemble together, propounding several points of religion concerning doctrine, the calling of ministers, the mass, and obedience towards princes and rulers. And they declared to them that their confession had been sent to Rome by the duke, and that they daily looked for an answer. The ministers answered to all these points. After this they demanded of the chief rulers whether, if the duke were to cause mass to be sung in their parishes, they would submit to it or not? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of the rulers whether, if the duke were to would appoint them preachers, they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, if they were content that in the meantime their ministers were to cease, and if those who were to be sent did not preach the word of God sincerely, then their ministers would preach again. If they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution would cease, and the prisoners would be restored. To this question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered that they could by no means allow their ministers to forbear preaching.

The two lords, not content with this answer, commanded in the duke's name that all the ministers who were strangers, should instantly be banished the country, saying that the duke would not allow them to dwell within his dominions, for they were his enemies.

This done, proclamations were immediately made, and the persecution began to be more furious than before. Among others, the monks of Pignerol at that time were most cruel. For they sent out a company of hired ruffians, who daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on. They took men, women, and children, and led them captives to the abbey, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they also sent a band of ruffians by night to the minister's house of St. Germain, in the valley of Perouse, led there by a traitor who knew the house, and used to haunt there secretly. Knocking at the door, the minister knowing his voice, came out immediately. Perceiving himself betrayed, he fled. But he was soon taken and sorely wounded. Yet they pricked him behind with their halberts to make him hasten his pace. At that time also they slew many; many they hurt; and others they brought to the abbey where they kept them in prison, and cruelly handled them. The good minister endured sore imprisonment, and after that a most terrible kind of death with a wonderful constancy; for they roasted him by a small fire; and



when half his body was burnt, he confessed and called upon the Lord Jesus with a loud voice.

The inquisitor, Jacomel, with his monks, and the collateral Corbis. among others, showed one practice of most barbarous cruelty against this poor man. When he was to be burned, Jacomel had two poor women of St. Germain carry faggots to the fire, and to speak these words to their pastor: —

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“Take this, you wicked heretic, in recompence for your naughty doctrine which you have taught us.” The good minister answered her, “Ah, good woman! I have taught you well, but you have learned badly.” To be brief, they so afflicted and tormented those poor people of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods, and driven from their houses, they were compelled to flee into the mountains to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor people, that many who before had been men of great wealth, and with their riches had ministered succor and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave succor and relief from others.

Now because the said monks, with their troops of ruffians (which numbered about three hundred), made such spoil and havoc in all the country, that no man could live there in safety. It was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and furious rage of these ruffians? The ministers answered that it was lawful, warning them in any case to take heed of bloodshed. Once this question was resolved, those from the valley of Lucerne and of Angrogne sent certain men to them from St. Germain to aid them against the supporters of these monks.

In the month of July, those of Angrogne, one morning being at harvest on the hillside of St. Germain, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain, and doubting they could go to Angrogne, made an outcry. Then the people of Angrogne assembled together upon the mountain, and some ran to St. Germain over the hill, and some by the valley. Those who went by the valley met with the spoilers coming from St. Germain, loaded with spoil which they had gotten. There being but fifty of them, the people set upon them, amounting to one hundred and twenty men, well-appointed, and they soon overthrew the spoilers. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemy was forced to take the river Chison, where many of them were sorely hurt, others drowned, and some escaped with great difficulty. Such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was dyed with the blood of those who were wounded and slain, but none of the Angrognians were even hurt. If the river had been as great as it was usually was, there would not have ben one man escaped alive. The noise of the harquebusses (muskets) was great. In less than an hour, there were three or four hundred of the Waldois gathered together at the river. At the same time, they had purposed to recover their prisoners who were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers; and so they deferred the matter until the next day. But their ministers counselled them not to venture any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Yet they did not doubt that if they had gone immediately after that discomfiture to the abbey, they might have found everything open, and easily have entered; for the monks were so afraid, that they fled to save their relics and images.

The next day the commander of St. Anthony de Fossan came to Angrogne, accompanied with several gentlemen, saying that he was sent by the duke. Having assembled the chief rulers and ministers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, after he declared to them the cause of his coming, he read their supplication directed to the duke, which contained their

confession, demanding of them whether it was the same which they had sent to the duke? They answered, yes. Then he began to dispute, being sent, he said, to inform them of their errors, not doubting that they would amend their ways according to their promise. Then he entered into a disputation about the mass, in a great heat. He said the word “mass” was derived from the Hebrew word *Massa*, which signified (he supposed) consecration. And he showed that this word *Massa* might be found in ancient writers. The ministers answered that he badly applied the Hebrew word; and further, they did not dispute the word *Massa*, but what that word signified, which he should first prove by the word of God. Briefly, they said that he could not prove either by the word of God, nor by the ancient fathers, that their private mass, their expiatory or propitiatory sacrifice, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of it for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of their mass. The commander having nothing to reply to this, fell into a marvellous anger, railing and raging as if he had been mad. He told them that he had not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their stead, by the duke’s command, which he could not do unless their ministers were first driven out of the country.

From there he went to the abbey of Pignerol, where he and Jacomel had a number of the poor inhabitants of Campillon and of Fenil taken prisoners, spoiling them of their goods, driving away their cattle, and forcing them to swear and forswear — and in the end, they ransomed them for great sums of money. About that time a gentleman of Campillon agreed with those who had fled, for thirty crowns to be paid into his hand, that he would ensure them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quietly at home. But when he had received the money, he had the commander of Fossan, with his men, come to his house by night. Then he sent for the poor men, thinking traitorously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal enemy, following the decree of the Council of Constance in this, which is that no promise is to be kept with heretics. But God, knowing how to succor his people in their necessity, prevented this danger. For one of them had intelligence of the commander’s coming, and so they all fled.

After this, there were many commandments and injunctions given throughout the country, to banish these poor Waldois, with the doctrine of the gospel, if possible, from the mountains and valleys of Piedmont. But the poor people still desired, according to what they had so often before protested by word and writing, that they might be allowed to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in His word, simply obeying their Lord and Prince always, and in all things.

In the end of the following October, the rumor went about that an army was levied to destroy them. And indeed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour’s warning. Those malefactors, who had previously fled or were banished for any offense or crime, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, if they would take up their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne often assembled together to get advice as to what was best to be done in such an extremity. In the end they determined that for a number of days following, a general fast should be kept, and a communion the Sunday after; also, that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that everyone should withdraw himself to the high mountains, and carry away whatever goods as they were able to bear. If their enemies pursued them there, then take such advice and counsel as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just. Yet everyone began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains, and for eight days all the ways were filled with comers and

goers to the mountains, like ants in summer providing for winter. They did all this in great perplexity and danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God and singing psalms, each one comforting another.

A few days afterward, certain other ministers, hearing what those of Angrogne and Lucerne had concluded, wrote to them that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they should not defend themselves against the violence of their enemies. They alleged many reasons why in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them to do so, especially the quarrel being just — that is, for the defense of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children. They knew that it was the pope and his ministers who were the cause of all these troubles and cruel wars, and not the duke, who was stirred up to this only by their instigations. Therefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outrageous violence.

[489] A.D. 1527-1560.

On the 22nd of October the lord of Angrogne went from Lucerne to Mondevis, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne at several times, declaring the great perils and dangers with which they were environed, the army already being at hand. Yet he promised them that if they would submit themselves, he would send immediately to stay the army. Those of Angrogne answered that they all determined to stand to that which they had put in writing, two days before in their assembly. He seemed to be content with this answer at that time. The next day the rumor was that those of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, there was nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrogne. The sermon being ended, the rulers were called before the ministers and the people, who affirmed that they wholly clung to their former writing. They sent secretly to the notary for the copy of what was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the Lord de Comptes. It comprised that Angrogne had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people hearing that, were sorely astonished, and protested to die rather than obey the same. And hereupon it was agreed that at that very instant certain to the lord of Angrogne should be sent to notify him that the determination of the council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogne to hear the voice of the people, not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself did not go there, having intelligence of the uproar. Rather, he sent there the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the judge laid all the blame upon the notary.

During this time, the adversaries of the Waldois cried throughout the country of Piedmont: "To the fire with them, to the fire with them!" The Thursday after, by proclamations set up in every place, Angrogne was exposed to the fire and sword. On the Friday after, being the second of November, the army approached the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. John, a little beneath Angrogne. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain people of St. John, perceiving that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also took their fellows prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of their enemies were slain there, but suddenly they retired to Bubiane, where their camp then was, and not one of those of St. John was slain or hurt. It happened at the same time, that two of the horsemen, being sorely amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, which was ready to march towards Angrogne, crying, "They come, they come!" At their cry the whole army was so astonished, that every man fled his way. They were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them back into order, and yet no creature followed them.

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On that Saturday morning, the army mustered near Angrogne. Those of Angrogne had sent certain of their men to keep the passes, and to stop the army, if possible, so that they might not enter. In the meantime the people retired into the meadow of Toure, and thought little of the army coming so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden assault. For they were still carrying victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passes. Now those who kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers to God, that it would please Him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but to the cause which they maintained, and to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so work that there might be no effusion of blood; but if it was His will to take them, with their wives and infants out of this world, that He would then mercifully receive them into His kingdom. In this way most fervent prayers were made by all those who kept the passes, with an exhortation that they should all together cry unto God, and crave His succor and assistance in this great distress.

Their prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their enemies coming towards them through the vines to win the top of the mountain of Angrogne. In the meantime, the prior of St. John and Jacomel were within the temple of Angrogne. They communed with the rulers regarding an agreement. These were sent there by the lord of la Trinite to keep the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in several places, and endured for a long time in the passes of Angrogne. The poor Waldois being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were sorely pressed by the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountain where they defended themselves until night.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their enemies who were still pursuing them, they turned and slew some of them, and wounded many. When the evening came, their enemies rested, and were about to encamp there to sup and lodge all night. When the Angrognians perceived this, they went to prayer, desiring God to assist and succor them, but their enemies mocked them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a drum into a little valley nearby. As they were making their prayers to God, and the drum sounded in the valley, the lord of la Trinite caused his soldiers, which were about to encamp themselves, to remove from there. <sup>Jdg 25.16-20</sup> This was a great advantage to the poor people, who now were sorely wearied with travel, all wet with sweating, very thirsty, and in great peril if God had not given them a little breathing time. Many of their enemies were slain that day, and many wounded; very few escaped. So they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these wars. Of the Angrognians, there were but three slain that day, and one wounded, who afterwards was healed again. This combat gave great courage to the Waldois, and astonished their adversaries. At the same time, when the army retired, they burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, also destroying the wines which were in the presses.

The lord of la Trinite with his army encamped in a village beyond Toure, at the foot of the hill between Angrogne and the other towns of the valley of Lucerne, which professed the gospel. Those of the village were always sorely against the Waldois, and haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against those who possessed it. But they had their just plague, for they were all destroyed. After this, the lord of la Trinite caused the fortress to be rebuilt, which the Frenchmen had razed, and placed a garrison there. Afterwards they sent another garrison to the fort of Villars, which is of the valley of Lucerne; and another he sent to the fortress of Perouse, and he placed a fourth garrison in the castle of St. Martin. Those of Angrogne (now seeing themselves, as it were, in a sea of troubles) after they had submitted themselves to God by prayer, and committed their cause to Him,

sent to those of Perouse, St. Martin, and Pragela, for aid and succor; they sent them all the help they were able.

The next day letters came to Angrogne from the lord of la Trinite. In effect they said that he was sorry for what was done the day before, and that he did not come there to make war against them, but only to view if it was a convenient place to build a fort to serve the duke. Furthermore, his soldiers seeing the people assembled, as it were to defy them, upon that occasion only were stirred to make an assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their goods, and such hurt was done by fire. But if they would show themselves obedient to the duke, he had good hope that all would be well, and trusted some good agreement would be made. The Angrognians answered that they were terribly grieved to be so assaulted, spoiled, and tormented by the subjects of their liege and natural prince. And as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be obedient and faithful to their sovereign prince the duke, more than any of his other subjects, so they would still offer him the same obedience.

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Also they most humbly besought him, not to think it strange if, being constrained by such extreme necessity, they defended themselves. Finally, as to their religion, they affirmed that it was the pure word of God, even as it was preached by the prophets and apostles, and the same which their predecessors had observed for some hundred years past. Moreover, the cause did not concern the goods of this world, but the honor and glory of God, the salvation or destruction of the souls of both them and theirs. And therefore it would be much better for them to die altogether, than to forsake their religion. Yet if it might be proved out of the word of God, that they were in error — not by force of arms, by blood and fire — they would then yield themselves with all obedience. They most humbly beseeched him, and all other lords of the country of Piedmont, to be their intercessors and advocates to the duke in this behalf.

On Monday, the 4th of November, the lord of la Trinite sent his army to Villars and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended towards Villars. The people seeing their enemies approaching, after they had called upon God with fervent prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many; many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other company ascended towards Tailleret. Although those of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army was the greater, yet making their prayers unto God, and commending their cause unto Him, they likewise defended themselves valiantly.

In the meantime, those of Villars being emboldened by their recent victory, came to assist their neighbors. Being assembled together, they courageously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit, however, it chanced that this poor people were ambushed by their enemies who came another way. They were suddenly enclosed on every side, and likely to be destroyed; yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, who were soon cured again. On the enemy's side, so many were slain, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. This was the reward of those who desired to shed innocent blood.

After the lord of la Trinite had received the letters of the Angrognians, he sent his secretary to them, accompanied with a gentleman of the valley; whose charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certain ones to commune with him, saying, that he had good tidings to declare to them. Moreover, he would deliver them a safe conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four men to him, whom he entreated very courteously, and recited to them, how the

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duke at his departure from the court, told him that although the pope, the princes and cities of Italy, indeed, his own council were fully resolved that of necessity those of the said religion should be destroyed, yet notwithstanding, God put otherwise into his mind, and he had taken counsel from God as to what he should do in this matter; that is, he would treat them gently. Furthermore, he declared to them, that the duchess bore them good affection, and favored them very much, and that she had commended their cause to the duke, persuading him to have regard for that poor people, and that their religion was ancient and old, with many other such things. "Moreover, they had," he said, "great friends in the duke's court, not doubting that if they were to send certain ones to the court with a supplication, they would obtain more than they themselves would require. And for his part, he would employ himself in their affairs to the utmost of his power; and so he promised that he would retire himself with his army. He seemed to speak this unfeignedly. The people desiring only to live peaceably in their religion, and under obedience to their lawful prince, were content to follow his counsel.

About this season, those of Angrogne perceived that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret (which is halfway between Angrogne and those of the valley of Lucerne). The other part of the army had already gotten a way which led to the meadow of Toure, by which those of Angrogne might easily have been enclosed. Therefore they immediately sent certain ones to keep the way, who soon after encountered their enemies and obtained the victory, pursuing and chasing them to their camp, but not without great loss of their men. The number of their enemies slain was not known; for their custom was immediately to carry away those who were slain. Not one of Angrogne perished that day, nor was hurt. It was feared that this combat would have hindered the agreement; but the lord of la Trinite could well dissemble the matter, and excused the day's journey, putting the fault on those of Tailleret, whom he charged had slain certain of his men in the highway, his barber among others.

On the following Saturday, the 9th of November, the lord of la Trinite sent again for those of Angrogne, to consult with them regarding the agreement, using the same communication as before. He added to this, that in token of true obedience, they should carry their armor into two of the houses of the chief rulers, not fearing that it would be unsafe. For it would remain in their own keeping, and if need be, they should receive it again. Also, that on Sunday (the next day) he would have a mass sung within the temple of St. Lawrence in Angrogne, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the duke's wrath would be assuaged.

The next morning he went into the temple (at which they were sorely aggrieved, however they could not withstand him) his army marching before him: and having a mass sung, he desired to see the meadow of Toure that was so much spoken of, so that he might make a true report of it to the duke. And there the rulers with a great troop of his own men went, the rest of his company remaining behind. The lord having entered into the meadow of Toure, the people began to make a commotion. Having intelligence of this, he returned immediately. All that day he showed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The people in the meantime perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were moved at the sight of the army, the spoil of the soldiers, the taking away of their armor, but especially because the lord of la Trinite had viewed the meadow of Toure, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose. A few days after, the lord of la Trinite sent his secretary Gastaut to Angrogne to talk with them concerning the agreement, which was read in the assembly by the secretary as follows.

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*To the most excellent and worthy Prince, the duke of Savoy, etc.  
our sovereign lord and natural Prince.*

“Most noble and renowned prince, we have sent certain of our men to your highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned obedience to the same, and with all submission, we desire pardon regarding the bearing of armor by certain of our people in their extreme necessity, and for all other trespasses of ours, for which your sovereign grace might conceive any offense against us.

“Secondly, to desire in a most humble way, your highness, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it would please you to allow us to live with freedom of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our ancestors, observed for a hundred years past. And we are persuaded that it is the pure gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only truth, the word of life and salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious clemency not to take it badly, if we, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot consent to certain traditions and ordinances of the church of Rome, and in this to have pity upon our poor souls, and the souls of our children, to the end that your highness is not in any way charged in the just judgment of God for the same, where all men must appear to answer for their doings.

“On our part, we protest that we will seek nothing but to be the true servants of God, to serve him according to His holy word; and also to be true and loyal subjects to your highness, and more obedient than any others, being always ready to give our goods, our bodies, our lives, and the lives of our children, for your noble grace, as also our religion teaches us to do. Only we desire that our souls may be left at liberty to serve God, according to his holy word.

[491] A.D. 1527-1560.

“And we your poor humble subjects shall most heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long prosperity of your highness, for the most virtuous lady your wife, and for the noble house of Savoy.”

To this supplication those of St. John, Roccapiatà, St. Bartholomew, and Perouse, with those of the valley of Lucerne, agreed. For it was concluded that the agreement made should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. While they were treating this agreement, the lord of la Trinite cruelly vexed those of Tailleret under the pretense that they had not presented themselves to treat this agreement. He tormented them in this way: first he commanded that all their armor should be brought before him, and then on their knees, they should ask him for pardon, because they did not come to treat the agreement with the rest — though notwithstanding, most of them did.

The next morning the chief of the householders went to a village named Bouvet, the appointed place. When they had heard a sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their names. Enrolling their names not being fully ended, word was brought that the soldiers had taken the top of the mountain, and had taken all the passes. Those of Tailleret were sorely amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their wives and children. Some they saved; but most of them, with their goods, were in their enemies' hands already. At this time with sacking, spoiling and burning, they did much mischief.

After this, the lord of la Trinite sent word to those who had fled, that if they would return, he would show them mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting his promise, returned. And yet the next morning the soldiers came to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Those who were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped. The rest were all hurt or taken. Yet they all escaped by a marvellous means. For it happened that there was an old man who could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a

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naked sword in his hand to slay him. The old man seeing the imminent danger, caught the soldier by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The soldier cried out, "Help, help! this villain will kill me." His fellows hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him; but in the meantime the old man escaped. The rest of the villagers seeing what the old man had done, took courage, and even though their armor and weapons had been taken from them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that time being their enemies carried no prisoners away.

The day following the soldiers returning to the said Tailleret, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could find, and so they continued for three days. This was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing that they would be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the lord of la Trinite, to torment the poor Taillerets still more cruelly, sent his army again before daylight to the mountain, and into the same place. And because the people of the village had retired towards Villars, and were scattered in the high mountains, the soldiers not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking the rest that they found in Tailleret, ranging about its confines, sacked and made havoc on every side of whatever they could lay their hands on, taking prisoners of both men and women.

The same day two women, a mother and daughter, were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers; they died immediately after. So likewise a blind man, a hundred years of age was slain by the enemies. He had fled into a cave with his son's daughter, eighteen years old, who fed him; as they pursued the maiden, she escaped from them, but fell from the top of the mountain, and died.

Shortly after, this lord sent his army to the temple of St. Lawrence in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there; suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister being warned, managed to escape. The soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the soldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the people, they dared go no further. The minister withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied with five others. The army was by and by at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where their minister was, spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating others. Yet they could not learn from them where their minister was. At length, they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to enclose him; and so they pursued him in the rocks, all covered with snow, until it was night, but could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, and diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of la Trinite in a sack. He caused them all to be burnt in his presence. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogne, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found.

About midnight the soldiers returned with torch-light to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning a command was given to the rulers of Angrogne, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister, or else Angrogne should be put to fire and sword. The rulers answered that they could not so do, for they did not know where he was, and that the soldiers had chased him over the mountains. After a few days, when the soldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broke their mills, and did what mischief they could, the army retired.



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The poor Waldois were in great captivity and distress, but especially because they did not have the preaching of God's word among them as they usually did; and therefore taking good courage, they determined to begin preaching again. The messengers who were sent to the duke were detained six weeks, and all that while they were cruelly handled by the popish doctors. They were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Now when these messengers returned, and the people understood that there was a new command that they should return to the mass, and also that popish preachers were appointed, there was deep lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

Hereupon, those of the valley of Lucerne and of Bouvet, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with others of the people, to the churches of Pragela, to signify to them the piteous estate of the poor churches of the valleys of Piedmont, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand if it were possible. For this cause they all went to prayer. After they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel to well consider those weighty and urgent affairs with which they were oppressed, it was concluded in the end that all the people dwelling in the valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphiny should join in a league together. They all promised by God's grace and assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and administration of the holy sacraments; the one group to aid and assist the other, and to render all obedience to their superiors, so far as they were commanded by the word of God. Moreover, that it would be lawful for none of the valleys to promise or conclude anything touching religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for confirmation of the league, certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphiny were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to ascertain if they would give their consent.

These messengers,<sup>43</sup> having arrived in the evening at the village of Bouvet, and the people having assembled, word was brought that the next day every householder should appear in the council-house, to know whether they would return to the mass or not.

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Those who would receive the mass (they were told), would quietly enjoy their houses; and those who would not, would be delivered to the justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the galleys. The people were brought to this extremity: either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed best to them, if the great snow had not prevented them. Therefore, seeing themselves in such distress, they gladly consented to the league. After this, they exhorted one another, saying, "As we shall all be called upon tomorrow to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false religion of the pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy word. Let us all go tomorrow to the temple, to hear the word of God, and then let us cast down to the ground all the idols and altars." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us do so, indeed, and do it at the very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the council-house."

The next day they assembled themselves in the church of Bouvet, and as soon as they came into the temple, without any further delay, they beat down the images and east down the altars. After the sermon they went to Villars to do the same there. Along the way they encountered a band of soldiers who were going to spoil a village named Le Valle Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed,

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<sup>43</sup> Presumably the ones who had been sent to the Duke, and were coerced into accepting the mass. They are now addressing this new league, trying to convince them to likewise accept the mass, or be burned.

mocked them, and discharged their pistols at them, thinking to put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images and altars, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners who were detained there be released.

The same day the judge of Lucerne, named Podesta, went to the council-house to enroll the names of those who would return to the mass. But seeing what was done, he was afraid, and desired the people to allow him to return quietly, which they willingly granted. Several gentlemen also of the valley came there with the judge to make their poor tenants forsake God. But seeing the tumult, they were glad to flee to the castle where they and the garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger to their lives. The second day of the siege, the captain of Toure went with a company of soldiers to raise the siege; but they were either slain or discomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Toure, which caused a furious combat. Many of their enemies were slain, and a great number wounded, yet of those who besieged the fort, not one man was hurt.

At the time of this siege they attempted by various means to take the fortress, but without ordnance it was impossible to do so. The lord of la Trinite, returning with his army, came to the valley of Lucerne, and the next day might easily have raised the siege. Therefore when the garrison, not knowing that the lord of la Trinite was so near, desired to depart with bag and baggage; this request was granted. In this siege, half of the soldiers were slain, and many were wounded, with harquebusses as well as with stones. And the soldiers, for lack of water, were constrained to make their bread with wine. This tormented their stomachs, and caused great sickness. Here it is not to be forgotten that the soldiers who a while before so cruelly persecuted the poor ministers, seeking by all possible means to destroy them, now beseeched them to save their lives. The same night the fortress was razed.

The second day of February the lord of la Trinite encamped at Lucerne, and placed a garrison in the priory of St. John, a village of the Waldois between Lucerne and Angrogne. The next morning the lord of la Trinite sent word to those of Angrogne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they would be gently handled. The whole week before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day, those of Angrogne and the rest of the valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement should be made by any one of them without the consent of the rest. About noon the lord of la Trinite marched with his army by St. John, to enter into the borders of Angrogne by a place called La Sonnilette, where they had fought before. The people had made certain bulwarks of earth and stone, not more than three feet high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies. When the enemy were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh soldiers into their places, so that the combat endured till night; all that day the army could not enter the borders of Angrogne. Many of the enemy were slain, and a great many hurt; only two men of Angrogne were slain; one of them was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy for the spoil. The army, being beaten and tired, rested awhile.

The following Friday, the 7th of February, at the break of day, the army marched towards Angrogne by five separate ways. The people of Angrogne had not yet assembled, and there were none to resist, except a few who kept watch. Seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they were going to enclose them, after they valiantly fought for a while, recoiled little by little to a high place where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of la Trinite seeing the loss of his men, and

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above all, that one of great credit and authority in the duke's court was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and descended to Angrogne. There he destroyed and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find; so that in a short time he had burnt about a thousand houses of Angrogne.

Toure is a little valley on the borders of Angrogne, environed about with mountains two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst of which there are about two hundred small houses and cottages; also meadows, pastures for cattle, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountains. On the south side and on the north the mountains are so high, that no man can by that way approach the valley. On the other sides, a man may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne; the way is very narrow and hard to pass because of the hills on both sides. There is also a river close by, but very small, and the banks are very high in many places. The people had carried very few victuals there, partly because the way was so difficult, and also because of the sudden return of the army.

In the meantime the lord of la Trinite, after he had now twice assaulted Angrogne, sent to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne. But the soldiers were driven back for four days by those who kept the passes. Upon which he sent his whole army, whom the villagers valiantly withstood from morning till night. Then those of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambush of soldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no man would have suspected it. The poor people, seeing themselves so environed by their enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their enemies, and others among the rocks.

The enemy having entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The rest of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all that night upon the mountains full of snow, laden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hands. When those of the valley saw them, they ran to them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had all been slain. Although these poor people were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the poor little infants who cried for the cold.

A few days after, the lord of la Trinite entered into the valley of Lucerne by three ways; that is to say, by Rosa, by the plains, and by the sides of Tailleret. They who kept the passes, at first resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves awhile.

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But because they saw that their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars towards Bouvet, they gave up, left Villars, and fled to the mountains. The soldiers having entered, they burned the houses and slew all that they could find. The poor people who had fled into the mountains, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gave Him thanks, that he had made them worthy to suffer for his name, and for his cause; they were also glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies encamp there. Then the soldiers in great rage mounted the hills on every side, pursuing the poor people in great fury. But a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their enemies to Villars. This done, the army retired.

A few days later, the meadow of Toure was assaulted three separate ways on the east side. The combat endured a long time, many of the enemy were wounded, and many slain. But

none of this poor people were slain on that day; only two were wounded, who were soon healed again. But to declare the conflicts, assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places thereabouts, would take too long; for brevity's sake it is sufficient to touch upon the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, the 14th of February, the people who were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Toure, perceived that a company of soldiers had ascended the hill to Angrogne, and burned the rest of the houses there. They suspected that it was the policy of their enemies to draw them there, and in the meantime to set upon them from behind, and so to win the meadow of Toure from them. Therefore they sent only six harquebusses against those soldiers. Having the higher ground, and not espied by their enemies, they discharged all their guns together. Immediately the soldiers fled, although no man pursued them; whether they fled from policy, or for fear, was not known.

Every morning a sermon was made, to which the people resorted. Shortly after, those of the meadow of Toure on watch at the top of the mountain, because and they could see afar off round about them, espied a troop of soldiers marching on the side of the hill between the east and the north. Soon after that, they discovered another company who marched on the north side towards the troop. The first had ascended an hour before the other, and fought on top of the mountain called Melese; but they were soon discomfited. And because they could not run fast because of the deep snow and the difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they often fell down on the ground. While those villagers who pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken their drum from them, other villagers came to them crying out that the other troop had entered the meadow of Toure. So they gave up the chase, or else not one of their enemies would have escaped.

The other troop which came by the north side, took a high hill on top of the mountain, which seemed to be almost inaccessible because of the snow and ice there. When they had come to the top of the hill, they had seven soldiers go down the hill to view the way, and to see whether the troop might descend that way or not. These seven went down almost to the houses. They also sent others to occupy the rest of the high places which were near the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the meantime the ministers and the people, who were in the midst of the valley of the meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged. So they went to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation, and tears even until night.

The seven spies who came down to discover the way, cried out to their captain Truchet "Come down, come down, this day Angrogne shall be taken." The other cried back to them, "Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you will be slain, every one of you." Immediately five villagers issued out against these spies; they took some and chased the rest. The first of the five who set upon them, threw two of them down on the ground. Soon after, eight men of Angrogne issued out against the whole troop, and it was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness to assail such a multitude; it seemed that they should all have been destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the others to discover the enemies, and carried a great staff somewhat bigger than a halbert (pole-ax); the other followed two by two with harquebusses (muskets). These eight went from rock to rock, from hill to hill about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then twelve others came who, joining with the rest, fought with wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Soon after, a hundred harquebusses came from the valley of Lucerne, with one of their ministers. It was their habit to send out a minister with them for prayer and

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exhortation as well as to keep the people in order, so that they do not exceed in measure, as it came to pass that day.

At length they also saw those coming who had returned from the discomfiture of the former troop, making a great noise, and having a drum sounding before them (which they had taken from their enemies). They joined with those of the valley of Lucerne, and having made their earnest prayer to God, they immediately came to succor the others that were now valiantly encountering the enemy. Then the enemy seeing such a company marching against them with such courage and boldness, their hearts were so taken, that they suddenly fled. But as they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice and fought, while some fled in the meantime.

The one who carried the staff, and discovered the enemy, was but a very young and simple man, and esteemed to be one who could do nothing but handle a hatchet and keep cattle. Yet with those who followed, he so discomfited the enemy that it was wonderful to behold. He broke his great staff with laying upon them; and after that he broke four of their own swords in pursuing them. There was a boy eighteen years of age, of small stature, who slew the lord of Monteil, master of the camp to the king. The enemy was astonished at this, and discouraged. Another simple man, whom one would have thought dared not once to have looked Truchet in the face (for Truchet was a very large man, strong and valiant, and one of the chief captains of the whole army), threw Truchet down with the strike of a stone. Then a young man leaped upon him and slew him with his own sword, and cleft his head in pieces.

This Truchet was one of the principal authors of the war, and one of the chief enemies of true religion and of the poor Waldois, who could then be found. It was also said that he vaunted and promised beforehand to the lord of la Trinite, that he would deliver into his hands the meadow of Toure. But God soon brought his proud boasting to nothing. And for his spoiling of the poor people, he lay spoiled and naked in the wild mountain of Angrogne. Two of the chief among them offered to pay a great sum of crowns for their ransom, but they would not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited that they fled without any resistance; if the night had not hindered them, the villagers would have pursued them further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of blood, and the enemy retreating, cried to the people, saying that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks to God. Those who heard him obeyed, and went to prayer; but those who were further off, and did not hear him, chased the enemy till dark. If the rest had done the same, very few of their enemies would have escaped. That day they had spoiled their enemies of a great part of their armor and ammunition. So God restored to the poor Waldois in this combat, and in others, the armor which the lord of la Trinite had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every man cried, "Who is he that does not see that God fights for us?"

This victory gave great courage to the poor Waldois, and greatly astonished their enemies.

On the 18th of February, the lord of la Trinite, not satisfied with burning and destroying most of Villars, returned to burn all the little villages round about which pertain to it, and especially to pursue the poor people who had fled to the mountains. Dividing his army into three parts, he entered by three separate ways.

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The two first companies joined together between Villars and Bouvet, and having a great company of horsemen. From there they went to seek the people who were in the mountain

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of Combe, by a way which they did not expect, and where there were no warders (guards) to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders who were nearby, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them, and calling upon God for his aid and succor, they set themselves against their enemies. Although they were but thirty in number, they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their bulwarks, that is to say, certain houses which at that time served for that purpose. Many of the enemies were slain in those two combats. The lord of la Trinite, seeing his men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his army, who were estimated to be 1500 men. About 100 also came to succor the warders. The combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor people were assaulted so vehemently that they were glad to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. The enemy thought it was all theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, who did not retire farther than a stone's cast, took courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for succor, they turned themselves to face their enemies, and with great force and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this their enemies rested themselves a while. By and by they gave a furious assault, but they were again mightily resisted. Once again their enemies rested, and in the meantime the people went to prayer, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up towards heaven, which terrified their enemies more than anything else. After this the enemies gave another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Indeed, God here showed his great power, even in the little children. They fervently called upon God, and threw stones at their enemies, giving courage to the men. So also did the women, and the regular sort, that is to say, those who were not fit for any feats of war, remained upon the mountain. Beholding these furious combats, they knelt on the ground, and with their faces lifted towards heaven, they cried with tears and groanings, "Lord help us!" He heard their prayers.

After these three assaults were given, one came to them crying, "Be of good courage, God has sent those of Angrogne to succor us." He meant that those of Angrogne were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards Tailleret, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiving that those of Angrogne had come to that place to succor them, began to cry, "Blessed be God, who has sent us succor — those of Angrogne are to succor us." Their enemies, hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreat. They retired into the plain.

That enemy troop which had gone towards Tailleret, was divided into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, amounting to 140, marched higher, thinking to take the people unawares. But they were strongly resisted by seven men and driven back. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to enclose the people; but as God would have it, those of Angrogne who came to succor them, encountered them, and put them to flight.

Those of Villars, mentioned before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine (for most of them had eaten nothing all that day) chased their enemies so fiercely till it was almost night, that the master of the camp was obliged to send to the lord of la Trinite, who was at Toure, for succor, or else all would have been lost. The master did this himself. He immediately rode with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, hearing the alarm which was given at St. John by those of Angrogne, and fearing lest he be stopped on the way. The army retired with great difficulty, notwithstanding the new aid which was sent to them, and with great loss of men.

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On Monday, the 17th of March following, the lord of la Trinite, to be revenged against those of the meadow of Toure, assembled all the force that he could make with the gentlemen of the country. So that whereas before his army was usually but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand. Secretly in the night he encamped with part of his army in the midst of Angrogne, from where the poor inhabitants had fled. The next morning, after the sermon and prayers were ended, the villagers perceived the other part of the army encamped at the foot of the mountain of Angrogne on the east side. Soon after, they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harness, and marching in such array, that the poor people were at first shocked. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, "Help us, O Lord," beseeching Him to have regard to the glory of his holy name, to stay the effusion of blood, if it were His good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their enemies to the truth of His holy gospel. These two parts of the army joined together near the bulwarks of the meadow of Toure, and made the assault in three separate places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rocks, thinking to enclose the people in their bulwarks. But as soon as those who kept the bulwark below espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them. As they marched, they met with the aid of those who were sent to them from the valley of Lucerne, very luckily, and coming as it were from heaven. Joining together, they soon discomfited their enemies with stones and musketry. They pursued them fiercely in the rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, because the rocks are so steep that no man can ascend or descend without great pain and difficulty.

There was also another band who kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from there. The middlemost bulwark was then assaulted, in which there were very few villagers to defend it. Seeing the number of their enemies, they retired, leaving only five to defend it. There was a huge rock not far from the bulwark; behind it a great number of the enemy were hidden. Shortly two ensigns issued out, assuring themselves to win the bulwark; but immediately one of their ensign-bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many fell back; the other set up his ensign upon the bulwark. Those who were within had neither halbert, nor any other long weapon, but only one pike, without any iron. One of the five took it, and threw down the ensign, and manfully beat back the scalers, throwing them down to the ground. Some of the enemy had entered into the bulwark by a door below, and slew one of the five who kept the middle of the bulwark. The other four expected to be destroyed at once. Then one of the four chased away those who had entered below, with stones. The other three, leaving their pistols, likewise defended themselves with great stones. Perceiving the band who were on the rocks fleeing, they took courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly till their companions had returned from the chase.

In the meantime the bulwark which was up on the side of the mountain, was furiously assailed by half of the army. Those who were within, allowed their enemies to approach near to the bulwark, without any gunshot or other defense; the enemy much marvelled at this. But when they were at hand, the defenders fell upon them, some with throwing stones, others with rolling down mighty stones, and some with musketry. A huge stone was rolled down, which passed throughout the whole army, and slew many. The soldiers at that time had won a little cottage near the bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men. But among them, one devised to roll down a huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and so shocked the soldiers, that they thought they had all been destroyed. They fled and would never enter it again.

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Then the soldiers made fences of wood, five feet long, three feet broad, and the thickness of three boards. But they were so sorely vexed with the shot of the musketry, that they were obliged to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made other defenses of earth for the soldiers. But all the skill of the enemy availed them nothing. For the slaughter was so great, that in some places you might have seen three lying dead one upon another. The shot of a musket came so near the lord of la Trinite's head, that it broke a wand which he bore in his hand, and made him retreat 120 paces. Seeing his soldiers murdered and wounded in such great numbers on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Toure. Moreover, he was determined, if that day's journey had not succeeded, to encamp nearby, and very early the next morning to renew the assault. Many gentlemen and others came to see the discomfiture of the poor Waldois: and likewise those of the plain looked for nothing but to hear the piteous ruin and desolation of this poor people. But God disposed it otherwise, for the lord of Trinity did much to save himself and his. The gentlemen seeing the mischief which they intended to do to others had now fallen upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. Those of the plain also, when they saw the number of dead bodies and the wounded was so great (for from noon until the evening they did not cease to carry them away) were likewise exceedingly dismayed.

Many marvelled why the people did not pursue the army, but especially the soldiers marvelled, seeing the great discomfiture which the villagers had done, and that they had gotten such advantage over the soldiers already; but this was for two reasons. The one was, because they had already determined not to follow the army once it retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves. The other cause was that they were weary, and had spent all their ammunition: for many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty.

The next day one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of la Trinite, saying to him, that he would never fight against this people any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual memory, that in that combat there were but two of the Waldois slain, and two wounded. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, *God fights for them*. One of the captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce assaults and combats, and various well-fought battles, but he had never seen soldiers so faint-hearted and amazed. Indeed, the soldiers themselves told him that they were so astonished, that they could not strike. They said that this people never shot, without wounding or killing some of the soldiers. Others said that the ministers conjured and bewitched them by their prayers, so that they could not fight: and indeed, wonderful and marvellous are the judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, such great assaults and ventures, so much and such terrible shots continually made against this poor people, yet in a way, it all came to no effect — so mightily had God's holy power wrought for his people. Insomuch that, for all the combats, skirmishes, and many conflicts of the Angrognians, there were but nine that failed; and the whole number of those who were slain amounted only to fourteen persons.

The lord of la Trinite sent two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne to those of Angrogne, to ask them if they would come to any agreement. The answer made to him, was that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he very often sent to negotiate an agreement: but what his meaning was might well appear. For when the poor people hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. Upon this there was a day assigned in the valley of Lucerne, to confer regarding the agreement with certain men belonging to the lord of Raconig, and a safe conduct was promised and granted. The night before the



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ministers and rulers of Angrogne were to take their journey, they perceived a company of soldiers going up a hill, by which the people of Angrogne would pass. They hid themselves in houses on the wayside, thinking to take those of Angrogne unawares, who were sent to work out the agreement. But, having intelligence of this conspiracy, they watched and guarded. It was an easy matter, some thought, to have taken the lord of la Trinite that night, and to have spoiled his whole camp. But those of Angrogne and Lucerne would not execute this enterprise, lest they offend God by it, and pass the bounds of their vocation, taking upon themselves no more than to defend themselves.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the meadow of Toure. The lord of Raconig, seeming to be sorry for this war, sent an honest man into the meadow of Toure, Francis of Gilles, to consult what means were best to further the agreement. After conferring with the ministers and rulers, he returned homeward that day according to his master's command. Having sent back the one who conducted him, he was murdered soon after at the foot of Angrogne, by two men of Angrogne, who otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soon after, one of the two who had committed this act, entered into the meadow of Toure, and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the deed without any further delay. Immediately the other was also taken.

The Waldois were marvellously troubled and grieved with this act, and wrote to the lord of Raconig, declaring to him the whole circumstance, that they had the offenders under guard, and that if it would please him to send someone to examine the matter, they for their part would so execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocence would appear to all men. The lord of Raconig wrote to them that they should deliver to him the offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them as the case required. Those of Angrogne answered, that they would be delivered according to his request, on three conditions. First, that the prisoners would be compelled to do nothing against their consciences; and regarding religion, nothing would be said to them, but out of the word of God. Secondly, that speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this would be no prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the people of Angrogne. The third, that their execution would be upon the borders of Angrogne, as an example to all others. This being accorded with one assent (indeed, without contradiction by their parents), they sent them as prisoners, accompanied with sixty gunners, to the confines of Lucerne, and there they delivered them into the hands of the lord of Raconig. This redounded to the great commendation of the people of Angrogne.

After this, the lord of la Trinite, having left garrisons about Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, went to Perouse, near the valley of St. Martin, to succor the garrison there, being in great danger. He remained there a month. During that time, those of Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; yet they were much afflicted by the scarcity of victuals, which sorely pressed them and those of the meadow of Toure, for they had been spoiled of their victuals. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread. Afterwards, when they were likely to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succor than they had before, both of corn and bread. Their enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Toure by famine; for they took away the victuals that were to be had in all the places round about. Every household was allowed to have no more than might sustain them that day, and that too was very little, so that they would not succor this poor people.

Afterwards, the lord of la Trinite, having returned from Perouse to Lucerne, sent some to discuss an agreement, and he requested to commune with some of the people. Then they

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began to consult and devise by all means, how they might come to some good agreement. But on Monday, the 17th of April, by break of day, he sent certain bands of Spaniards who he had there with the garrison of Toure, to the mountain of Tailleret, by the way which leads to the meadow of Toure on the south side. They murdered the men, women, and children of Tailleret whom they found in their beds.

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Then they marched along upon the mountain, towards the meadow of Toure. Shortly after, the people perceived two other companies of soldiers, marching by Angrogne by two separate ways, to assault the meadow of Toure. In the morning as soon as they rose, they blew their horns, for they saw they had already entered. When they had offered their prayers, every man ran to meet the enemy, some on the east side, and others on the south. Those who first resisted the enemy (who were already past the bulwarks), were in the beginning but twelve gunners, and a few others whom they had go up the hill, and roll down great stones. These twelve, having found a fit place for their purpose to stay the enemy, began to shoot at them. Seeing themselves so assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so narrow and strait, the soldiers turned back, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they would have been enclosed between the two mountains, for the place was so narrow, that they could not have escaped. The people chased them to their camp, which was at Toure.

A few days later, the people of Angrogne were notified by the lord of la Trinite's letters, that he fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corn on the ground; and that two forts would be built at Angrogne. The day was assigned, and horsemen were appointed with all speed to execute this mischievous enterprise. The poor people thought that they should be assailed as sorely as ever, and have to fight as hard as they ever did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt. For the night before this was intended to be executed, the lord of la Trinite received letters from the duke, which stopped this enterprise. Those of the meadow of Toure being notified that the lord of la Trinite now intended to send ordnance to beat down the bulwarks which were made of stones, they made a bulwark of earth, which was about five hundred paces in compass, and which they might easily see from Lucerne. Those in the meadow of Toure told the lord la Trinite's men, that if they brought any artillery, they would not so soon carry it away again; and shortly after, the ordnance was sent back.

About this time, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldois earnestly requested the lord of Raconig to present a supplication which they had made to the duchess of Savoy. For they had intelligence that she was displeased that her subjects were so cruelly treated. In this supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke, their sovereign lord, and if it might be proved by the pure word of God that they held any error, they would with all humble submission receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beseeching her grace to appease the displeasure which the duke had conceived against them, by the untrue surmises of their adversaries; and if there was anything in which they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon.

About the same time, the lord of la Trinite was in great danger of his life, by sickness. Soon after the supplication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer to the Waldois, by the lord of Raconig. The effect of it was that she had obtained from his grace, the duke, all that they demanded in their supplication, upon such conditions as the lord of Raconig would propose to them. But when they understood that the conditions were very rigorous, they sent

another supplication to the duchess, in which they humbly besought her grace to interpose in their behalf, that the conditions and articles might be moderated.

The articles follow here:

1. That they should banish their ministers.
2. That they should receive the mass, and other ceremonies of the Romish church.
3. That they should pay a ransom to the soldiers for some of their men whom they had taken.
4. That they should assemble and preach no more as they were used to doing.
5. That the duke would make fortresses at his pleasure in all that country, with other similar things.

The people made humble request in this, their last supplication, that it would please the duchess to give the duke, her husband, to understand how these conditions were strange and rigorous. As for their parts, although they had good trial of their ministers — that they were good men, and God-fearing, of sound doctrine, of good life, and honest conversation — nevertheless, they were content to obey, if he would give leave to some of them to remain. They requested this, that it might be permitted to them to choose some other good ministers in their places before they departed, lest their churches remain without pastors.

Concerning the mass and other ceremonies of the church of Rome, if the duke were to cause them to be ministered in their parishes, they neither would nor could withstand it, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those who would minister to them, or be present at them. Notwithstanding, they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministration of them, or to pay anything to maintain them, or to yield either countenance or consent to them.

As to the ransom which was demanded from them for their prisoners, considering the extreme poverty that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had suffered, it was an impossible thing for them. Indeed, if his highness was truly informed what losses they had sustained by the burning, spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods, without either mercy or pity, he would not only not require any such thing from them, but as a gracious and merciful prince, he would succor and support them, that they might be able to maintain their poor families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the service of God, and of their lord and prince. And therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor brethren remaining in captivity and prison, and those who were sent to the galleys for the profession of their religion, might be speedily delivered and set at liberty.

As for their assemblies and preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only among themselves, in their accustomed places, and in other valleys where any assembly of the faithful might take place, who were desirous to hear the preaching of the gospel.

Touching the fortresses, because they had suffered great molestation and trouble by those that were already made, as well as concerning their goods, and also their religion, they were assured that if he did build new forts, they would never be able to bear the troubles, miseries, and calamities that would follow. And therefore they most humbly desired the duchess to be so good and gracious to them, as to obtain from the duke, that he would accept their persons in the stead of forts; and that seeing those places were by nature and of themselves strong and well fortified, it might please their lord the duke to receive them into his protection and safeguard. And by the grace and assistance of God, they would serve him themselves for such walls and forts, that he not need to build any other. And because many

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of those who dwelt near them had robbed and spoiled them, not only of their household goods and such other things, but also driven away their cattle; that it might please him to give them leave to recover the goods by way of justice, and to buy back that which the soldiers had sold, and do that for the same price for which it was sold.

Briefly, they also besought their lord, that it might please him to be so gracious to them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises, immunities, and privileges, general as well as particular, given to them by him as well as by his predecessors; and likewise of those which they as well as their ancestors had bought from their lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

And because in times past, instead of good and speedy justice, all iniquity was committed by those who had the administration of justice in their valleys, and as their purses were emptied and punished rather than the malefactors, that it might please him to give order that such justice might be done among them whereby the wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their rights.

[497] A.D. 1527-1560.

Finally, because diverse one of this poor people (being surprised at the coming of the army, and fearing lest they not only be spoiled of all their goods, but also that they with their wives and children would be utterly destroyed) had promised against their consciences, to live according to the traditions of the church of Rome; they were troubled and tormented in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distress. Therefore they humbly besought the duchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain for them, that they might not be compelled to do anything against their consciences, and that it might please the duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of conscience. Also, that all their poor brethren banished for the cause of religion might return home to their houses; and that all confiscations and penalties made against them might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honor to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithful subjects to their lord and prince; yes, more thin any others. Underneath the supplication there was written:

“Your faithful and humble subjects, the poor afflicted of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, and generally all the people of the Waldois, who inhabit the country of Piedmont.”

After this supplication was viewed and read by the duchess, she so persuaded the duke, that an answer was given with these conditions, declared in the following articles:

*Conclusions and Articles lastly agreed upon between the  
Right Honorable Lord of Raconig on the part of his Highness the Duke,  
and those of the Valleys of Piedmont, called the Waldois.*

That there shall shortly be made letters patent by his highness the duke, by which it may appear that he has forgiven and pardoned those of the valleys of Angrogne, Bouvet, Villars, Valquichard, Rora, Tailleret, La Rua de Bouvet (bordering on Tour), St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Bartholomew, and all those who have aided them, of all those faults which they have committed, as well as bearing arms against his highness, and against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

That it shall be lawful for those of Angrogne, Bouvet, Villars, Valquichard, Rora (members of the valley of Lucerne), and for those of Rodoret, Marcele, Manaillon, and Salsa (members of the valley of St. Martin), to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in accustomed places.

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That it shall be lawful for those of Villars (members of the valley of Lucerne) to have the same, but only until the time that his highness builds a fort in the same place. But while the said fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their preachings and assemblies within the precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, wherever they think good, on that side towards Bouvet. Nevertheless, it shall be permitted to their ministers to come within the aforesaid precinct, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their religion, so long as they do not or have any assembly there. It shall also be permitted to those of Tailleret, La Rua de Bouvet, bordering upon Toure, to have their sermons and assemblies in the accustomed places, so that they do not enter for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Toure.

That it shall not be lawful for the said members of the valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin, to come to the rest of their borders, nor any other of his highness's dominions; nor to have their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, outside of their own borders, having liberty to have them within. And if they are examined about their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

The like shall be lawful for those of the parish of Perouse, who at this present time have fled because of their religion, and usually had their assemblies, and preachings, and other ministries according to their religion, at the place called Le Puis; so that they do not come to other places and borders of the said parish.

It shall be permitted to those of the parish of Pinachia, of the valley of Perouse, who at this present time have fled because of their religion, and usually went to sermons and assemblies, and other ministries of their religion, to have the like, only at the place called Le Grandoubion.

It shall be permitted to those of the parish of St. Germain, of the valley of Perouse, and to those of Roccapiata, who at this present period have fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same, to have only one minister, who may one day preach at St. Germain, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

It shall be permitted to all those of the towns and villages of the valleys, who at this present time have fled, and continue in their religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this war against the said religion, to repair and return to their houses with their households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the sermons and assemblies which shall be made by their ministers in the places specified above, so that they obey that which is above-said.

And because many of the said towns and villages dwell outside of the precinct of preaching, having need to be visited, and of other things according to their religion, their ministers, who dwell within the precinct, shall be allowed, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid those of such ministries as shall be necessary for them, so long as they make no sermons or assemblies.

By especial grace it shall be permitted to all those of the valley of Meane, and those of St. Bartholomew, neighbors to Roccapiata, and have fled and continue in their religion, peaceably to enjoy the grace and liberties granted in the preceding article, so that they observe all that which they promised to observe before.

The goods already seized as forfeited, shall be restored to all the inhabitants of the said valleys, and to all those who have fled and continue in their religion, those of the said valleys as well as of Roccapiata, St. Bartholomew, and of Meane, so that they are not seized for any other cause than for their religion, and for the war present and recently past. It shall be lawful for those aforesaid to recover from their neighbors, by way of justice, their moveable goods and cattle, so long as it is not from soldiers. And that which has been sold, they shall also recover by way

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of justice, so that they restore the price for which it has been sold. Their neighbors shall have the like against them.

All the franchises, freedoms, and privileges, general as well as particular, granted by his highness' predecessors, as well as by himself, and obtained from other inferior lords, of which they shall make proof by public writing, shall be confirmed to them.

The said valleys shall be provided for, to have good justice ministered to them, by which they may know they are kept in safeguard by his highness, as well as all his other subjects.

The inhabitants of the said valleys shall make a roll of all the names and surnames of all those of the valleys, who have fled for religion, as well those who have abjured like others, to the end that they may be restored and maintained in their goods and households, and enjoy such grace and benefits as their prince and lord has bestowed on them. And insomuch as it is known to every man, that the prince may build fortresses in his country wherever it shall please him, without contradiction, nevertheless to take all suspicion out of the minds of the aforesaid Waldois, it is declared, if at any time hereafter his highness makes a fort at Villars, the inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the charges, but only as they think it good to lovingly aid their prince. This fort being built (by God's aid), a governor and captain shall be appointed there, who shall attempt nothing but the service of his highness, without offence to the inhabitants, either in their goods or consciences. It shall be lawful for them, before discharging those of their ministers whom it shall please his highness to have discharged, to choose and call others in their steads; so long as they do not choose Master Martin de Pragela, nor change from one place to another of the said valleys, any of those who are discharged.

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The mass and other service following the usage of Rome, shall be kept in all the parishes of the said valleys, where the sermons, assemblies, and other ministries of their religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present at them, nor to support, aid, or favor those who use that service.

All the expenses and charges borne by his highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released to them forever; also the 8,000 crowns for which the inhabitants of the said valleys were behind, as part of 16,000 crowns which they had promised in the war passed. And his highness will command that the writings made for that cause, shall be annulled and cancelled.

All the prisoners shall be rendered up and restored who are found to be in the hands of the soldiers, upon paying a reasonable ransom, according to the goods which they may possess; and those who are adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ransom.

Likewise, all those of the said valleys, who for religion, and not for other causes, are detained in the galleys, shall be released without ransom.

Finally, it shall be lawful for all those of the said valleys — those of Meane, Roccapiata, and St. Bartholomew — of whatever degree, estate and condition they are (except ministers) to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily conversation with the rest of his highness's subjects, and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his highness's country, to sell and buy, and use all trades of merchandise, in all places in his highness's country, as said before, so long as they do not preach, nor make any assemblies or disputations, as we said before; and that those who are within the limits do not dwell outside of them; and those who are of the towns and villages of the said valleys do not dwell outside of them, nor outside their borders; and in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended or troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his highness.

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Furthermore, his highness shall give orders to stay all troubles, inconveniencies, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, in such a way that they shall remain quietly in their religion. For observation of this, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrogne; Constantion Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the elders of Villars; Pirrone Arduino, sent from the commonalty of Bouvet; Michael Ramondet, sent from the commonalty of Tailleret, and of La Rua de Bouvet, bordering on Toure; John Malenote, sent from certain persons of St. John; Peter Paschall, sent from the commonalty of the valley of St. Martin; Thomas Romam of St. Germaine, sent from the commonalty of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them and their commonalties severally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolably kept, and for breach of it will submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families or the commonalties to allow and confirm the said promise.

The honorable lord of Raconig promises that his highness the duke shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favor of the noble lady the princess.

In testimony of this, the aforesaid lord of Raconig has confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand; and the ministers have likewise subscribed in the name of all the said valleys; and those who can write, in the name of all their commonalties.

At Cavor, the 5th of June 1561.

*Philip of Savoy, Francis Valla, Minister of Villars,  
Claudius Bergius, Minister of Tailleret,  
Georgius Monasterius, Michael Raymundet.*

This accord being thus made and passed by means of the duchess of Savoy, the poor Waldois have been in quiet to this present time; and God of his infinite goodness, having delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, has set them at liberty to serve Him purely and with quietness of conscience.

Therefore there is not one at this present time who does not see and well perceive that God would make it known by experience to these poor Waldois, and all other faithful people, that all things turn to the best for those who love and fear Him. <sup>Rom 8.28</sup> For by all these afflictions which they suffered, their heavenly Father has brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he has effectually taught them to have recourse to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ as their only Savior and Redeemer. He has taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the world, and lift them to heaven; and to always be in readiness to come to Him, as to their most loving and gracious Father. To be short, he has sent them to the school of his children, to the end that they should profit in patience and hope; to make them mourn, weep, and cry unto Him. And above all, He has so often made them prove His succors in time of need, to see them before their eyes, to know and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) in such a way that they have had good occasion, and all the faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, who is so careful for the health of His children, but to assure themselves that they shall never be confounded, whatever happens.

And yet, to see this more manifestly, so that every man may take profit in this, it will be good to understand what this poor people did while they were in these combats and conflicts. As soon as they saw the army of their enemies approach, they cried all together to the Lord for aid and succor; and before they came to defend themselves, they went to prayer; and in fighting, they lifted up their hearts and sighed to the Lord. As long as the enemy were at rest, every one of these poor people on their knees called upon God. When

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the combat was ended, they gave Him thanks for the comfort and succor which they had felt. In the meantime, the rest of the people with their ministers made their hearty prayer to God, with sighs and tears, and they did that from morning until evening. When night had come, they assembled together again. Those who had fought, recounted the wonderful aid and succor which God had sent them; and so altogether they rendered thanks to Him for his fatherly goodness. Always He changed their sorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all sides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cause for rejoicing and comfort.

As for the monks and priests who thought to advance themselves by such means, and to bring their trumpery (nonsense) higher in estimation, they have lost the little rule which they had over that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought to disdain. Thus God beats down those who exalt themselves above measure, and He makes his adversaries fall into the pits which they themselves have made. Let us pray to Him therefore, that it would please Him likewise to stretch out his mighty arm at *this* our day, to maintain His poor afflicted church, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his members, to the advancement of His glory and kingdom.

### **CONCLUSION.**

Thus we have comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly saints and blessed martyrs who suffered in the other foreign nations mentioned above. Here now we end with them, and begin the eighth book. We are, God willing, returning to our own matters, to prosecute such acts and records as pertain to our own country of England. In the process of this, among many other things, the marvellous work of God's power and mercy may appear in suppressing and banishing from this realm, the long usurped supremacy of the pope. Also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of monks and friars, with diverse other matters pertaining to the reformation of Christ's true church and religion. All of these things have long been wished for, and greatly prayed for in times past, by many godly and learned men.

[499] A.D. 1527-1560.

Because of that, we should so much more rejoice and give God thanks now, seeing these days of reformation which God has given us. If John Huss, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wycliffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; if Ziska with all the company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Raymund, with all the Toulousians; if the Waldois, or the Albigenses, with infinite others, had either been in these present times, or else had then seen this ruin of the pope, and the revealing of antichrist which the Lord now has given to us, what joy and triumph would they not have made! Therefore, now beholding what they had so long wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but let us render most humble thanks to the Lord our God. By his mighty power, and the brightness of his word, He has revealed this great enemy of His so manifestly to the eyes of all men, who before was so hidden in the church, that few Christians could discover him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, the bishop of Rome (commonly received and believed by almost all men, to be the vicar and vicegerent of Christ here on earth) to be antichrist, and the great adversary of God — the one whom St. Paul so expressly prophesies about, who was to be revealed in these latter days by the brightness of the Lord's coming — as most men may now see it has come to pass?

Therefore, to the Lord, and Father of lights, who reveals all things in His due time, be praise and glory forever. Amen.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.



## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK VIII.

CONTINUING

#### *The history of English affairs pertaining both to the Ecclesiastical and Civil states.*

*Mistress Smith, widow; Robert Hatches, a shoemaker; Aacher, a shoemaker;  
Hawkins, a shoemaker: Thomas Bund, a shoemaker; Wrigsham, a glover;  
Landsdale, a hosier, martyred at Coventry, A.D. 1519.*

The principal cause of the apprehension of these persons was their teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and ten commandments in English, for which they were put in prison on Ash-Wednesday, till the following Friday.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry. During this time their children were sent to the Gray Friars in Coventry, before the warden, called Friar Stafford. Examining them about their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, he charged them upon pain of suffering death, to meddle no more with the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English.

On Palm Sunday the fathers of these children were brought again to Coventry, and there the week before Easter they were condemned to be burned. Mistress Smith alone was dismissed for the present. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, Simon Mourton offered to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve, he asked, "What have you here?" And so he took it from her, and saw that it was the Lord's Prayer, the articles of the creed, and the ten commandments in English; which when the wretched somner understood this, he brought her back to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and burned with the six men named before, on the 4th of April, A.D. 1519.

When these were dispatched, the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle for their own use, not leaving their wives and children anything. And as the people began to complain of the cruelty, and the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, had it rumored abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the commandments in English, but because they ate flesh on Fridays and other fast days!

*Robert Silkeb, 1521.* — Among the number of these men was Robert Silkeb, who fled, and escaped for a time. But about two years later he was taken again, and brought to Coventry, where he was burned about the 13th of January 1521.

*Patrick Hamilton, A.D. 1527.*

Patrick Hamilton, a Scotsman of high and noble stock, and of the king's blood. He was young, and of flourishing age, called *the abbot of Fern*. Coming out of his country with three companions to seek godly learning, he went to the university of Marpurg in Germany. There, in conference and familiarity with learned men like Francis Lambert, he so profited in knowledge, and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he was the first at the university of Marpurg to publicly set up conclusions to be disputed there, concerning faith and works. He also argued no less learnedly than fervently upon the subject.

This learned Patrick, daily increasing more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to consider his return to his country, being desirous to impart to

his countrymen some of the knowledge which he had received abroad. There, not bearing with the ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, he was accused of heresy. Afterwards he constantly and stoutly sustained the cause of God's gospel against the high priest and archbishop of Saint Andrews, named James Beaton. He was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, the first day of March 1527. Not only being forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, he did not wait for the appointed hour but came very early, before he was looked for. There, mightily disputing against them, when he could not be convinced by the Scriptures, he was oppressed by force. The sentence of condemnation was given against him. The same day after dinner, he was led away to the fire and there burned.

[501] A.D. 1527-1560

We think it good to express here his articles, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers.

*The Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamilton,  
by James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew/*

- That man has no free-will.
- That there is no purgatory.
- That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.
- That the pope has no power to loose and bind, nor any pope after St. Peter.
- That the pope is Antichrist, and that every priest has the power that the pope has.
- That Master Patrick Hamilton was a bishop.
- That it is not necessary to obtain any bulls from any bishop.
- That the vow of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedness.
- That the popes' laws have no strength.
- That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, know that they are in the state of grace.
- That none are saved but those who are previously predestinate.
- Whoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.
- That God is the cause of sin only in the sense that he withdraws his grace from men, whereby they sin.
- That it is devilish doctrine to enjoin any sinner to actual penance for sin.
- That Master Patrick himself doubts whether all children, departing immediately after their baptism, are saved or condemned.
- That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

These articles above written, were given in and laid against Master Hamilton, and inserted in their registers, for which also he was condemned. But other learned men, who communed and reasoned with him, testify that the following articles were the very articles for which he suffered:

1. Man has no free-will.
2. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.
3. A man, so long as he lives, is not without sin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who does not believe that he is in grace.
5. A good man does good works; good works do not make a good man.
6. An evil man brings forth evil works; evil works being faithfully repented of, do not make an evil man.
7. Faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that one of them cannot be found without another in any one man in this life.

*Henry Forrest.* — Within a few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forrest, a young man, affirmed that Master Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that

his articles were true. For this he was apprehended and put in prison by James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who shortly after, had a friar named Walter Lang, hear his confession. When Henry Forrest, in secret confession, had declared his conscience to him, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard. It followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient proof against him, he was summoned before the council of the clergy and doctors. There he was concluded to be a heretic, equally with Master Patrick Hamilton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges to suffer death.

When the day of his death came, and he would first be degraded, he was brought before the clergy. As soon as he entered at the door, and saw the face of the clergy, he cried with a loud voice saying, "Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars! Revealers of confession! After this day, let no man ever trust any friars, despisers of God's word, and deceivers of men!" When they proceeded to degrade him, he said, with a loud voice, "Do not take from me only your own orders, but also your own baptism," meaning there are great additions in baptism, besides that which Christ himself instituted. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as a heretic. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his Gospel, at the north-church stile (gate) of the Abbey Church of St. Andrew.

*James Hamilton, brother to Patrick; Catharine Hamilton;  
a wife of Leith; David Stratton; Master Norman Gurley.*

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forrest, all these five were called to the Abbey church of Holyroodhouse, in Edinburgh, in presence of King James V. On the day of their accusation, he was clad in red apparel. *James Hamilton* was accused as one who maintained the opinions of Master Patrick Hamilton, his brother. The king counselled him to depart and not to appear; for if he appeared he could not help him, because the bishops had persuaded the king, that the cause of heresy in no way pertained to James. And so he fled, and was condemned as a heretic, and all his goods and lands were confiscated, and given to others.

*Catharine Hamilton*, his sister, appeared upon the scaffold. Being accused of a horrible heresy, to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same. After long reasoning between her and Master John Spens, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner, "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of work can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Savior." The king hearing these words, turned himself about and laughed, and called her to him, and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt, and she escaped.

The woman of Leith was accused, that when the midwife during her labor, and bid her to say, "Our Lady help me," she cried, "Christ help me! Christ help me! in whose help I trust!" She too was caused to recant, and so she escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

*Master Norman Gurley* was accused for saying there was no such thing as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop, but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. *David Stratton* said, "There is no purgatory except the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world;" and when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesrig, asked his tithe-fish from him, he cast them to him outside of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea. Therefore the vicar accused him of saying that no tithes should be paid. These two, because they refused to abjure and recant after great solicitation was made by the king, were

therefore condemned as heretics, and were burned between Leith and Edinburgh, so the inhabitants of Fife seeing the fire, might be struck with terror, and not fall into the like.

*Thomas Harding*, an aged father dwelling at Chesham in the county of Buckingham, with Alice, his wife, was first abjured (A.D. 1506) by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln. Thomas was taken with others, for speaking against idolatry and superstition. Some were compelled to bear faggots, some were burned on the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries and robbed of all their goods; some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called *our Lady of Lincoln*, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the Rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, etc. Some of these we mentioned before.

At last Harding (A.D. 1532), about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to engage in their usual idolatry, made his way into the woods, to solitarily worship the true living God there, in spirit and truth. As he was occupied with a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood side, it chanced that someone saw him, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring that he had seen Harding in the woods looking at a book. Upon this, a rude rabble immediately ran to his house to desperately search for books; and in searching under the boards of his floor, they found English books of the holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, who was then lying at Woburn. With his chaplains, he put father Harding to examination, and began to reason with him, proceeding with checks and rebukes rather than with any sound arguments.

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Thomas Harding seeing their folly and rude behavior, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, he let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison where he lay with hunger and pain enough for a certain space. At length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal, condemned Harding for relapsing, to be burned to ashes, committing his martyrdom to Roland Messenger, vicar of Great Wickham. This Roland, at the appointed day, with a rabble of others like himself, brought father Harding back to Chesham. The next day after his return, Roland gave a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the time he was preaching. This sermon was nothing but maintaining the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of the Apostolical See, with the idolatry, fancies, and traditions belonging to it. When the sermon ended, Roland took him up to the high altar and asked whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any substance other than the substance of Christ's natural body born of the Virgin Mary. To this Thomas Harding answered, "The articles of our belief teach us, that our Savior Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God, in the glory of his Father."

Then he was brought into a house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So, the next morning, Roland came back with a company armed with bills and staves, to lead this godly father to his burning. A great number both of men and women followed him, many of whom bewailed his death; the wicked rejoiced at it. He was brought forth, having thrust into his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained to the stake. Desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit!"

When they had set fire on him, someone threw a billet (mallet) at him, and dashed out his brains. For what purpose he did so is not known, but it was supposed it was to have forty days of pardon. For a proclamation was made, as at the burning of William Tylsworth, that “whoever brought a faggot or a stake to the burning of a heretic, would have forty days of pardon.” Many ignorant people had their children bear billets and faggots to these burnings.

*Mistress Alice Doly.* — Elizabeth Wighthill being brought before Dr. London, in the parsonage at Stanton Harcourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mistress Alice Doly, her mistress. Mistress Doly, speaking of John Hacker, water-bearer, said that, “he was very expert in the gospels and all other things belonging to divine service. He could express and declare it, and the Pater Noster, *i.e.*, the Lord’s prayer, in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him.” She said moreover that, “she wished in no case that this were known, lest it hurt the poor man.”

Over and besides this, Elizabeth deposed that, “her mistress, showed her that she had a book which spoke against pilgrimages; and after, that she had Sir John Booth, parson of Britwell, read a book which he called the Golden Legend. <sup>44</sup> One saint’s life that he read, spoke against pilgrimages. After that was read, her mistress said to her, ‘Look, daughter, now you may hear as I told you, that this book speaks against pilgrimages.’”

It was also deposed by Elizabeth against Mistress Doly, that being at Sir William Barenten’s place, and seeing newly gilded images there in the closet, she said to Elizabeth, “Look, here are my lady Barenten’s gods.” Elizabeth replied that, “they were set for remembrance of good saints.” Then Mistress Doly said, “If I was in a house where there were no images, I could remember to pray to saints as well as if I saw the images.” “No,” said Elizabeth, “images provoke devotion.” Then her mistress said, “You should not worship that thing which has ears and cannot hear, and has eyes and cannot see, and has a mouth and cannot speak, and has hands and cannot feel.”

(Note here, good reader, during this time — which was over forty-six years ago — what good matter there was here to accuse and molest good women for!)

*Roger Hachman, A.D. 1525.* — It was laid against this Roger Hachman by deposition, that sitting at the Church-aisle at Norfolk, he said these words, “I will never look to be saved for any good deed that I ever did, nor for any that I will ever do, unless I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw has his pardon by the king;” and he said that if he might not have his salvation in this way, he thought he would be lost.

*Robert West, A.D. 1529.* — It was objected against this Robert West, priest, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought he had done well in many things, such as in having a wife and children, etc. Also for saying that, “whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and evensong, they had no authority to do so.” He was abjured for this (forced to recant), and was enjoined penance.

*John Ryburn, A.D. 1530.* — It was testified against John Ryburn, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that coming to him on the Assumption eve, she found him at supper with butter and eggs. And being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered that it was not then a convenient time to eat. He replied to her that, “God never made such fasting days; but you are so far in *Limbo Patrum* (limbo of the fathers), that you can never turn back.” In further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the

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<sup>44</sup> Probably referring to *Legenda Aurea*, a collection of hagiographies by Jacobus de Voragine, compiled around 1259 to 1266. Curdiously, it was one of the most influential books among medieval and Renaissance Catholics.

holy cross at Wendover, he replied that she did wrong. “For there is never a step,” he said, “that you take in going on pilgrimage, that you do not go to the devil; and you go to church to worship what the priest holds above his head, which is but bread; and if you throw it to the mouse he will eat it.” And he said that he would never believe that the priest has power to make his Lord.

Also, it was testified by another sister named Alice Ryburn, that being with her brother in a close called Brimer’s-close, she heard him say these words: “A time shall come when no elevation [of bread] shall be made.” To which she asked in reply, “And what service shall we have then?” He said, “That service which we have now.”

*John Simonds.* — It was laid against John Simonds, for saying that men walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to hell or heaven. He said, too, that priests should have wives. It was reported by the confession of John Simonds, that he converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had helped two or three friars out of their orders.

*William Wingrave, Thomas Hawks of Hichenden, Robert Hawks of Westwycomb,  
John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Hern of Cobshill,  
Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the younger,  
William Hawks of Chesham, A.D. 1530.*

These persons, with others, were examined, excommunicated and abjured, for being together in John Taylor’s house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field of London read a portion of Scripture in English, and expounding many things to them; for saying that those who went on pilgrimage were accursed; that it did not benefit to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man; that God Almighty bids us work on one day as well as another, saving the Sunday, for six days He worked, and the seventh day He rested; that they did not need to fast so many fasting days, except for the embering days.<sup>45</sup> For he had been beyond the seas in Germany, and there they did not usually fast, nor to make such holidays.

[503] A.D. 1527-1560.

That offerings do no good, for they have those who have no need of them. And when it was replied by one, that they maintained God’s service, “No,” said Nicholas, “it maintained great houses, such as abbeys and others.” That men should say their Paternoster and Ave Maria in English, with the creed, and declare them in English. That the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ, but a sacrament — that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To *William Wingrave* it was objected moreover, that he would say there was no purgatory; and if there was any purgatory, and every mass that is said would deliver a soul out of purgatory, there would never be a soul there; for there were more masses said in a day than bodies buried in a month.

*Simon Wisdom*, of Burford was charged in judgment for having three books in English; one was the gospels in English, another was the psalter, the third was the sum of the holy Scripture in English.

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<sup>45</sup> [Ember Days \(Roman Catholicism\)](#) are days of fasting and abstinence observed four times a year—on a Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in each of the four seasons.

*James Alyar of Aiger, A.D.1530.* — It was stated and objected against James Algar, first, that in speaking to a certain doctor of divinity named Aglionby, he said that every true Christian man living according to the laws of God, and observing His commandments, is a priest as well as he, etc.

That he would not have his executors pay a penny for his soul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience told him that the soul, as soon as it departs the body, goes straight either to heaven or hell.

When Dr. Aglionby alleged to him the place in Matthew, chap. 16.18, “You are Peter,” etc., James replied with what follows in the gospel: “Get behind me, Satan,” etc. <sup>Mat 16.23</sup>

This James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, openly said that it made no great difference, for the church has enough already.

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Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will speak something of the life and doings of the other party who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the church, that it may be better discerned and judged what manner of church that was which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and the members of his church.

### ***The History of Cardinal Wolsey.***

*A brief Discourse concerning the history of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; in which is to be seen the express image of the proud, vain-glorious church of Rome, how far it differs from the true church of Christ Jesus.*

Although it is not very pertinent to our history, nor very requisite in these weighty matters of Christ’s holy martyrs, to discourse much about Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York. Yet there are many who are carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering church of Rome. Therefore, so that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, may appear to all men, I will describe the ridiculous and pompous qualities and demeanor of this Thomas Wolsey. The Lacedemonians <sup>46</sup> in times past customarily showed drunken men to their children, to behold and look upon them, so that through the foulness of that vice, they might inflame them more to the study and desire for sobriety. Even so, it is not hurtful sometimes to set forth examples which are not honest, so that others might gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

We begin first with the arrival of this cardinal Wolsey and his fellow-cardinal Campeggio into England. It was about the time that Pope Leo X, intending to make war against the Turks, sent three legates from Rome. One went into Germany, another into France, and Campeggio into England.<sup>47</sup> When he came to Calais, Wolsey, the cardinal of York, learned of it. He sent certain bishops and doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the Roman legate, and to show him that if he would have his embassy be effectual, he should send to Rome to have the cardinal of York made legate, and join with him in the commission. He much affected

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<sup>46</sup> Members of an ancient Greek people from the region of Laconia, known for their military discipline.

<sup>47</sup> In 1518, Campeggio had been tasked with convincing Henry VIII to pledge his support to pope Leo’s planned crusade against Selim I. He failed. In 1528 he again went to England to inquire into the King’s marriage with Catherine of Aragon (*re* divorce), as co-legate with Cardinal Wolsey, this time under pope Clement VII. Henry had become king in 1509, at age 17. He married Catherine 7 weeks later, the widow of his elder brother Arthur; she was 23. During 24 years of marriage, she bore Henry six children, but only Mary survived (later queen Mary I).

this, worried that his own authority might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate. And therefore he requested to be joined with him in the embassy. Campegio being a man of easy belief and suspecting nothing, sent to Rome with such speed, that within thirty days, the bull was brought to Calais, in which they were both equally joined in commission.

When all things were ready, Campegio crossed the seas and landed at Dover; he proceeded towards London. At every town he was received with procession, accompanied with all the lords and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, the duke of Norfolk met him with a great number of prelates, knights, and gentlemen, all richly apparelled. He brought him into a rich tent of gold cloth, where Campegio put on a cardinal's robe furred with ermines; and so he took his mule, and rode towards London. Now, mark the great humility in this church of the pope, and compare it with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is most gospel-like.

This Campegio had eight mules of his own, laden with goods and treasures. But the cardinal of York, not thinking them sufficient for his state, sent him twelve mules more, the night before he came to London, with empty coffers covered with red. The next day these twenty mules were led through the city, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel, and other necessaries, to the great admiration of all men, so that they would receive a legate with so great a treasure and riches. For so the common people always judged and esteemed the majesty of the clergy — by nothing but by their outward show and pomp. But in the midst of this great admiration, a ridiculous spectacle happened, to the great derision of their pride and ambition. For as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze, one of the mules happened to break his collar. It ran upon the other mules, by which it happened that, running together, and their girths being loosed, they overthrew their burdens, spilling the cardinal's considerable treasure. It was not without great laughter and scorn by many, especially by boys and girls. Some of them gathered up pieces of meat, others some pieces of bread and roasted eggs. Some found horse-shoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, "Behold here is my lord Cardinal's treasure!" The muleteers being greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again, as well as they could, and went forward.

About three o'clock, the 29th of July, the cardinal himself was brought through the city to St. Paul's church, with great pomp and solemnity. There, when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the custom is, he was guided to the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the cardinal. The next day, being Sunday, he was conducted by him to the king, to fulfill his embassy <sup>48</sup> against the Turk, who might have destroyed all Hungary while they were studying with what solemnity to furnish their embassy.

'The cardinal of York thus being a legate, set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, and proved testaments, and heard causes, to the great hindrance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, both exempt and not exempt. Under the color of reformation, he gained much treasure. Nothing was reformed, but only came to more mischief. For by Wolsey's example of pride, priests and all spiritual persons grew so proud, that they wore velvet and silk in both gowns, jackets, doublets, and shoes, and bore themselves so highly that no man dared reprove anything in them, for fear of being called a heretic; and then they would make him smoke or bear a faggot. The cardinal himself was so elated, that he thought himself equal to the king. When he had said mass, he made dukes and earls serve him with wine, and hold the basin while he washed.

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<sup>48</sup> *Embassy*: here it means his diplomatic venture; next it refers to the elaborate ceremonies (a pun).



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This glorious cardinal in his tragic doings exceeded all measure of a good subject, and became more like a prince than a priest. When he had well-stored his own coffers, he fetched most of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars. And as his avaricious mind was never satisfied with getting, so his restless head was so busy meddling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had grabbed England, France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy together by the ears.

Thus the legate, following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well displaying the nature of their religion under the pretense of the church, practiced great hypocrisy. And under the authority of the king, he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and the valuation of every man's substance, so plundering the commons and merchants, that every man complained; but no redress was had. Nor were the churchmen altogether free from this cardinal. Under his legatine power, he gave by anticipation all benefices belonging to spiritual persons. By this it is hard to say whether he purchased for himself more riches, or hatred from the clergy. His license stretched so far, that he had power to suppress diverse abbeys, priories, and monasteries. And he did so, taking from them all their goods, both movables and immovables, unless it was a little pension left to the heads of certain houses. By the legatine power, he held general visitations throughout the realm, sending Doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses. The friars observant complained much about this, and would not submit to it; so that they were publicly cursed at St. Paul's cross by friar Forrest, one of their same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed against both them and all others. Great hatred arose against him among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, the making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licenses, and other means, he had made his treasure equal with the king's; and every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, there was this one which much incensed them: the cardinal had sent out commissions in the king's name, that every man should pay a sixth of his goods to the church. Whereupon there followed great muttering among the commons; it had almost grown to a riotous commotion or tumult, especially in parts of Suffolk, if the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk had not stepped in and appeased them with wisdom and gentleness.

Another thing that caused the anger of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was his insolent presumption to take it upon himself, as the king's chief counsellor, to set a reformation in the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in it. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the Lady Mary, who was then princess. All this, with much more, he took upon himself, making the king believe that all things should be to the cardinal's honor, and that he need not take any pains, so long as the charge of all things was committed to the cardinal.

And now in express terms, some part of the practices and busy intermeddlings of this cardinal in the princes' wars, are first to be noted here. After long wars between England and France, in 1525 it happened that the French king, coming with his army towards Milan, at the siege of Pavia, was there taken by the duke of Bourbon, and viceroy of Naples, and led prisoner into Spain. All this while the cardinal sided with the emperor, Charles V, hoping to be made pope by him. But when that could not be obtained, he went clean away from the emperor to the French king.

After this victory, and the French king being taken prisoner, through great labor and solicitation by others, as well as by the cardinal and king Henry, conditions were proposed between the French king and the emperor. Among these conditions it was agreed that they should resist the Turks and oppress the Lutherans. And so the king was set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his oath, being absolved by the bishop of Rome. He claimed that he was forced to swear, or else he would never have been delivered (A.D. 1526). Pope Clement VII, seeing the French king restored to liberty, and doubting the power of the emperor in Italy, absolved the French king from his oath, and joined together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, bearing great hatred against all those who favored the emperor's part, especially the family of Colonna in Rome. Therefore to show his hatred against them, Clement said to Pompey, cardinal of that family, in threatening words, "That he would take away his cardinal's hat." The cardinal replied, "That if he did, he would put on a helmet to overthrow the pope's triple crown." By this it may appear what holiness and virtue lies in the pope and cardinals of that catholic See of Rome.

Thus the pope, under the lying title of "holiness," was the father of much mischief and great wars. For the duke of Bourbon and others of the emperor's captains, having intelligence of the pope's purpose and confederacy, gathered their army together. After much bloodshed and fighting around Milan and Cremona, the duke and his captains at length approached and laid siege to Rome. After three sharp assaults they obtained the city, with the whole spoil. They besieged the pope with his cardinals, in the castle of St. Angelo, and took him prisoner, A.D. 1527. You have heard the *cause* of the besieging of Rome; the *manner* of the taking of Rome and of the pope is thus described:

*The sacking of Rome and the taking of Pope Clement VII.*

The emperor's army departing from Florence, took counsel to go to Rome, They travelled night and day, commonly travelling forty miles in a day and night. So that on the sixth of May, with banners displayed, they came before the city of Rome. The Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defenses, and placed ordnance on the walls, and shot at them fiercely.

The duke of Bourbon determined that it was best not to lie still and be slain with ordnance, considering that they were all simple people, and without great ordnance. Therefore he determined to make an assault, and they manfully approached the walls. But the Romans valiantly defended them with guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that their enemies were compelled to retreat. The Romans were glad to see this. They set many fair banners on their towers and bulwarks, and made great shouts. When the duke of Bourbon saw them, he cried for a new assault. Then every man with a ladder mounted the walls; and at the first encounter, again the Romans drove them back, which the duke of Bourbon perceiving it, cried, 'God and the emperor!' Then every man manfully set on. There was a sore fight; many an arrow was shot, and many a man slain. But at last the emperor's men got upon the wall. At the three assaults, three hundred Switzers of the pope's guard were slain. In this last assault, the duke of Bourbon was wounded in the thigh with a gunshot, from which he died shortly later. Notwithstanding this, the army entered into Rome, took the pope's palace, and set up the emperor's coat of arms.

The same day that these three assaults were made, Pope Clement thought little of the emperor's army, for he had cursed them on the Saturday before. When he was hearing mass, suddenly the Germans entered the church, and slew his guard and others. He fled in all haste by a secret way, to the castle of St. Angelo. All who followed him and could not enter,

were slain. And if he had been taken, he too would have been slain. The cardinals and other prelates fled to the castle of St. Angelo, over the bridge, where many of the common people were trodden over as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates that passed toward the castle for succor.

The pope was in the castle of St. Angelo, and with him were 24 cardinals, 1000 prelates and priests, 500 gentlemen, and 500 soldiers. Immediately the duke's captains determined to lay siege to the castle of St. Angelo. In the meantime, the soldiers fell to spoil.

[505] A.D. 1527-1560.

Never was Rome so plundered either by the Goths or Vandals. For the soldiers were not content with the spoil of the citizens, but they robbed the churches, broke up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloisters.

The duke D'Urbino, with 15,000 men, came to aid the pope. But hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty miles from Rome, till he heard back. The marquis of Saluce, and Sir Frederico de Bodso, with 15,000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, were at Virterbo. Hearing that the city of Rome was taken, they too tarried. The cardinal of Colonna came with an army of Neapolitans to help the emperor's men. But when he saw the cruelty of the soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much for their actions.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged till the 8th of July, on which day he yielded. And then he was restored to give graces, and grant bulls as he did before; but he still tarried in the castle of St. Angelo, and had a great number of Germans and Spaniards to keep him. But the Spaniards bore the most rule in the castle, for no man entered, nor came out of the castle but by them. In the month of July, corn began to fail in Rome, and the pestilence began to grow strong.<sup>49</sup> Therefore the great army removed to a place called Nervia, forty miles from Rome, leaving behind them those who kept the bishop of Rome.

When cardinal Wolsey here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to stir himself. He labored with the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the pope against the emperor, and to be a defender of the churches. If he would do that, the cardinal persuaded him that he would receive great reward at God's hand. The king answered and said, "My Lord, I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell; but when you say that I am the defender of the faith, I assure you, that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions; and now if Pope Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? Neither my person nor my people can rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take what seems most convenient."

Thus the cardinal, when he could not obtain what he wished at the king's hands, in stirring him up to mortal war, he made out of the king's treasure 240,000 pounds, which he carried over the sea with him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as legate, to all the bishops, commanding fastings and solemn processions to be had.

The cardinal, passing the seas with these sums of money, departed from Calais, accompanied with Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, the lord Sands, the king's chamberlain, the earl of Derby, Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir Thomas More, with many other knights and squires, numbering 1200 horse, and having in his carriage 80 wagons, and 60 mules and horses of burden.

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<sup>49</sup> Rome's population dropped from 55,000 to 10,000 due to atrocities, famine, outbreak of plague, and flight.

It would take a long time to discourse in this place about the manifold abuses and treasons which Wolsey practiced when he came to the French court. He converted the great sums of money which he had obtained from the king for the relief and ransom of Pope Clement, who was at that time prisoner in the emperor's army, and bestowed it in hiring soldiers, and furnishing the French king's army; also in appointing certain English captains, in the king of England's name, to go against the emperor, to rescue the pope. This army was paid with the king of England's money.

Besides that, by certain letters he secretly caused Clarent, king-at-arms, to join with the French herald, and to openly defy the emperor. By this intrigue, great displeasure began between the emperor and the king.

When the Spanish ambassador complained to the cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarent — saying that Clarent had defied the emperor, without the king's knowledge, at the request of the herald of France. And therefore, at his return Clarent would lose his head at Calais. Clarent being informed of this, took shipping and came to England, into the king's presence before the cardinal knew about it. There he showed the king the cardinal's letter of commission, and declared the whole of the circumstances. When the king heard it all, and had mused upon it a while, he said, "O Lord Jesus! The one that I trusted most, told me all these things differently. Well, Clarent, I will no longer be so light of credence hereafter. For now I see well that I have been made to believe the thing that was never done." And from that time forward, the king never put any more confidence in the cardinal.

The reason why the cardinal bore the emperor all this malice appears to be this: that when Pope Clement was taken prisoner, he wrote to the emperor and requested that he would make him pope. But when he received an answer that did not please him, he grew furious. He sought by all means to displease the emperor, writing many menacing letters, that if he would not make him pope, he would make such a strife between Christian princes as had not been seen for a hundred years — thinking to make the emperor repent, even if it cost the whole realm of England.

The emperor gave an answer in a little book, to the many menacings of the cardinal — but especially to his threat that if he would not make him pope, he would fetch such a strife between Christian princes as had not been seen for a hundred years, even if it cost the whole realm of England. The emperor bid him look well around him, lest through his attempts it might indeed cost him the realm of England.

You heard before, how when Pope Clement was prisoner in the emperor's army, the cardinal required that the king, because he bore the title of "Defender of the faith," should rescue the pope. Now, by what means and on what occasion this title of the "defender of the faith" was given to the king, we think it good to say something here. When Martin Luther denounced and opposed the abomination of the pope and his clergy, and many books had come into England, cardinal Wolsey, thinking to find a remedy, sent immediately to Rome for this title of "defender of the faith."

When this glorious title had come from Rome, the cardinal brought it to the king at Greenwich. And though the king had it already, and had read it. Yet against the morning, all the lords and gentlemen were sent for, who could be gathered in so short a time, to come and receive it with honor. In the morning the cardinal went through the back way into the friars observants. Part of the gentlemen went round about and welcomed him from Rome; part met him halfway, and some at the court-gate. The king himself met Wolsey in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber where a seat was prepared on high for the king

and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read. All men of wisdom and understanding laughed this pomp to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied with many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel; and so the cardinal proceeded to mass. When done, the bull was again published, the trumpets blew, the shawms and sackbuts played in honor of the king's new title. Then the king went to dinner, in the midst of which the king of heralds and his company began the largess, crying "*Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliae et Franciae, Defensor Fidei, et Dominicus Hiberniae.*"<sup>50</sup> Thus all things ended with great solemnity.

All this while the cardinal was aspiring to be made pope. And with that view, he had Stephen Gardiner shortly after sent as ambassador to Rome, in the time of Pope Clement VII. That was for two special causes: one was about the king's divorce, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. Regarding the divorce, we will speak afterward. In the meantime, concerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labor was made, as may appear in the letters sent from the cardinal to Stephen Gardiner. In those letters he solicited Gardiner to pursue the suit by all means, desiring him to hesitate at no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch. For he would not give more, he said, for the triple crown. Mark here, Christian reader, what a "holy catholic church" this is!

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But we may learn here how man purposes one thing, and how God disposes another. For the king's purpose was to have the cardinal and legate of York placed in the papal see, thinking by that means, if this cardinal had been pope, his divorce might more easily be compassed, which otherwise he thought it impossible to contrive. But God omnipotent, who alone is the director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the king devised, but after His own wisdom; so that the divorce was concluded, and yet Cardinal Wolsey was not made pope, nor had Pope Clement yet died. Indeed, He so ruled the matter, that notwithstanding Pope Clement was alive, yet the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished from this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise to His merciful goodness. We have to declare about this divorce and suppressing the pope's authority. But first, as we have begun with the cardinal of York, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will address ourselves to other matters of more importance.

As the ambassadors were travelling to Rome to promote the cardinal to be pope (although the pope was not yet dead), the cardinal was in the meantime playing the popish persecutor here at home. For first, sitting in his pontifical robes in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, under his cloth of state (of rich gold cloth), he had Friar Barnes, an Augustinian Friar, bear a faggot for some points which the cardinal called heresy. He also had two merchants bear faggots for eating flesh on a Friday. At this time, the bishop of Rochester gave a sermon against Martin Luther, who had written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This bishop spoke so much in his sermon, of the honor of the pope and his cardinals, and of their dignity and pre-eminency, that he forgot to speak of the gospel which he took in hand to declare.

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<sup>50</sup> Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland.

After this, A.D. 1528, the cardinal was sitting at Westminster as legate. He called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abuses of the church would be amended. But nothing was done except that he caused Thomas Arthur, Thomas Bilney, Geoffery Loni, and Thomas Gerrard, to abjure for speaking against the pope's authority and his pompous pride.

The next year (A.D. 1529), the question of the king's marriage began to be revived. Upon which Cardinal Campegio was again sent into England from Rome for the hearing and debating of the matter. He with Cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, at first seemed to incline to the king's wishes. Yet afterwards, perceiving the consequence of the case — that it might perhaps shake the chair of the pope's authority if this case were thoroughly decided by the truth of God's word — he therefore slipped his neck out of the collar, and craftily took himself out of the realm before the appointed day came for determination. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed with false promises, and craftily deluded by the cardinals, and after so many delays and long expectation with nothing being concluded, he was grieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal Wolsey. The king had before so highly exalted and promoted him to so many great dignities, such as to the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's, besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high offices and preferments in the realm. This induced him to cast the cardinal out of favor, so that he never more came into the king's presence.

Then followed a council of the nobles, which was summoned for the 1st of October. During this council, all the lords and others of the king's council resorted to the king at Windsor, and informed the king that almost all things which Wolsey had done by his legatine power, were in the case of praemunire;<sup>51</sup> and that the cardinal had thereby forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods and chattels to the king. So the king caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of praemunire against the cardinal. On the 17th of November, he sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to his palace at Westminster, to bring back the great seal of England, which the cardinal was unwilling to deliver.

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and Doctor Stephen Gardiner, newly-made secretary, to see that no goods would be embezzled out of his house. He further ordained that the cardinal should remove to Esher, beside Kingston, to await the king's pleasure, and to have all things delivered to him which were necessary for him, but not in the cardinal's old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized for the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many earls, bishops, and barons, came to the Star chamber on the 19th of October. The duke of Norfolk then declared that the king's highness, for many and various offenses, had taken from the cardinal his great seal, and deposed him from all his offices. And lest men complain of a lack of justice, he appointed him and the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lords, to sit in the chamber, to hear and determine causes. So that week they sat in the Star-chamber, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the cardinal moved out of his house called York place. He took his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there took his horse and rode to Esher, where he remained till after Lent.

During that time, being called for an answer in the king's bench to the praemunire, for giving benefices by pre-emption, in disturbing men's inheritance, and other open causes in the praemunire according to the king's license, the cardinal constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenney, apprentices of the law, his attorneys. By his own warrant, signed with his

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<sup>51</sup> *Act of Praemunire*: established the offense of asserting or maintaining papal jurisdiction in England (p. 220).

own hand, he confessed all things concerning the suit, for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden. And so judgment was given that he should forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and should be out of the king's protection. But for all that, the king sent him a sufficient protection, and out of his gentleness, he left to him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and gave him plate and stuff convenient for his degree. The king gave the bishopric of Durham to Doctor Tunstall bishop of London, and the abbey of St. Alban's he gave to the prior of Norwich; and he promoted Doctor John Stokesley to London, the ambassador to the universities, for the marriage. For all this kindness shown to the cardinal, the cardinal still maligned the king, as we will hereafter relate. But first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

*Articles against the Clergy and Wolsey.*

The following year, A.D. 1530, in the month of November, a general parliament was summoned, to be held at Westminster. In that year, about the 23rd of October, the king came to his manor of Greenwich. There he consulted with his council, for a fit man to be his chancellor, but in no way was he to be a man of the clergy. And so, after long debate, the king resolved to appoint Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the languages, and also in the common law; whose wit was fine and full of imagination.

We stated before how a council of the nobles was appointed by the king in October to assemble in the Star-chamber concerning the matter of the cardinal; and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in November of the following year, 1530. At the beginning of that parliament, after Thomas More, the new chancellor, had finished his oration, the commons were commanded to choose a speaker, who was Thomas Audley, Esquire, and attorney to the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament began the sixth of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the lords were set in the parliament chamber. The commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembled in the lower house, and began to debate their grievances against the clergy, by which they were oppressed, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realm, and especially in the following six great causes.

[507] A.D. 1527-1560.

*Grievances against the Clergy of England.*

1. The first, for the excessive fines which the ordinaries took for probates of testaments, so that Sir Henry Guilford, knight of the garter, and controller of the king's house, declared in the open parliament, that he and others being executors to Sir William Compton, knight, paid a thousand marks sterling to the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, for the probate of his will.
2. The second cause was, the great taxing and extreme exaction which the spiritual men used in taking presents, or mortuaries.
3. The third cause was that priests being surveyors, stewards, and officers to bishops, abbots, and other spiritual heads, held and occupied farms, granges, and grazing in every county, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing except from them, and yet they paid dearly for that.
4. The fourth cause was that abbots, priors, and spiritual men kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporal merchants did.

5. The fifth cause was because the spiritual persons who were promoted to great benefices, and had their livings from their flock, were lying in the court in lords' houses, and took every thing from their parishioners, and spent nothing on them. So that for lack of residence, the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and all the parishioners universally lacked preaching and true instruction of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

6. The sixth cause was because one priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve benefices, and was resident in none; and many well-learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

Before this time, these things might in no way be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, without being made a heretic, or losing all he had. For the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man dared once presume to attempt anything contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served, that men dared to more boldly express what they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy. The burgesses of the parliament appointed men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of testaments, another for mortuaries, and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and the taking of farms by spiritual men.

Now to return to the cardinal again. During the time of the parliament, the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal, was brought down to the commons. The chief articles were these.

*Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey.*

1. First, that without the king's consent he had procured himself to be appointed a legate, by which he took away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.
2. In all his writings to Rome, or to any other prince, he wrote *Ego et Rex mens*, "I and my king," as if to say that the king was his servant.
3. That he slandered the church of England to the court of Rome; for his suggestion to be legate, was to reform the church of England.
4. Without the king's consent he carried the king's great seal with him into Flanders, when he was sent as ambassador to the emperor.
5. Without the king's consent he sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassali, knight, to conclude a league between the king and the duke of Ferrara.
6. That he caused the cardinal's hat to be put on the king's coin.
7. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome to obtain his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realm — with many other things that are touched more largely in various chronicles.

These articles, with many more, being read in the commons' house, were confessed by the cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was shown another writing sealed with his seal, by which he gave to the king all his possessions.

You have heard how the cardinal was attainted (condemned) in the praemunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, and lay at Esher: which was in 1530. The year after, during the Lenten season, the king by the advice of his council, licensed the cardinal to go into his diocese of York, and commanded him to keep within his diocese, and not to return southward without the king's special license in writing.



So he made great provision to go northward, and newly apparelled his servants, and bought many costly things for his household. But some of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and especially Thomas Cromwell, one of his chief council, and principal agent for him in the suppression of abbeys. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he journeyed northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his diocese, and there he continued that year. But the lands he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich had now come into the king's hands by his attainder in the praemunire. Yet, of his gentleness and for the favor he bore to good learning, the king erected the college in Oxford again. Previously named the Cardinal's College, he called it the King's College. He endowed it with fair possessions and ordained new statutes and ordinances; and because the college of Ipswich was thought not to be profitable, he left that dissolved.

Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attainted in the praemunire, the king being good to him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great substance. And he had licensed him to abide in his diocese of York, where he so continued for a year. But the year following, which was A.D. 1531, he wrote to the court of Rome, and to other princes, letters in reproach of the king. And as much as it lay in him, he stirred them to revenge his cause against the king and his realm, so that opprobrious words against the king were spoken to Doctor Edward Karne, the king's ambassador at Rome. It was said to him, that on the cardinal's account the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his divorce and marriage. The cardinal also spoke fairly to the people to win their hearts, and ever declared that he was unjustly and untruly dealt with. This fair speaking made many men believe that he spoke truly. And he gave great gifts to gentlemen to allure them to himself. And to be held in higher reputation among the people, he determined to be installed (or rather enthroned) at York, with all the pomp possible. He had a throne erected in the cathedral church to such a height and fashion as was never seen. And he sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his diocese, to be at his manor of Cawood, on the sixth of November, and so bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.

The king, who knew of his doings, dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length. But finding the cardinal's proud heart so highly exalted that he would be triumphantly installed without making the king privy, yes, and in a manner in disdain of the king, he thought it not fitting nor convenient to allow the cardinal to continue any longer in his malicious and proud purposes. Therefore the king directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, commanding him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he came to the manor of Cawood with a convenient number, on the 4th of November. And when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him: "My lord, I pray you be patient, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me!" said the cardinal. "Yea, said the earl; "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal; "for I am both a cardinal, and a legate De Latere (of Rome), and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power. Therefore, if you arrest me I will withstand it."

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"Well," said the earl, "here is the king's commission, and therefore I charge you to obey." The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said: "Well, my lord, I am content to obey; but although by negligence I fell into the punishment of the praemunire, and by the law lost all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection, and I was

pardoned of that offense. Therefore I marvel why I should be arrested now, and especially considering that I am a member of the apostolic see, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. I see the king lacks good counsel." "Well," said the earl; "when I was sworn warden of the marshes, you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king. And now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy chamber, his goods seized, and his officers discharged.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent Sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with yeomen of the guard, to Sheffield to fetch the cardinal to the Tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was astonished, and shortly became sick; for he perceived some great trouble coming upon him. He took so much of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. But Sir William Kingston comforted him; and on the 27th of November he brought him to the abbey of Leicester by easy journeys. There, for the feebleness of his nature caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and lies buried in the abbey.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of the rest of the same order was during those days in all other places of Christendom, as well as here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy not only far exceeded the common measure and order of subjects, but also surpassed kings and princes, and all other estates.

Among other acts of the cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new college in Oxford. For its supply (faculty), he had gathered together the best learned men he could. Among their number were these: one Clark, William Tyndale, one Sommer, John Frith, and Richard Taverner, with others. Holding an assembly together in the college, these men were accounted heretics, and cast into a prison of the college where salt fish lay. Most of them were infected through the smell of these fish. Clark, being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning among them all, died in the prison.

Thus having detained the reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious cardinal, we will now bring our history back again to more fruitful material. As the order of time requires, we will first begin with Master Humphry Mummuth, a virtuous and good alderman of London. He was troubled during the time of the cardinal, as follows:

*The trouble of Humphry Mummuth, Alderman of London.*

Master Humphry Mummuth was a right godly and sincere alderman of London. In the days of Cardinal Wolsey, he was troubled and put in the Tower, for the gospel of Christ and for maintaining those who favored it.

Stokesley, then bishop of London, objected twenty-four articles against him, such as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading heretical books and treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tyndale, Joy, and such others; for helping them over the sea to Luther; for ministering private help to translate the Testament as well as other books into English; for eating flesh during Lent; for affirming that faith alone justifies; for derogating from men's constitutions; for not praying to saints; for not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, or the pope's pardons — briefly, for advancing all Martin Luther's opinions, etc.

Being examined and cast into the Tower, he was at last compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the cardinal, then lord chancellor, and the whole council, from the Tower. In his writings he answered to the accusation of those who charged him with certain

books received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tyndale. He said, that he did not deny that four years earlier he heard Tyndale preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West, and that meeting with Tyndale afterwards, he had certain communication with him concerning his living, and was then told by him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London's service; for he then labored to be his chaplain. But being refused by the bishop, he came back to Mummuth and sought his help. At that time he took him into his house for half a year, where Tyndale lived like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden food by his good will, nor drink but a small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the time he was there. Whereupon Mummuth took a better liking to him, so that he promised him ten pounds, as he said then, for his father's and mother's souls, and all Christian souls. With this money Mummuth afterwards sent him to Hamburg according to his promise. Yet he did not give an exhibition<sup>52</sup> to him alone, but to others who likewise were not heretics. He exhibited forty or fifty pounds to Doctor Royston, bishop of London's chaplain; to Doctor Wodiall, provincial of the Augustinian friars; as much or more to Doctor Watson, the king's chaplain; also to other scholars and priests; besides other charges bestowed on religious houses, as upon the nunnery of Denney, over fifty pounds sterling.

And regarding his books, some of which were left with him by William Tyndale, some he sent to him, and some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell. These books, he said, lie open in his house for two years, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover, the same books being desired by different persons, such as the abbess of Denney, a friar of Greenwich, the father confessor of Sion, and many others, he let them have them. Yet e never heard friar, priest, or laymen, find any fault with the books.

Thus excusing himself, and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the injury to his trade. For he formerly sent abroad five hundred pieces of cloths, and set many clothiers to work in Suffolk and other places, from whom he bought all their cloths; they were now almost all undone. At length he was set at liberty, being forced to abjure. After, he was made knight by the king, and sheriff of London.

*The History of Thomas Hitten.*

Regarding the memorial of Thomas Hitten, nothing remains in writing except his name, save that William Tyndale in his apology against More, and also in another book entitled "The Practice of Prelates," once or twice mentions him. He was, Tyndale says, a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, had long kept and tormented in prison with sundry torments. Notwithstanding, he continued constant. At last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of His free grace and salvation, A.D. 1530.

***The History of Thomas Bilney.***

*Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich, A.D. 1531.*

In the history of Cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of some whom the Cardinal caused to abjure, such as Bilney, Geoffery Loni, Garret, Barnes, and others whom we will now specially treat. This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the University of Cambridge, even

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<sup>52</sup> *Exhibition*: A financial award or prize given to a student, usually on the basis of academic merit.

from a child, profiting in all kinds of liberal sciences, even to the profession of both laws (civil and canon).

[509] A.D. 1527-1560.

But at last, having gotten a better school-master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at last to this point: that forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more to godliness than profit.

As he was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so there was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many to the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ and sincere religion. Nore were his labors in vain. For he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the gospel, among them was Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer. Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days. At last, Bilney, forsaking the University, went to many places, teaching and preaching, being associated with Arthur, who accompanied him from the University. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, mentioned before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride were much greater. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolence of the clergy, whom they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to question the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awaken, and to look speedily about his business. Nor did he lack in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent. For he understood well enough upon what a slender foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded. Nor was he ignorant that their luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel were once to open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. The cardinal feared only this: the voice of Christ in his gospel, lest it disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into godly discipline. Therefore he thought it good to speedily withstand these beginnings. So he had Bilney and Arthur apprehended and cast into prison.

After this, on November 27th, A.D. 1527, the cardinal accompanied with a great number of bishops — such as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of St. Asaph, with many other divines and lawyers — came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where master Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them. The cardinal inquired of Master Bilney, whether he had privately or publicly preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any others condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church. Bilney answered that he had not knowingly preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had made an oath before, that he would not preach, recite, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but would impugn the same everywhere? Bilney answered that he had made such an oath, but not lawfully. The cardinal then had him swear to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, in the city and diocese of London, as well as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he would do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworn and examined, the cardinal proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur, having him take the like oath. This done, he asked him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, Knight, that in the sacrament of the altar, there was not the very

body of Christ? He denied this interrogatory. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to deliver his answer in writing.

The second of December, the bishops assembled again, and swore witnesses against Master Bilney. That done, they called for Master Arthur; to whose charge they laid the following articles.

*Articles against Thomas Arthur.*

1. That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray specially for those who are now in prison. He denied this article.
2. That he said, “though men are restrained from preaching now-a-days, yet I may preach: First, By the authority of my lord cardinal; for I have his license. Secondly, By the authority of the University. Thirdly, By the pope. Fourthly, By the authority of God, where he says, ‘Go preach the gospel to every creature.’ By this authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, who may make any law to prevent any man preaching the gospel.” This article he confessed.
3. He said that when there were but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and those which were pecuniary, those they observed; and those which were not pecuniary, they did not regard: and so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man does bad or good, he shall be taken in the law. He confessed that he spoke this.
4. He said. Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people, do not think that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel is therefore to be forsaken. This article he confessed, except that he made no mention of tyrants.
5. That every man, yes, every layman, is a priest. He confessed that he spoke such words, declaring in his sermon, that every Christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer.
6. That men should not pray to saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator than Christ Jesus our only Redeemer. This article he denied.
7. He preached that they should not worship images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones. This he also denied.
8. He preached on Whitsunday last,<sup>53</sup> within the University of Cambridge, that a bachelor of divinity admitted from the University, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place: and if any bishop accursed them for so doing, their curses would turn to the condemnation of themselves. He confessed this.

These answers thus made and acknowledged, master Arthur revoked and condemned the articles objected against him, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church.

The third of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops assembling again, after Bilney had refused to return to the church of Rome, the bishop of London in discharge of his conscience (he said) lest he hide anything that had come to his hands, exhibited to the notaries, in the presence of Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded in it, and

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<sup>53</sup> Whitsunday: seventh Sunday after Easter, commemorating the emanation of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles.

another epistle folded in the manner of a book, with six leaves; all of which he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered back to him.

*Here follows a summary of certain Depositions,  
on the inquiry of Master Bilney's Doctrine and Preaching.*

First, it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christ's church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, our Savior Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: why then should we need to seek any saint for a remedy? Therefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and it blasphemous our Savior.

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That man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no way merit by his own deeds.

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets. But John Baptist, being more than a prophet, not only prophesied, but with his finger he showed him: "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world." Then, if this were the very Lamb that takes away the sins of the world, what an injury it is to our Savior Christ for anyone to say that to be buried in St. Francis' Cowl should remit four parts of penance! What is then left to our Savior Christ, who takes away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past have been antichrists; and now it has pleased God to somewhat expose their falsehood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the pope does not have the keys that Peter had, unless he follows Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as a heretic, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

Also, it was deposed against him, that in the parish-church of Willesden, he exhorted the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and quit their offerings to them. Also, that Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of Christian men in offering candles, wax, and money to stocks and stones.

Over and besides these matters deposed against him, here follow other articles gathered out of his sermon, which he preached in the parish church of St. Magnus, during Whitsun week (A.D. 1527).

He said, pray only to God, and not to saints, in rehearsing the Litany; and when he came to "Holy Mary, pray for us," he said, Stop there.

He said, that Christian men ought to worship God alone, and not saints.

He said, that Christian people should set up no lights before the images of saints; for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see.

He said, just as Hezekiah destroyed the bronze serpent that Moses made by the commandment of God; even so kings and princes now-a-days should destroy and burn the images of saints set up in churches.

These five hundred years there has been no good pope, nor in all the times past can we find but fifty; for they have neither preached, nor lived well, nor conformably to their dignity. Therefore, till now they have born the keys of simony. Against them, good people, we must preach to you, for we cannot come to them. It is a great pity, for they have sorely slandered the blood of Christ.

The people have foolishly of late gone upon pilgrimages; it would have been better had they been at home.

Many have made vows, which are not possible for them to fulfil.

The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it has pleased our Savior Christ to show their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

I trust that there shall and will come others besides me, who will show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I show and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Savior Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, by which you shall be brought from their errors in which you have been long seduced. For before this there have been many who have slandered you, and the gospel of our Savior Christ.

These and many other like charges were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses. But now, before we return again to his examination, we insert here a dialogue between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, as written down by the friar himself.

*A Dialogue between Friar John Brusierd and Master  
Thomas Bilney, in Ipswich, concerning worshipping of Images.*

Brusierd. — Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies, yet being moved partly with our gentle petitions, partly pitying your case, I have come here to talk with you secretly. When you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seem to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Where you said that none of the saints make intercession for us, nor obtain anything for us, you have blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. This you can not deny, especially as there is such incessant knocking at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, as appears in the sevenfold Litany.

Bilney. — I marvel at you, and cannot marvel enough, that the vain custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not heard except in much talking, puts an end to my wonder. For our heavenly Father knows what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, “There is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.” <sup>1Tim 2:5</sup> If then there is but one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed lady? Where then are St. Peter and other saints?

Brusierd. — I suppose that no man is ignorant, that the divines of the primitive church have all affirmed that there is one Mediator between God and men. Neither could anyone at any time praise or pray to the saints while they were living in the calamities of this body and wrestling with the winds of this world, and had not yet come to the port of rest to which they were travelling. Paul (I grant) rightly affirmed that there was but one Mediator between God and men, for as yet there was no saint canonized or put into the Calendar. But now seeing the church knows, and certainly believes, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she therefore, like a good mother, has taught her children most diligently to praise the Omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions to God. This is what the psalmist says, “Praise you the Lord in his saints.” <sup>Psa 148:14</sup> Rightly also we say and affirm that saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another; therefore, much more may saints who enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, “God is my witness, whom I serve

in my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayers always for you,” etc. Rom 1.9.

Bilney. — I marvel that you, a learned man, are not yet delivered out of the dungeon of heresy through the help of the holy gospel — especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, “Truly, truly, I say to you, whatever you ask the Father in my name, he will give it to you,” Joh 16.23. He does not say, whatever you ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints, but in *My* name. Let us therefore ask help in the name of Him who is able to obtain for us whatever we ask, lest, perhaps, hereafter in the end of the world, at the judgment, we hear, “Up to now you have asked for nothing in my name.”

Brusierd. — Where you marvel that I, a learned man, as you say, am not yet delivered from the dungeon of heresy through the help of the gospel, much more do you, who are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish wonder. Nor can I choose but to laugh at you, as one rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet do not see those things which are done here in the lower parts of philosophy. For what a ridiculous thing is it for a man to look so long at the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun? Moreover, what student is there in all Cambridge, however young, who does not know that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, has no force?

[511] A.D. 1527-1560.

Bilney. — As the Pharisees took Christ, so you take my words otherwise than I meant.

Brusierd. — Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lies inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.

Bilney. — Those who invoke the help either of Christ, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, may well resemble delicate patients who, being under the hand of physicians and having medicines ministered for their diseases, not abiding the pain of it, fling all away. Therefore, I say, no man ought to implore the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity.

Brusierd. — O most pernicious and perilous heresy of all that I have ever heard! Thus escaping from the smoke, you fall into the fire, and avoiding the danger of Scylla, you run upon Charybdis.<sup>54</sup> O heart of man wrapped in palpable darkness! I wish, Master Bilney, that you would but once search out the origin of these Rogation days.<sup>55</sup> For so we read in church history, that they were first ordained by Pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence then reigning among the people. At that time, the people went in procession. A certain image like our blessed Lady, painted with the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, went before them. Around this image, in honor of the Virgin, angels sang this anthem: “O queen of heaven be glad,” etc. To this anthem the pope also adjoined this, “Pray to the Lord for us.” Therefore, seeing the angels worshipped the image of the glorious Virgin Mary, and seeing the holy father. Pope Gregory, with all the clergy, prayed for corporal infirmity, it manifestly appears that we ought to worship the saints, and also give honor in a manner to their images. Further also, pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from it, so that they may say the same for us which is said in the gospel, “Send them away, because they cry after us.”<sup>Mat 14.15</sup> Although there are infinite places in the holy Scripture with which we might easily resist your error,

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<sup>54</sup> In Homer's *Odyssey*. Scylla and Charybdis are two monsters. Scylla has triple rows of sharklike teeth in her six heads; Charybdis personifies a maelstrom. To be caught between the two, is to have no easy way out.

<sup>55</sup> One of the three days before Ascension Day, observed by Roman Catholics as days of supplication.



yet stopping here with sufficient content, we will proceed to your second pestiferous error in which, like an ungrateful child, you go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For you affirm blasphemously that the bishop of Rome is the very antichrist, and that his privileges have no force against the gates of hell. In so saying, what do you do, if not like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her most miserably upon the earth? But as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, that it will not be received by some itching ears, I would therefore hear you declare now, how he sits in the temple of God, as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God. Or how he shows himself as Lord in power and signs, and deceitful wonders.

Bilney.— Although incredulity does not allow you to understand these things, yet I will help your incredulity, through the aid of the Lord, beseeching you that setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do you know the table of the ten commandments?

Brusierd.— I know them as the catholic doctors expound them, but how you expound them I cannot tell.

Bilney.— And do you also know the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men, to which men are so straitly bound, that they are compelled to observe them under pain of death?

Brusierd. — I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers, but those which you speak of as devised by men's dreams, I know of none.

Bilney.— Now then, let us set and compare these two together, and you will easily understand that the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, sits in the temple of God, as God, to be extolled above all that is named God. It is written, "The temple of the Lord is holy, which temple you are." <sup>1Cor 6.19</sup> Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Spirit, in which temple I will prove the pope sits as God, and is to be exalted above all that is called God. Whoever condemns the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him, nor is that punishment unto death. But he who despises or violates the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment as guilty of death! What is this, if not that the bishop of Rome sits and reigns in the temple of God — that is, in man's conscience — as God?

Brusierd. — Although this exposition seems unworthy for Christian ears, yet I would hear you further as to how he shows himself in signs and deceitful wonders.

Bilney. — These wonders which they call miracles, are wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think, but by the illusion of Satan. As the Scripture witnesses, he has been loose five hundred years, as written in the book of Revelation, "After a thousand years Satan shall be loosed," etc. <sup>Rev 20.3</sup> Nor are they to be called miracles of true Christian men, but rather illusions whereby to delude men's minds, to make them put their faith in our Lady and other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honor and glory forever.

Brusierd. — But I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revenge upon you. I would surely with these nails of mine be your death, for this horrible and enormous injury against the precious blood of Christ. God says, "I do not wish the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live." <sup>Eze 18.23</sup> And you blaspheme him, as though he would lay secret snares of death for us, that we should not know them. If it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner: — "If it is an error, it is of you, O God, that we are deceived; for they are confirmed with such signs and wonders as cannot be

done except by You.” But I am assured it is untrue and heretical. And therefore I will leave this matter, and talk with you concerning the merits of saints. For I remember you once said in a certain sermon of yours, “That no saint, however great his suffering, and however pure his life, deserves anything from God, either by his death or his life.” This is contrary to St. Augustine.

Bilney. — Christ says one thing, St. Augustine another. Which of these two shall we believe? For Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave a certain parable about ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, lacking the oil of good works, he meant all us sinners. By the wise virgins he meant the company of all holy saints. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins answered to the five foolish who asked for oil from them; “No,” they say, “lest, perhaps, we do not have sufficient for us, and for you. Go rather to those who sell, and buy for yourselves.” Therefore, if they did not have oil sufficient for themselves and also for the others, where then are the merits of saints with which they can merit both for themselves and for us? I cannot see it.

Brusierd. — You twist the Scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarcely able to keep my eyes from tears, hearing with my ears these words of yours. Fare you well.

*The Submission of Master Thomas Bilney.*

The fourth of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster. Master Bilney was also brought there, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant. He answered, “That he would stand to his conscience.” Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, “In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered.” Making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops, he gave sentence against Master Bilney in this manner:

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I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, pronounce you, Thomas Bilney, who have been accused of diverse articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we postpone deliberation till tomorrow.

The fifth of December the bishops assembled there again; before whom Bilney was brought. The bishop asked if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon, Bilney answered, “That he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought against him. These witnesses, the bishop said came too late; for after publication they could not be received by law.

In the afternoon, the bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the church and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered that he trusted he was not separate from the church, and he required time and place to bring in witnesses, which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the Catholic church? He answered, that if they could teach and prove sufficiently that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself. And he desired again to have time and space to bring in his refused witnesses. He would give no other answer.

Being asked again whether he would return; or else the sentence must be read. He requested the bishop to give him license to deliberate until the morrow, whether he might abjure the

heresies with which he was defamed, or not. The bishop granted that he should have a little time to deliberate. But when Bilney requested till the morrow, the bishop would not grant him his request, lest he appeal. But at last the bishop granted him two nights respite to deliberate — that is to say, till Saturday, at nine o'clock, forenoon, and then to give a plain and determinate answer.

The 7th day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney personally appeared. The bishop of London asked whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies of which he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Bilney answered that now he was persuaded by his friends, that he should submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration, which the bishop granted. When he had read it to himself, and returned, it was demanded what he would do in these premises. He answered that he would abjure and submit himself. There he openly read his abjuration, subscribed it and delivered it to the bishop, who then absolved him. For his penance, the bishop enjoined him to abide in prison appointed by the cardinal, till he was released by him. Moreover, the next day he would go before the procession in the cathedral church of St. Paul's bare-headed, with a faggot on his shoulder, and stand before the preacher at St. Paul's Cross during the sermon.

After this abjuration, made about A.D. 1528, Bilney felt such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as credibly testified by Master Hugh Latimer, whose words I annex here, written in his seventh sermon, preached before king Edward:

“I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who once he had borne his faggot, and came again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself (beholding this image of death), that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were willing to be with him day and night, and to comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. As for bringing comfortable places of Scripture to him, it was as though a man had run him through the heart with a sword. Yet, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical See of Rome.”

Again, Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, has these words —

“That same Master Bilney, who was burned here in England for the sake of God's word, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a faggot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bore the blows. Now, when Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word, for he thought that the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that, many a time I communed with him (for I was familiarly acquainted with him). But all things whatever that any man could allege to his comfort seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that, he afterwards came again. God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Savior Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake which we now preach in England,” etc.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of Master Latimer, before the Duchess of Suffolk, he infers as follows:

“Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a papist as any in England, insomuch that when I was to be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against

Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge. He came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. I did so, and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than I had before in many years. So, from that time forward, I began to inhale the word of God, and to forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries," etc.

By this it appears how vehemently this good man Bilney was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, for nearly two years; that is, from the year 1529 to 1531. It followed then that by God's grace and good counsel, he came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give up his life for the confession of that truth which he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, in Trinity hall at ten o'clock at night, he took his leave of his friends, saying that he would go to Jerusalem — alluding to the words and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem when he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give up his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and would see them no more. He immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters; then he preached openly in the fields — confessing his sin, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he had abjured, to be the very truth. He desired all men to learn by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from there to Norwich, upon which he was apprehended and carried to prison.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doctor Bellas, doctor of law and Chancellor, was first degraded by Suffragan Underwood, according to their popish manner, by the assistance of the friars and doctors. This done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, one of whom was Thomas Necton. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's especial friend, and sorry to receive him to such an execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could not do otherwise, but must receive him. Notwithstanding, he could not bear in his conscience to be present at Bilney's death himself. So, for the time that he was in his custody, Necton had him looked to in a more friendly manner, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than Bilney was before.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was the day before his execution, Bilney had his friends resorting to him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he would suffer the next day, would be of great heat to his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit would cool it to his everlasting refreshing.

[513] A.D. 1527-1560.

At this word, Thomas Bilney put his hand to the flame of the candle burning before them; and feeling the heat, he said,

"O, I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot. Yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some mentioned in that word, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption. And I constantly believe, however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby, a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding, follows joy unspeakable."

And here he much treated this passage of Scripture:

"Fear not, For I have redeemed you, and called you by your name; you are Mine. When you go through the water I will be with you, and the strong floods shall not overflow you. When you

walk in the fire, it shall not burn you, and the flame shall not kindle upon you, for I am the Lord your God, the holy One of Israel.” — Isa 43.1-3.

This he most comfortably treated in respect to himself, as well as applying it to the particular use of his friends. Some of them took such sweet fruit, that they caused the whole sentence to be fairly written on tablets, and some in their books. The comfort of this (on some of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday following, the officers of execution with their gloves and halberts were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution outside the city gate. It was called Bishop’s Gate located in a low valley commonly called The Lollards’ Pit, under Saint Leonard’s Hill, environed about with great hills. This place was chosen for the people’s ease, sitting to see the execution. At the coming forth of Thomas Bilney out of the prison door, one of his friends came to him; with few words, he spoke to him and prayed for him in God’s behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Bilney answered with a quiet and mild countenance,

“You see when the mariner has entered his ship to sail on the troubled sea, how for a while he is tossed in the billows. Yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he bears in better comfort the perils which he feels. So I am now, toward this sailing. Whatever storms I will feel, yet shortly after, my ship shall be in the haven, as I do not doubt by the grace of God — desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect.”

And so he went forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends. He was accompanied with one doctor Warner, doctor of divinity and parson of Winterton, whom he chose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his spiritual comfort. He came at last to the place of execution, and descended from the hill, apparelled in a layman’s gown with his sleeves hanging down, his arms out, his hair having been piteously mangled at his degradation, and drew near to the stake. He desired that he might speak some words to the people. And standing there, he said:

“Good people, I have come here to die. I was born to live under that condition, naturally to die again. And that you might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will recite to you the articles of my creed:”

And then he began to recite them in order, as they are in the common creed, often elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God. At the article of Christ’s Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *crucified*, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence, and then proceeding in the articles, he came to these words, “I believe the Catholic church.” There he paused, and spoke these words,

“Good people, I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once contrary to her prohibition, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge, where I was a fellow. I was earnestly entreated to do so by the curate and other good people of the parish, showing that they had no sermon there for a long time before. And so moved in my conscience. I made a poor collation to them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of authority in the church. However, I trust at the general day, the charity that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment seat of God.”

And so he proceeded, without any words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him his death. Once this was done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake. Kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, on which he was afterwards to stand to be better seen, he made his prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good and quiet behavior, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death. He

ended his private prayers at the last, with the 143rd Psalm, beginning, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, give ear to my supplications." The next verse he repeated three times in deep meditation: "And enter not into judgment with your servant, for in Your sight no man living shall be justified." And so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers. After that he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yes. He then put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went to the stake; the chain was cast about him. Doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spoke but few words, for weeping.

Thomas Bilney most gently smiled, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, "Feed your flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord comes, he may find you so doing: and farewell good master doctor, and pray for me." And so the doctor departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. While Bilney thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses being present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, etc.) came to him and said, "O Master Bilney, the people are persuaded that we are the causers of your death, and that we have procured it, and it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, unless you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Upon this Thomas Bilney spoke with a loud voice to the people, "I pray you, good people, never be the worse to these men for my sake, as though they were the authors of my death; it was not they." And so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire to them, which made a very great flame, and deformed his face. He held up his hands and knocking upon his breast, he sometimes cried out, "Jesus," sometimes "I believe." The flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was very great that day, and two or three days before. And so for a little pause he stood without flame. But soon the wood again took the flame, and then he gave up the ghost, his body being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert struck out the staple in the stake behind him, and allowed Bilney's body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it; and so he was consumed (August 1531). Thus have you the true history, and martyrdom of this good man.

*Master Stafford of Cambridge.*

As the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk where he was burned, so his diligent travel in teaching and exhorting others; and his example of life corresponding to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge. He was a great means of framing that University, and drawing many to Christ. Through him and partly also through another called Master Stafford, the word of God began to spread there. Among them was Master Hugh Latimer, Doctor Robert Barnes, Doctor Thistel of Pembroke Hall, Master Fooke of Bennet College, Master Soude of the same college, and Doctor Warner (mentioned above), with others.

This Master George Stafford was then the public reader of the divinity lecture in that University. Just as he was a professor of Christ's gospel, so he was a diligent follower of that which he professed.

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As the plague was then sore in Cambridge, a priest called Sir Henry Conjurer, among others, lay sick of the plague. Master Stafford hearing of it, and seeing the horrible danger that his soul was in, was so moved in conscience to help the dangerous case of the priest, that neglecting his own bodily health to recover the other from eternal damnation, he came to

him, exhorted and so importuned him, that he would not leave the priest before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring hooks burned before his face. This done, Mr. Stafford went home, and immediately sickened; shortly after, he most Christianly died.

Concerning this Master Stafford, it is moreover to be noted that Master Latimer, still being a servant and a zealous papist, standing in the schools when Master Stafford read, persuaded the scholars not to hear him. He also preached against Stafford, and exhorted the people not to believe him. And yet Latimer himself confessed that he gave thanks to God, that he asked Stafford's forgiveness before he departed.<sup>56</sup>

And thus much, by the way, of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly perseverance in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

### ***Simon Fish – The Supplication of Beggars.***

#### *Account of Master Simon Fish.*

Before the time of Bilney and the fall of the cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with his book called *The Supplication of Beggars*, declaring how and by what means it came to the king's hand, and what effect followed in the reformation of many things, especially of the clergy. But missing a few years in this matter breaks no great square in our history. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this.

After the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, also began to spread its beams in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many. So that, colored hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness began to be revealed more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals was not so high, that those who had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to discern Christ from antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion. In the number of these was Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened in the first year that this gentleman came to London, which was about A.D. 1525, there was a play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same Inn. In this play, there was matter against Cardinal Wolsey. When none dared take it upon themselves to play the part of the cardinal, Master Fish took upon himself to do it. Upon this, such great displeasure ensued against him on the cardinal's part, that being pursued by the cardinal the same night that this tragedy was played, Master Fish was compelled to leave his own house; he fled over the sea to Tyndale. The year following, this book *Supplication* was printed (about the year 1527). Not long after, it was sent over to the lady Anne Boleyn, who then lived at a place not far from the court. Her brother seeing this book in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it back to her, earnestly desiring her to give it to the king, which she did.

This was about A.D. 1528. The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who wrote it. She answered, "A subject of his, one Fish, who had fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal." After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, information was given by the king's servants, to the wife of Simon Fish, that she might send for her husband without danger. Being encouraged, she first came and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband. Understanding whose wife she was, the king showed a very gentle countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it please your Grace, not far off." "Then," he said, "fetch him, and he will come and go safely without

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<sup>56</sup> [George Stafford and Hugh Latimer were part of a group of reform-minded theologians who met at "The White Horse" Inn, which was nicknamed "Little Germany" due to the Lutheran ideas discussed there.](#)

peril, and no man shall do him harm." He said, moreover, "that she had been much wronged, that he was absent from her for so long." He had now been absent two and a half years. In the meantime the cardinal was deposed, and More sat in the chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife went immediately to her husband, who had recently come over and was lying secretly within a mile of the court. She brought him to the king, about the year 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he received him with loving countenance. After a long talk for three or four hours, as they were riding together a-hunting, the king at length dismissed him, and bade him take his wife home, for she had taken great pains for him. He answered the king and said he dare not do so, for fear of Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, and of Stokesley, the bishop of London.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, desired him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hard as to do him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him if he had anything for the discharge of his wife. For a little earlier she had by chance displeased the friars, for not allowing them to say their gospels in her house in Latin as they did in others, unless they would say it in English. Upon which the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not ceasing his dislike toward the wife, the next morning sent for her to appear before him. Had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sick of the plague, she would probably have suffered much trouble. Her husband, Master Fish, died of this plague within half a year, and she afterwards married Master James Bainham, who was burned not long after.

Now comes another statement of Edmund Moddis, the king's footman, on the same matter.

This Moddis being with the king, talking of religion and of the new books that had come from beyond the seas, said, "If it might please his grace to pardon him, and such persons as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was wonderful to hear of!" The king demanded to know who they were. He said, two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson. The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in the privy chamber, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him. One of them said, "There was a book come into their hands, which they had there to show his grace." When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yes," said George Elyot, "if it please your grace to hear it." "I think so," said the king, "for if it were needed, you can say it without a book."

The whole book being read, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man were to pull down an old stone wall, and began at the lower part, the upper part might chance to fall upon his head." Then he took the book and put it into his desk, and commanded them upon their allegiance that they would not tell any man that he had seen the book," etc. The copy of the book here ensues.

*A certain look, entitled "The Supplication of Beggars"  
thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster,  
on Candlemas day, before King Henry the Eighth,  
for him to read, made by Master Fish.*

To the King our Sovereign Lord,

Your poor daily headmen, the wretched hideous monsters on whom scarcely any eye dare look for honor, the foul unhappy sort of lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame,



and sick, who live only by alms, most lamentably complain their woeful misery to your highness — how their number is daily so sorely increased, that all the alms of all the well disposed people of your realm is not half enough to sustain them; but for very constraint, they die of hunger. And this most pestilent mischief has come upon your poor headmen by the reason that in the times of your noble predecessors, now passed, there has craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong influence and counterfeit holy and idle beggars and vagabonds. Since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, they have now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a [separate] kingdom.

[515] A.D. 1527-1560.

These are not the herds, but the ravenous wolves going about in herds' clothing, devouring the flock — bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and somners. And who is able to number this ravenous idle sort who (setting all labor aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than a third of all your realm? The finest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs; besides this, they have a tenth of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese and chickens. Over and besides this, a tenth of every servant's wages, a tenth of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese and butter; yes, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she will not get her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as a heretic. To this they add their four-offering days. What money they pull in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses! Every man and child that is buried must pay something for masses and dirges to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy. What money they get by mortuaries, by hearing confessions (and yet they keep no counsel of them) by hallowing churches, altars, superaltars, chapels, and bells, by cursing men, and absolving them again for money! What a multitude of money the pardoners gather in a year! How much money the somners get by extortion in a year, by citing the people to the commissaries' court, and afterwards releasing those who appear, for money! Finally, the infinite number of begging friars, what do they get in a year?

Here, if it please your grace to mark, you will see a thing that is far out of joint. There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this being so, if there are but ten households in every parish, there are 520,000 households. And from every one of these households, each of the five orders of friars has a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all five orders, they get five pence a quarter for every house; and for all five orders, that totals twenty pence a-year from every house; *i.e.*, 520,000 quarters of angels;<sup>57</sup> that is, 260,000 half angels, or 130,000 angels, totalling 430,333£. 6s. 8d. sterling! Not 400 years past, they had not one penny of this.

Oh grievous and painful exaction, to be thus paid yearly! from which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free. And will they have this, or else they will procure whoever will not give it to them, to be taken as a heretic. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeful generation? What subjects will be able to help their prince; that is, if they are polled yearly in this fashion? What good Christian people can be able to succor us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, who are thus yearly oppressed? Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths and subsidies that your grace most tenderly, out of great compassion, has taken among your people to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so

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<sup>57</sup> *Angel*: a gold coin, impressed with an angel weighing four pennyweights, valued at 6s. 8d. in the reign of Henry VI, 1462, and 10s in the reign of Elizabeth I, 1562.

slothfully, even painfully levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, has been gathered before, yearly, by this ravenous insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, would ever have been able to bring their armies from so far, here into your land to conquer it, if they had at that time such idle gluttons to feed at home. The noble king Arthur would never have been able to carry his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius, the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken from his people. The Greeks would never have been able to so long continue at the siege of Troy, if they had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to feed.<sup>58</sup> The ancient Romans would never have been able to put the whole world under their obedience, if their people had thus been oppressed yearly. The Turk now, in your time, would never have been able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the foresaid third of the possessions of the realm, so that you may see whether it draws near to half of the whole substance of the realm or not; you shall find that it draws far above that.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, to the number of the lay people, and we will see whether it is indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, and they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, they not the four hundredth person in number. One part therefore divided into four hundred parts, would not be too much for them, unless they labored. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not four hundredth of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that there was ever any commonwealth so sorely oppressed since the world first began?

And what does all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves do with these yearly exactions that they take from the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but transfer all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace to them. Nothing but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them, as they did to your noble predecessor king John. Because he would have punished certain traitors who had conspired with the French king to depose him from his crown and dignity (among whom was a cleric called Stephen, a man that the pope afterwards made bishop of Canterbury against the king's will), interdicted his land. For this matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas for shame!) has stood tributary not to any kind of temporal prince, but to a cruel devilish blood-sucker, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since.

Here was a holy sort of prelates, who thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm and succession, fordoing right! Here was a charitable sort of holy men, who could thus interdict a whole realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for no other cause than for his righteousness! Here was a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suckers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king, out of great compassion — more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the loss of his crown and dignity, and against all right and conscience — submitted himself to them!

O most horrible case that ever so noble a king, realm and succession, should thus be made to stoop to such blood-suckers! What had his sword, power, crown and dignity become, whereby he might have done justice in this matter? What had their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? Yes, what had the obedience of all his subjects become, that for maintenance of the commonwealth they should have held him

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<sup>58</sup> *Cormorant*: a large voracious dark-colored long-necked seabird with a distensible pouch for holding fish.

manfully to resist these blood-suckers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy transferred from this good king to them?

Yes, and what more did they do? Truly nothing but apply themselves by all the sleights they may, to deal with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid, that the worst vices should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child, to put right-begotten children clean beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These are the ones who, by abstaining from marriage, hinder the generation of the people — whereby all the realm at length, if it were continued, would be made a desert and uninhabitable.

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What has your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation? What has their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether transferred and exempt from your grace to them? Yes truly, what an infinite number of people might have been increased to people the realm, if this sort of folk had been married like other men? What breach of matrimony has been brought in by them? Truly, such as was never seen since the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen. What sort are those who marry priests' sovereign ladies, if not to cloak the priests' incontinency, and to make a living from the priests themselves for their labor? <sup>59</sup> How many thousands does such lubricity <sup>60</sup> bring to beggary, theft and idleness, who should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had there not been this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man would dare to take any man or woman into his service, who has been at such a school with a spiritual man?

O the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth which in ancient times, before the coming of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous that then there were but few thieves. Indeed, theft at that time was so rare that Caesar was not compelled to impose the death penalty for felony, as your grace may well perceive in his institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg; rather, enough was given to them unasked. For at that time there were none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appears in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel then that there are now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? No, truly. What is the remedy? Make laws against them? I doubt whether you are able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What number of bishops, abbots, and priors are lords in your parliament? Are not all the learned men of your realm in fee with them (paid by them), to speak in your parliament-house *for* them and *against* your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, with only a few of your own learned council excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he — though he is sorely grieved for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife or daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offense — that dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he does, then by and by, by their wiliness, he is accused of heresy. Indeed, they will so handle him before he passes, that unless he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he will be excommunicated, and then be dashed by all his actions.

So captive are your laws to them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue for any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dares be so hardy as to indict a priest of any such crime, he has before the year ends, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it makes him wish he had not done it. Your grace may see what a work there is in London — how the bishop rages for indicting certain curates of extortion and

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<sup>59</sup> Perhaps referring to a priest taking an abbess as his concubine in lieu of marriage.

<sup>60</sup> *Lubricity*: feeling a morbid sexual desire or a propensity to lewdness.

incontinency, the last year in the Wardmote quest.<sup>61</sup> Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of *praemunire* against a priest, he would still have been alive, and not a heretic at all, but an honest man. Did not various ones of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily transferred into the hands of this mischievous generation, make diverse statutes for the reformation of this, among which the statute of Mortmain was one,<sup>62</sup> with the intent that after that time they would have no more given to them? But what did that avail? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since then than any duke in England has, the statute notwithstanding? Indeed, for all that, have they not transferred into their hands, from your grace, half your kingdom, only the name remaining to you for your ancestors' sake? So *you* have the name, and *they* have the profit. Yes, I fear that if I weighed all things to the utmost, they would also take the name for themselves, and of one kingdom make two: the spiritual kingdom, as they call it (for they would be named first), and your temporal kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms do you suppose is likely to overgrow the other — indeed, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the kingdom of the bloodsuckers. For to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and once that is given, it never comes back from them. They have such laws, that none of them may either give or sell anything. What law can be made so strong against them, that they will not break it or set it at naught, either with money, or else with other policy? What kingdom can endure, that ever gives this way from the king, and receives nothing back? O how all the substance of your realm, your sword, power, crown, dignity, and the obedience of your people, runs headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

Nor do they have any other color to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory. Without whose prayers, they say, or at least without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered from there. If this is true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, even if it were a hundred times as much. But there are many men of great literature and judgment, who for the love they have for the truth and for the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world — yes in peril of death — to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no purgatory. Rather, it is something invented by the covetousness of the spirituality, only to transfer all kingdoms from other princes to them; and there is not one word spoken of it in all the holy Scripture. They also say that if there were a purgatory, and also if that the pope with his pardons may deliver one soul from there for money, then he may just as well deliver him *without* money; and if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; and if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and so destroy purgatory. And if he keeps them there in prison and in pain till men give him money, then he is a cruel tyrant, without any charity.

Likewise, they say, of the whole of the spirituality, that if they will pray for no man unless he gives them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and allow those souls to be punished and uncharitably pained for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call heretics; these they

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<sup>61</sup> *Wardmotes* were meetings held in each ward of the City of London, typically once a year, where adult males in the ward would gather to elect local officers, choose a jury, and address local concerns such as public order, sanitation, and moral issues. The *quest* was an inquest or inquiry into such matters.

<sup>62</sup> During the Middle Ages the Roman Catholic Church acquired a substantial amount of real estate. As the Church and religious orders were each recognized as a legal person separate from the office holder who administered the Church land (such as the abbot or the bishop), the land would not escheat upon the death of the holder, nor pass by inheritance. The land was thus held in perpetuity. In 1279 and again in 1290, *Statutes of Mortmain* were enacted under King Edward I to impose limits on the Church's holding of property. They were initially meant to prohibit donating land to the Church to avoid feudal services. However, those statutes proved ineffective due to *cestui que use*, which side-stepped the royal courts, coming under the law of trusts developed in the ecclesiastical courts. It separated legal ownership from the right of occupation or use of land. This issue was finally resolved in 1535, when Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, and confiscated all monastic lands for the Crown.

burn; these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots. But whether they are heretics or not, I well know that this purgatory and the pope's pardons are the entire cause of transferring your kingdom so fast into their hands. Therefore it is manifest that it cannot be of Christ — for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Caesar; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed. Indeed, although he himself was most free lord of all, and innocent, he was obedient to the high powers unto death. This is the great sore, and why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue lest men spot that by their cloaked hypocrisy they thus transfer your kingdom fast into their hands; that they are not obedient to your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they do not seek the honor of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in Him.

Here may your grace well perceive, that unless you permit their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is likely to run into their hands. And as long as it is covered up, so long it will seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give to them. For this I am sure: that your grace thinks, as the truth is, 'I am as good a man as my father. Why may I not give them as much and as well as my father did?' And I am sure all the lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England are of this mind. Yes, and until this is disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of Mortmain was never made in good conscience, seeing that it takes away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in times past.

[517] A.D. 1527-1560.

Therefore, if you would avoid the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that will be speedier in this matter than all the laws that can be made, however strong they may be. For to make a law to punish any offender, unless it was more to give other men an example to beware of committing such a like offense, what would it avail? Did not Doctor Allen most presumptuously, now in your time, against his allegiance, do all that he ever could to pull from you the knowledge of those pleas which belong to your high courts, to another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not Doctor Horsey and his accomplices also,<sup>63</sup> most heinously, as all the world knows, murder in prison that honest merchant Richard Hunne, for suing your writ of *praemunire* against a priest who wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter that he knew belonged to your high courts? And what punishment was done that any man may take example of, to beware of like offense? Truly none, except that the one contributed five hundred pounds, it is said, to the building of your chamber; and once that payment was made, the captains of his kingdom — because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity — have heaped upon him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, it is said, paid six hundred pounds for himself and his accomplices; and because he likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, he was immediately, upon obtaining your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who then can take an example of punishment from this to beware of such like offense? Who of their kingdom would not rather take courage to commit the like offense, seeing the promotions that fell to those men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

And this is because the chief instrument of your law — indeed, the chief of your council, the one who has your sword in his hand, to whom all the other instruments also are obedient — is also a spiritual man (clergyman). He ever has such an inordinate love for his own kingdom,

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<sup>63</sup> See pp. 414-415.

that he will maintain it, even if all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world were thereby utterly undone. Here we leave out the greatest matter of all, lest we declare such a horrible carrion of evil against these ministers of iniquity, that it seems to declare only the one fault (or rather the ignorance) of our best-beloved minister of righteousness, which is to be hidden till he learns it plainly for himself by these few enormities we have spoken of.

But what remedy is there to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore beadsmen? <sup>64</sup> To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? No, truly. The more the worse: for the fat of the whole foundation ever hangs on the priests' beards. Diverse of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, from which (for the remoteness of the time) they never give one penny. They have likewise allowed them to have a certain number of masses said daily for them, of which they never say one. If the abbot of Westminster were to sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks would be too few. Therefore, if your grace would build a sure hospital that shall never fail, to relieve us all your poor beadsmen, then take from them all these things. Send these sturdy loobies (fools) abroad in the world to get themselves wives of their own, to get their living with their labor in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God (Gen 3.19) and to be an example to other idle people to go to work. Tie these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they fall to working, so that by their importunate begging, they do not take away the alms that the good Christian people would give to us sore, impotent, miserable people, your beadsmen. Then the number of the aforesaid monstrous sort shall be reduced, as of whores, thieves, and idle people. Then these great yearly exactions shall cease. Then your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people shall not be transferred from you. Then you shall have the full obedience of your people. Then the idle people shall be set to work. Then matrimony shall be much better kept. Then the generation of your people shall be increased. Then your commons shall increase in riches. Then the gospel shall be preached. Then none shall beg our alms away from us. Then we shall have enough, and more than shall suffice us; this shall be the best hospital that was ever founded for us. Then we shall daily pray to God for your most noble estate to long endure."

Against this book of the beggars, Sir Thomas More shortly after wrote another book in answer to it, under the title of "The Poor Silly Souls Pewling (whining) out of Purgatory." In that book, after More had first divided the whole world into four parts — that is, into heaven, hell, earth, and purgatory — he then makes the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical *prosopopaeia* <sup>65</sup> to speak out of purgatory, sometimes lamentably complaining, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at the author of the beggars' book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him a fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a mad dog, a heretic, and all that. And no wonder, if these silly souls of purgatory seem so fumish and testy; for heat is testy, and soon inflames anger. Yet these purgatory souls must take good heed (More says) how they call a man a fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel pronounces them guilty of hellfire, who say, "You fool," it may be feared lest those poor, silly, melancholy souls of purgatory, calling this man a fool so often, bring themselves thereby out of purgatory fire into the fire of hell. So that neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor all the merits of St. Dominic, nor yet of all the friars, can release these poor wretches.

Yet, as I do not, and cannot think that those departed souls would either so far overshoot themselves if they were in purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of purgatory

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<sup>64</sup> *Beadsmen*: those who pray for another (here, for the king), alluding to their rosary beads.

<sup>65</sup> *Prosopopaeia*: a figure of speech in which an abstract thing or absent person is represented as speaking,

at all (unless it is in Master More's Utopia), I therefore cease to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master More, the author and contriver of this poetical book.

After the clergy of England (and especially the cardinal) understood that these books of the *Beggars' Supplication* were strewn abroad in the streets of London, the cardinal had his servants diligently gather them up so that they would not come into the king's hands. But when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came to the king's majesty, saying, "If it shall please your grace, here are diverse seditious persons who have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies, desiring his grace to beware of them." Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it to the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief. They determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and especially this book of "The Supplication of Beggars," and the New Testament of Tyndale's Translation. This commission was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, who sent his prohibition to his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and others. The tenor of that prohibition <sup>66</sup> is as follows:

*A prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London,  
to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, for the calling in of the New Testaments  
translated into English, with many other books.*

"Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, to our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official — health, grace, and benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently with all our power to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away all those things which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and especially the destruction of their souls.

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"Therefore we, understanding by the report of several credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic faith, have craftily translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermixing with it many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profane the majesty of the Scripture, which up to now has remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of it. There are many books printed of this translation, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number, which truly, unless it is foreseen, it will without doubt contaminate and infect the flock committed to us, with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and to the offense of God's Divine Majesty. Therefore we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers who seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed to the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience, straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority, you warn or cause to be warned all and singular, exempt as well as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days, of which ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion

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<sup>66</sup> The same prohibition was published by every bishop in his diocese. — BURNET.

of heresy, they bring in and really deliver to our vicar general, all and singular such books that contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you certify to us, or our said commissary (delegate), within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

“Given under our seal, the 23rd of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, A.D. 1526.”

A like commission, in like manner and form, was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for its execution under the bishop’s seal.

Many other books were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament. And among them were *The Supplication of Beggars*; *The Revelation of Antichrist*, by Luther; *The Wicked Mammon*; *The Obedience of a Christian Man*; *An Introduction to St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans*; *A Dialogue between the Father and the Son*<sup>67</sup> — all by Tyndale; and nearly one hundred other books — written by the reformers.

### ***Tyndale Translates The New Testament Into English.***

The New Testament, above recited, first began to be translated by William Tyndale. It was printed at Antwerp, and sent into England in the year 1526. Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More, being aggrieved, devised how they could destroy that “false erroneous translation,” as they called it. It happened that there was one Augustine Packington, an English merchant at Antwerp at that time, when the bishop was there in 1529. This man favored Tyndale, but pretended otherwise to the bishop. The bishop was desirous to bring his purpose to pass. He said that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, “My Lord, I can do more in this matter than most merchants can do, if it is your pleasure, for I know the Dutchmen and strangers who have bought them from Tyndale, and have them here to sell. So, if it is your Lordship’s pleasure to obtain them, I must spend money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them. But if it is your pleasure to do so, I will secure for you every book that is printed and unsold.” The bishop said, “Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington; get them for me, and I will pay whatever is their cost, for I intend to burn and destroy them all at St. Paul’s cross.” This Augustine Packington went to William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter. And so, upon a compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money.<sup>68</sup> After this Tyndale corrected the New Testament, and had it newly reprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived this, he sent for Packington, who by that time had returned to England. The bishop said to him, “How does this come about, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.” Then Packington answered, “Surely, I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive that they have reprinted more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps. Therefore, you had better buy the stamps too, and then you will be sure.” The bishop smiled at this answer, and so the matter ended.

It happened, in the following year, that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, on suspicion of heresy. After several examinations, among other things, More asked him, “Constantine, I would have you be plain with me in one thing that I will

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<sup>67</sup> This was part of Tyndales’s *Dialogue on the Lord’s Prayer*.

<sup>68</sup> Tyndale was very glad of it; for, being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it; so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over to be burned. — Burnet.



ask. And I promise you, I will show you favor in all other things of which you are accused. Beyond the sea are Tyndale, Joy, and a great many others. I know they cannot live without help. There are some who help and succor them with money, and you being one of them, had your part of it. Therefore you know where this help came from. I pray you, tell me, who are those who thus help them?" "My Lord," said Constantine, "I will tell you truly. It is the bishop of London who has helped us. For he has bestowed among us a great deal of money to buy up the New Testaments to burn them. And that has been, and still is, our only succor and comfort." "Now, by my pledge," said More, "I think even the same, for I told the bishop that much before he went about it."

It is reported by Sir Thomas More, about George Constantine, that being taken, he seemed well contented to renounce his former doctrine, and not only to disclose his other fellows, but he also studied how these books — which he himself and others of his fellows had bought and shipped — might come into the bishop's hands to be burned. Afterwards Constantine, by the help of some of his friends, escaped from prison over the seas. After that, in the time of king Edward, he troubled the good bishop of St. David's in Wales (Robert Ferrar), who was burned in Queen Mary's time.

On the return of Tunstall from Antwerp, he caused all the New Testaments which he had bought, to be publicly burned in St. Paul's church-yard. This gave great offense to many of the people. To remove this feeling, the bishops let it be known that they intended to set out a true translation of it. The bishops made many complaints, under the pretense that the translations of Tyndale and Joy were not truly translated. Besides this, they claimed there were prologues and prefaces in them that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops. They obtained a proclamation from the king, prohibiting the teaching or preaching of anything against the dignity and ordinances of the church of Rome, and prohibiting the reading of any books contrary to the church of Rome. But the king commanded the bishops to summon the best learned men of the universities to make a new translation, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God.

[519] A.D. 1527-1560.

Notwithstanding this command, the bishops did nothing at all to prepare a new translation. On the contrary, on the 24th of May 1530, a paper was drawn up and agreed to by archbishop Warham, chancellor More, bishop Tunstall, and others, which every incumbent was called upon to read to his parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. In this paper it was declared that it was not necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Many of the people were so disappointed at this, that they only became more eager to read Tyndale's translation, by which many things came to light. Soon after, great trouble and persecution was raised against the poor innocent flock of Christ.

### **Resulting Conversions and Martyrdoms**

#### *Richard Byfield, Martyr.*

This Richard Byfield, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, was converted by Dr. Robert Barnes, and by Master Maxwell and Master Stacey, two godly men of London, brickmakers and wardens of their company, who were ingrafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Through their godly conversation of life, they had converted many men and women, both in London and in the country. Once a year, at their own cost, they went about to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad. Doctor Barnes at that time much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Byfield was, to one Doctor Ruffam. At this time it happened that this monk Byfield was chamberlain of the house to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well

entertained. He delighted much in Doctor Barnes and in the other laymen's conversation. At last, Doctor Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, with two books titled "The Wicked Mammon," and "The Obedience of a Christian Man." He had learned so much in two years, that he was cast into prison, sorely whipped, a gag put into his mouth, and put into the stocks. So he continued for three quarters of a year before Doctor Barnes could get him out. This he brought to pass by means of Doctor Ruffam, before-mentioned. And so Byfield committed to Doctor Barnes to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned to his abbey, but went to London, to Maxwell and Stacey. They kept him secretly a while, and then conveyed him beyond the sea. Doctor Barnes by this time was himself in the Fleet prison for God's word. Byfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was serviceable to Master Tyndale, and Master Frith. For he brought substance with him, and bought all their works, and the Germans' works, and sold them both in France and in England. At last coming to London, he was there betrayed, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and from there to the Coalhouse.

Richard Byfield being in the Coalhouse, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' Tower; for there he was tied by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, and manacled, to make him accuse others who had bought his books. He accused none, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, even to the very end. He was thrice put to trial in the consistory of St. Paul's, whether he would abjure or not? He said he would dispute for his faith, and so he did, to their great shame. Stokesley was his judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops. The articles laid to Richard Byfield by the aforesaid bishops, were these (November 10, 1531).

*Articles laid to Richard Byfield.*

1. First, that he had been a monk for many years, professed of the order of St. Benedict, of St. Edmundsbury, in the diocese of Norwich.
2. That he was a priest, and had ministered and continued in the same order for nine or ten years.
3. That since the feast of Easter last, being beyond the sea, he bought and procured diverse and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, of Martin Luther's own works, as well as others of his damnable sect, and of Oecolampadius the great heretic, and other heretics, both in Latin and English; the names of these books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.
4. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.
5. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for license, as it appeared (they said) by his confession before the said bishop.
6. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and renounced and forswore them and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from then on he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.
7. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfill whatever penance might be enjoined of him by the bishop.

8. After his abjuration it was enjoined of him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish church of St. Botolph's at Billingsgate, and bear a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.

9. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide a habit requisite and appropriate for his order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go nowhere without such a habit; which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewise enjoined of him in penance, that he should at some time before the feast of the Ascension next ensuing his abjuration, go home to the monastery of Bury and remain there according to the vow of his profession; which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appointed by the bishop of London to appear before the said bishop, on the 25th day of April next after his abjuration, to receive the remainder of his penance, and after his abjuration he fled beyond the sea, and did not appear.

12. That on the 20th of June next following his abjuration, he appeared before the said Bishop Tunstall, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's palace, and there it was newly enjoined him as part of his penance, that he should provide him a habit convenient for his order and profession, within the next eight days following; which he had not done.

13. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the special license of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being; which he had not fulfilled.

*The sentence given against him.*

In the name of God, Amen! We, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, etc.

By the acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and judicially confessed by you, we find that you have abjured certain errors and heresies, and damnable opinions confessed by you, particularly as well as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then your ordinary,<sup>69</sup> according to the form and order of the church. And that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and accomplices, receivers and favorers, whatever they may be, was condemned as a heretic, by the authority of Pope Leo the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the Apostolic See; and the books, and all writings, schedules and sermons of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and accomplices, whether they are found in Latin or in any other languages, printed or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reprov'd, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the said See, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf, to be incurred by the law, that no man, by any means, presume to read, teach, hear, print, or publish, or by any means defend, directly, or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other public or private places, any such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, that are contained more at large in the apostolic letters, drawn out in form of a public instrument.

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To these and to their contents we refer ourselves, as far as is expedient, and not otherwise. And because we perceive that you understood these premises; and yet these things — notwithstanding after your abjuration was made, as aforesaid — you have brought in diverse and sundry times, many books of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and accomplices, and of other heretics, the names, titles, and authors of which books here follow, and are these:

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<sup>69</sup> *Ordinary*: a church officer who has power to execute the church's laws. This includes diocesan bishops. They have the authority to make, enforce, and judge laws within their jurisdiction.

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— Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the Private Mass; The Declarations' of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and Jude; Luther upon Monastical Vowers; Luther's Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; John Oecolampadius upon the exposition of these words, "This is my body;" the Annotations of Oecolampadius upon the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, etc. etc.

All these kinds of books — both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and printed, containing not only Lutheran heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other condemned heretics — you have brought a great number over from the parts beyond the sea, into this realm of England, and especially to our city and diocese of London, and have procured them to be brought and conveyed over. Also, you have kept and studied those books, and have published and read them to diverse Christian men; and many of those books you have also dispersed and given to diverse persons dwelling within our city and diocese of London, and have confessed and affirmed before our official, that those books of Martin Luther, and other heretics, his accomplices and adherents, and all the contents in them, are good and agreeable to the true faith, *saying* that they are good and of the true faith. And by this means and pretense, you have commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and accomplices, and have favored and believed their errors, heresies, and opinions.

Therefore, we, John, the bishop, aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the divines and lawyers, with whom in this behalf we have conferred, declare and decree you, the aforesaid Richard Byfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of your abjuration, as a favorer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, accomplices, favorers, and other condemned heretics, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving, and dispersing the books and writings, of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and disciples, as well as other heretics beforenamed, and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthily to be and have been a heretic; and that you, by the pretense of the premises, have fallen again most damnably into heresy; and we pronounce that you are, and have been, a relapsed heretic, and have incurred, and ought to incur, the pain and punishment of a relapse. And we so decree and declare, and also condemn you to this; and that by the pretense of the premises, you have even, by the law, incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication. And thereby we pronounce and declare you to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade you from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive you of all ecclesiastical office and benefice. Also, we pronounce and declare, by this our sentence or decree which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that you are actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as follows:

In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, dismiss you, Richard Byfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive you under their jurisdiction; earnestly requesting and desiring in the compassion of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment to be done upon you, and against you in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither excessive cruelty, nor too much favorable gentleness, but that it may be to the health and salvation of your soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics to the unity of the Catholic faith. This, our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in the form aforesaid.

On Monday, the 20th of November (A.D. 1531), in the Quire of the Cathedral church of St. Paul's, the bishop of London, called to him John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of

Waltham; Nicholas, prior of Christ church of the city of London; Master J. Cox, auditor and vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury; Peter Ligham, official of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Bagh, chancellor of the church of St. Paul's; William Cliefe, archdeacon of London; John Inocent, canon residentiary of the same; William Briton, Robert Birch, and Hugh A-price, doctors of both laws, etc.. These religious persons, and other ecclesiastical men, thought it good that the bishop should pronounce and give the sentence against him.

And so Byfield was delivered to the sheriffs to be taken to Newgate. They were commanded to bring him back the following Monday, into St. Paul's upper quire, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London. By and by the sheriffs were commanded to bring him into the vestry, and then to bring him out in Antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When the bishop had degraded him kneeling on the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier staff and struck Byfield on the breast, knocking him down backwards, and broke his head that sounded it. When Byfield came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he had come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ militant here in earth. "And I trust shortly," he said, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant forever." He was then led out through the quire to Newgate, and there he rested about an hour in prayer. Afterwards he went to the fire in his apparel, manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was alive for half an hour. When his left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body. He continued in prayer to the end without moving. He was burned in Smithfield.

*John Tewkesbury, Leather-seller of London, Martyr.*

John Tewkesbury was converted by reading Tyndale's Testament, and "The Wicked Mammon." He had the bible. In all points of religion he openly disputed about the bishop's chapel in his palace, and the doctrine of justification, and all other articles of his faith. He was very prompt in his answers, so that Tunstall and all his learned men were ashamed that a leather-seller should dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued for a week. The process of examinations and his answers follow, as extracted out of the bishop's register.

On Wednesday, the 21st of April (A.D. 1529), John Tewkesbury was brought into the Consistory at London, before Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, abbot of Westminster. The bishop of London then declared that he had often exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he then again exhorted him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but to the doctrine of the holy mother, the church. Tewkesbury answered that in his judgment, he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. At last, being examined upon his errors which, they said, were in the book called "The Wicked Mammon," he answered, — "Take the book and read it over; and I think, in my conscience, you will find no fault in it." Being asked by the bishop, whether he would rather give credit to this book or to the gospel, he answered that the gospel is, and ever has been true.

[521] A.D. 1527-1560.

The bishop said further to John Tewkesbury: — "I tell you, before God, and those here present, that the articles contained in the book are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church— what do you think?" He commanded Tewkesbury to answer determinately,

under pain of the law, saying that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law.

Tewkesbury answered, "That he thought, in his conscience, there was nothing in the book but that which is true. And to this article — that is, that faith alone justifies without works — he answered, "That is well said," and added, "I pray to God, that the condemnation of the Gospel, and translation of the Testament will not be to your shame, and that you are not in peril for it; for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one." He said that he had studied the holy Scriptures for these seventeen years; and just as he could see the spots of his face in the mirror, so in reading the New Testament, he knew the faults of his soul.

The bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. John Tewkesbury answered, "I pray you, reform yourself, and if there is any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think it is good enough." The bishop appointed him to determine within himself against the morrow.

After some days, with the advice of his friends, he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance, as follows.

- That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.
- That the Sunday following, in St. Paul's Church in the open procession, he should carry a faggot, and stand at St. Paul's Cross with the same on his back.
- That on the Wednesday following he should carry the same faggot about Newgate Market and Cheapside.
- That on the Friday after, he should take the same faggot again at St. Peter's Church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leadenhall.
- That he should have two signs of faggots embroidered, the one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve, and that he should wear them all his lifetime, unless he were otherwise dispensed with.
- That on Whit-Sunday eve, he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and abide there, and not come out unless he were released by the bishop of London.
- That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special license of the bishop or his successors.

This penance he commenced the 8th of May 1529. And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, when he was induced through infirmity, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Being afterwards confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Byfield, who was burned in Smithfield, he returned and remained constantly in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for it. Recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, he was brought before Sir Thomas More, and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected against him, the chief of which we briefly recite:

1. That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the catholic faith.
2. That he affirm, that the abjuration, oath, and subscription that he made before Cuthbert Tunstall, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion.
3. That he had Tyndale's books, "*The Obedience of a Christian Man*" and "*The Wicked Mammon*," in his custody, and had read them since his abjuration.
4. That he affirms that he allowed the two faggots that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be removed, for he did not deserve to wear them.
5. He says that faith alone justifies, which has charity.

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6. He says that Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made to saints. Whereupon they laid to him this verse of the anthem, "Hail queen of heaven, our advocate." To which he answered, that he knew no other advocate but Christ alone.

7. He affirms that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Savior is a sufficient purgation for us.

8. He affirms that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

9. He affirms that a priest, by receiving orders, receives more grace *if* his faith is increased, but otherwise not.

10. And last of all, he believes that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ, is not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with his answers to them. After which, the bishop pronounced sentence against him and delivered him to the sheriffs of London, who burned him in Smithfield, the 20th of December 1531.

*The apprehension of one Edward Freese, a painter.*

Edward Freese was apprentice to a painter, and by working for his master in Bearsie Abbey, was known to the abbot, for he was a boy of talent and knowledge. The abbot favored him so much, that he would have made him a monk. The lad, not liking that kind of living and not knowing how to get out because he was a novice, ran away, and came to Colchester in Essex. He remained there according to his former vocation, was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new inn in Colchester. In the upper border of the cloths he wrote certain sentences of Scripture [in English], and by that, he was plainly known to be one of those whom they call heretics.

He was taken and brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with others of Essex — one Johnson and his wife, Wylie and his wife and son, and father Bate of Rowshedge. They were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long time, he was removed to the Lollard's Tower. While he was at Fulham, his wife being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate (then being with child), the porter lifted up his foot and kicked her on the belly, so that at length she died, but the child was destroyed immediately.

After that, they were all put in the stocks for a long time, and then let loose in their prisons. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some had other irons. This painter would ever write on the walls with chalk or a coal. And because he would write many things, he was manacled by the wrists for so long, that the flesh of his arms had grown higher than his irons. By means of his manacles he could not comb his head, so that his hair was matted together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and he was brought out in the consistory at St. Paul's. As his brother reported, they kept him three days without food before he came to his answer. Then, what with the long imprisonment and cruel treatment, and for lack of sustenance, the man could not say anything, but looked and gazed upon the people like a wild man. If they asked him a question, he only answered, "My lord is a good man." And thus, when they had ruined his body, and destroyed his senses, they sent him back again to Bearsie Abbey. But he came back from there, and would not tarry among them. He was never restored to his right mind, to his dying day.

His brother, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the wife of Father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress. At last she delivered one of these into his own hands, and he read it himself. Thereupon she was appointed to go into Chancery Lane, to one whose name (it is thought) was Master Selyard. At last she got a letter of Selyard to the bishop. When she had it, she thought her suit was well-bestowed, hoping that some good might come to her husband by it. But because the wicked officers in those days were crafty and desired his blood, some of her friends desired to see the contents of her letter, and did not allow her to deliver it to the bishop. As they thought, so they found indeed: for it was in this manner.

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After commendations were had, etc. “Look what you can gather against Father Bate, and send me word by your trusty friend, Sir William Saxie, so that I may certify it to the king’s majesty, etc.” Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband’s life than before. But it pleased God to deliver him soon. For he got out on a dark night, and was caught no more; but he died a short time later.

*James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr.*

James Bainham, gentleman, was virtuously brought up by his parents, in the study of good letters; he knew both the Latin and the Greek tongues. He gave himself to the study of the law, and was esteemed a man of virtuous disposition and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of Scripture, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money or rewards — indeed, he was a singular example to all lawyers.

This Master Bainham married the widow of Simon Fish, for which he was more suspect. At last he was accused to Sir Thomas More, arrested, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor’s house at Chelsea. There he continued in prison a while, till Sir Thomas More, finding that he could not prevail on him to recant, cast him into prison in his own house. He whipped him at the tree in his garden, called the “Tree of Troth” (of fidelity), and afterwards had him sent to the Tower to be racked; and so he was. Sir Thomas More was present himself, till he had lamed him, because Bainham would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor show where his books lay. Because Bainham’s wife denied the books were at his house, she was seat to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practiced against him what they could by tortures and torments, he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the fifteenth of December A.D. 1531, in Chelsea. There he was examined on the following articles and interrogatories:

1. Whether he believed there was any purgatory of departed souls?

He answered, “If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanses us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.” 1Joh 1.7-9.

2. Whether saints departed from here are to be honored and prayed to, to pray for us?

He answered: “My little children, these things write I to you, that you do not sin. But if any man sins, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the



propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.” 1Joh 2.1-2. And further, on the occasion of these words, “All you saints of God pray for us,” it was demanded what he meant by these words, “All you saints.” Eph 6.18 He answered that he meant those who were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians, 2Cor 1.11 and not by those who are dead. For he did not pray to them, Bainham said, because he thought that those who are dead cannot pray for him. And also, when the whole church is gathered together, they pray for one another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart, that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours. “And I pray,” he said, “as our Savior Christ prayed at his last hour: ‘O my Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as you will.’” Mat 26.39.

3. It was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven or not?

He answered, that he believed that they are where it pleased God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of Abraham, and that in this he would commit himself to the church.

4. He was demanded, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest?

His answer was that it is lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another. As for any other confession he knew none. Further, he said, if he came to the sermon, or to any other place where the word of God is preached, and there repented of his sin, he believed his sins are immediately forgiven by God, and that he did not need to go to any confession.

5. That he would say and affirm that the truth of the holy Scriptures has been hidden, and has not appeared for these past eight hundred years, nor was it known before now.

To this he said that he did not mean otherwise than that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these past eight hundred years, so plainly and expressly declared to the people as it has been within these past six years. <sup>70</sup>

6. He was demanded further, for what cause the holy Scripture has been better declared within these past six years, than it has been the eight hundred years before?

He answered, to say plainly, that he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and according to the true meaning of Scripture, except Master Crome <sup>71</sup>and Master Hugh Latimer; and that the New Testament, now translated into English, preaches and teaches the word of God; and that before that time, men only preached that folks should believe as the church believed; and then if the church erred, men should err too. “However,” he said, “the church of Christ *cannot* err; and that there are two churches; that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of antichrist; and that this church of antichrist may and does err, but the church of Christ does not.”

7. Whether he knew any person who died in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles’ time?

He said, he knew Byfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

8. He was asked what he thought of purgatory?

He answered that if any such thing had been mentioned to St. Paul about purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for a heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that Master Crome lied, and *spoke against his conscience*; and that there were a

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<sup>70</sup> Tyndale’s New Testament translation was first published in 1525.

<sup>71</sup> Edward Crome (d. 1562). parson of St Antholin’s Church in London. While at Cambridge, he encountered the ideas of religious reformers by attending the meetings of “gospellers” at the White Horse Inn, in St. Benet’s.

hundred more who thought the same as he did — saying that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, a very foolish thing as he judged it.

And concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed (Acts 5); for it was in his own power whether he would have sold his possessions or not, and therefore he offended. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, are given by God of his abundant grace, which no man can keep of himself, but it must be given to him by God. Therefore a monk, friar, or nun, who has vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows are made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise they made at baptism. And finally, he concluded that he thought there were no other vows, except the vow of baptism.

9. He was demanded, whether Luther being a friar, and taking a nun and marrying her, did well or not, and what he did he think about this?

He answered, that he thought nothing. When they asked him, whether it was immoral or not, he answered that he could not say so.

10. Concerning the sacrament of extreme unction, he said that it was but a ceremony; nor did he know that a man would be better for such oiling and anointing. The best part was that some good prayers were said at it.

[523] A.D. 1527-1560.

11. Likewise, touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these:

“That as many as repent, and put on Christ, shall be saved: that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith in Christ. Therefore it is not we who live after that, but that Christ lives in us. Gal 2.20 And so, whether we live or die, we are God’s by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith; that is, by keeping the promise made. ‘For by grace you are saved through faith,’ says St. Paul; ‘and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.’” Eph 2.8.

12. He was asked moreover about matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it confers grace, being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away.’

His answer was that, “Matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ has made and ordained, by which men may take wives to themselves and not sin.”

Lastly, as for his books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tyndale, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale within this month, and thought that he did not offend God in using and keeping it, notwithstanding that he knew the king’s proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church at St. Paul’s Cross. But for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbidden it. He confessed, moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books: — “The Wicked Mammon,” “The Obedience of a Christian Man,” “The Practice of Prelates,” “The Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More’s Dialogues,” “The Book of Frith against Purgatory,” “The Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk;” adding that he never saw any errors in all these books. And if there were any such errors in them, then if they were corrected, it would be good that the people had the books. As concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it very good, and that the people should have it as it is. Nor did he ever know that Tyndale was a naughty (wicked) fellow. To these answers, he subscribed his name. This examination was the 15th of December.

He was demanded that now was the time either to save, or else to utterly cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the present case now required a present answer, for otherwise the sentence definitive was ready to be read there, etc.

To conclude a long matter in few words: Bainham wavering in doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length gave up to the adversaries, answering them that he was contented to submit himself in those things in which he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance. Then the bishop required him to state his mind plainly as to his answers declared above, and demanded what he thought of them, whether they were true or not.

To this, Bainham said that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked by the bishop, whether there was any purgatory, Bainham answered that he could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life.

Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he was granted as follows: that he could not judge whether Byfield died in the true faith of Christ or not; that a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin; that a priest promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife; that he thinks the apostles are in heaven; that Luther did nothing in marrying a nun; that a child is better for confirmation; that it is an offense to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king; and he said that he pondered those points more now than he did before, etc.

The chancellor offering him a bill of his abjuration, required him to read it. He did so. After reading it, he burst out saying that because there were many words in the abjuration, which he thought obscure, he protested that by his oath he did not intend to go from that defense which he might have had before his oath. The chancellor asked him why he made that protest. Bainham said, "For fear, lest any man, of ill will, accuse me hereafter." "Well, Master Bainham," said the chancellor, "take your oath, and kiss the book, or else I will do my office against you." And so he immediately took the book in his hand, kissed it, and subscribed.

This done, the chancellor having received the abjuration in his hand, put Bainham to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at St. Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at St. Paul's Cross, with a faggot upon his shoulder, on the next Sunday, and to return to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination; and so, on the 17th of Feb. he was released. It was scarcely a month when he bewailed his abjuration, and was never quiet in his mind and conscience until he had acknowledged his fall to all his acquaintances. He asked God and all the world forgiveness before the congregation in a warehouse in Bowlane. The next Sunday after he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the "Obedience of a Christian Man" in his bosom, he stood up before the people in his pew, declaring openly with weeping tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did. "For," he said, "if I should not return to the truth (having the New Testament in his hand) this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed everybody to die rather than do as he did; for he would not feel such a hell again as he felt, for all the world's goods. Besides this, he wrote letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others. So that, shortly after, he was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London.

In due time he was tried as a relapsed heretic. And then the vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with his learned assistants, read the definitive sentence against him. Among other things, besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned Bainham as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so he was to be left to the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs present there. After this sentence was given,

James Bainham was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then present, who had him carried to Newgate by his officers. He was burned in Smithfield the last day of April A.D. 1532.

This Master Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled. For almost a fortnight he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons on his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there he was chained to a post for two nights. Then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for a fortnight. Then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips to make him revoke his opinions. From there he was carried to Barking, then to Chelsea, and was there condemned; and so from there to Newgate to be burned!

*John Bent*, a tailor, about this time or not long before, was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying the "sacrament of the altar," as they term it.

*One Trapnel, Martyr*. Also about the same time was burned in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

*The History of three men hanged for burning  
the Rood (crucifix) of Dovercourt, collected out of a letter of  
Robert Gardiner, who was one of the doers of the same.*

In the same year, 1532, there was an idol named the rood of Dover-court, to which a great of number of people resorted. For at that time there was a rumor spread abroad among the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dover-court was so great that no man had power to shut the church-door where he stood. And therefore they left the church-door continually stand open, both night and day, to give greater credit to their rumor. This seemed a great wonder to many ignorant men. But by others, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, especially by those whose names follow: Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham.

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Their consciences were burdened to see the honor and power of the Almighty God so blasphemed by such an idol. Therefore they were resolved to travel out of Dedham on a goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before and the night after were exceeding foul and rainy. It was ten miles from the town of Dedham, to the place where the rood stood. They went these ten miles, and found the church door open, which happened well for their purpose. For they found the idol which had as much power to keep the door shut as to keep it open. They took the idol from its shrine, and carried it a quarter of a mile from the place where it stood, without any resistance by the idol. Then they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set it on fire. It burned so brightly that it lighted them homeward one good mile out of the ten.

This done, great talk went abroad that they would have great riches in that place; but it was very untrue. For that was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves confessed afterwards, for there was nothing taken away but the idol's coat, shoes, and tapers. The tapers helped to burn it; the shoes they gave back; and the coat was burned by one Sir Thomas Rose. But they had neither penny, half-penny, groat, gold, nor jewel from it.

Three of them, however, were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains half a year later, or thereabouts. These three persons, at their death, through the Spirit of God, more edified the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there for a long time before.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardiner, escaped their hands and fled. The Lord preserved him, to whom be all honor and glory, world without end.

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places — such as the image of the crucifix on the highway by Coggleshall, the image of St. Petronilla in the church of Great Horkesley, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronilla in a chapel at Ipswich.

Also John Seward of Dedham turned over the cross in Stoke-park. He took two images out of a chapel in the park, and cast them into the water.

### ***The History of John Frith.***

Among all other evils, there has been none for a long time which seemed to me more grievous than the lamentable death and cruel usage of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man. He had so profited in all kinds of learning and knowledge, that there was scarcely his equal among all his companions. And besides, he had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he excelled, being greatly praiseworthy in them both. But by the grace of Christ, we will speak to his doctrine hereafter. Notwithstanding his other singular gifts and ornaments of the mind by which he might have opened an easy way to honor and dignity, he chose rather to consecrate himself wholly to the church of Christ. He showed forth and practiced the precept so highly commended by the philosophers regarding the life of man. This life, they say, is given to us in such a way, that by how much better the man is, he should live that much less to himself. We should think a great part of our birth is due to our parents, a greater part to our country, and the greatest part of all bestowed upon the church, if we would be counted good men. First of all, he began his study at Cambridge. Nature had planted in him, while a child, a great love of learning. He also had a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand anything. Nor was there any diligence lacking in him, by which it came to pass that he was not only a lover of learning, but he also became a very learned man. When he had diligently labored for a number of years, with great profit to himself in the study of Latin and Greek, he at last became acquainted with William Tyndale. Through his instructions, he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, which was then named Frideswide, but now named Christ's Church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that Wolsey bore to learning, as for his ambitious desire for glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name to posterity. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatever excellent things there were in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, besides provision of all kinds of precious things. He also appointed to it all ;those men who were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge.

These men, conferring together upon the abuses of religion that had crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy to the cardinal, and cast into a prison.

John Frith was dismissed from prison on condition that he would not go over ten miles out of Oxford. Frith, after hearing about the examination of Dalaber and Garret, who bore faggots, went over the sea. After two years he came back for the exhibition of the prior <sup>72</sup> of Reading (it was thought) and had the prior over with him.

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<sup>72</sup> *Prior*: the head of a religious order; in an abbey the prior is next below the abbot. An *exhibition* is a financial award or prize given to a student by a school or university, usually on the basis of academic merit.

Being at Reading, he was taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination. There this guileless man, who could not disguise himself craftily enough, was set in the stocks. After he had sat a long time, he was almost pined with hunger, yet he would not declare what he was. At last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came to him, Frith, by and by began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, not only took pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition, especially in such misery. Afterwards, conferring more together upon many things, regarding the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from Latin into Greek. Frith, inflamed the love of that schoolmaster towards him, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly recite by heart Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad. Upon this, the schoolmaster went with all speed to the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they shown to so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely let out of the stocks, and set at liberty without further punishment. Yet his safety did not continue long, owing to the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who at that time was chancellor of England. He persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yes, and promising great rewards if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith being beset with troubles on every side, and not knowing which way to turn, sought some place to hide himself. Fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and his place, still he could find safety in no place; not for long even among his friends. So that at last, being traitorously taken, he was sent to the Tower of London. There he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with Sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: he had a communication with a certain old familiar friend of his, about the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The whole disputation consisted especially in these four points:

“1. That the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

“2. That because Christ's natural body, in like condition, has all the properties of our body except for sin, it cannot be, nor is it agreeable to reason, that he should be in two or more places at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

[525] A.D. 1527-1560.

“3. Moreover, it does not seem fitting or necessary to understand Christ's words in this place (1Cor 11.24-25), according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the Scripture.<sup>73</sup>

“4. Last of all, it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, although the order which has crept into the church at this time, and is used now-a-days by the priests, ever so much differs from it.”

As the treatise seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him to briefly commit it to writing, and give it to him for the help of his memory. Frith, although he was unwilling, and not

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<sup>73</sup> The analogy of Scripture (or analogy of faith) is a hermeneutical principle that emphasizes the consistency and harmony of the Bible. It is based on the belief that the Scriptures have one primary author, the Holy Spirit, who inspired the human authors of the Bible. This principle suggests that all parts of the Bible should be interpreted in a way that is consistent with the overall message and teachings of the entire Scripture.

ignorant of how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a matter, was at last overcome by the entreaty of his friend, and complied.

There was at that time in London, a tailor, named William Holt. Feigning great friendship toward this party, he urgently begged him to let him read over that writing of Frith's. When he did, he by and by carried it to chancellor More. This was the occasion of great trouble, and also of death to Frith.

This was the whole sum of the reason for Frith's book: first, to declare the pope's belief about the sacrament is not a necessary article of our faith. That is to say, it is not an article of our faith which is necessary to be believed, under pain of damnation, that the sacrament must be the natural body of Christ — which he thus proves. For many so believe, and yet in so believing the sacrament to be the natural body, they are not thereby saved, but they receive it to their own damnation.

Again, in believing the sacrament to be the natural body, that natural presence of his body in the bread is not what saves us, but His presence in our hearts by faith. And likewise, *not* believing his bodily presence in the sacrament, is not the thing that shall condemn us, but the absence of Him out of our hearts, through unbelief. And if it is objected that it is necessary to believe God's word under pain of damnation, he answers that, "The word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintains no such *bodily* presence as the pope's church teaches, but rather a *sacramental* presence. And that," he says, "may be further confirmed thus:

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

"Now, can we not be saved by the same faith that the old fathers had?"

"And therefore, none of us is bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

"The first part is evident of itself. For how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?"

"The second part appears plainly by St. Augustine, writing *ad Dardanum*, and also in a hundred places more. Nor is there anything that he more often inculcates than this, that the same faith that saved our fathers, saves us also; and therefore, upon the truth of these two parts thus proved, the conclusion must follow."

Again, he argues thus:

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

"Now, we all eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

"And, therefore, none of us eats Christ corporally, but mystically, and spiritually, in our signs as they did.

For the proof of the first part, Frith declares how the ancient fathers, before Christ's incarnation, never believed any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christ's body. And yet, notwithstanding, they ate him spiritually and were saved: such as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, and other godly Israelites besides. All of these, he says, ate the body of Christ, and drank his blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was spiritual, pertaining only to faith, and not to the teeth: "For they were under the cloud, and drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them. and that Rock was Christ," <sup>1COR 10.1-4</sup> who was promised them to come into the world. And this promise was first made to Adam when, as it

was said to the serpent; “I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed,” etc. <sup>Gen 3.15</sup> And afterwards again, to Abraham: “In your seed all shall nations be blessed,” etc. <sup>Gen 22.18</sup> Adding also the sacrament of circumcision, which was called the *covenant*; not because it was so indeed, but because it was a sign and a token of the covenant made between God and Abraham. It thereby admonishes us, how we should judge and think regarding the sacrament of body and blood; to wit, that although it is called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully flows to all the faithful by his most blessed body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made to Moses, the most meek and gentle captain of the Israelites, who not only himself believed upon Christ, who was so often promised, but also prefigured Him both by the manna which came down from heaven, and also by the water which issued out of the rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Nor is it to be doubted that both the manna and the water had a prophetic mystery in them, declaring the very self-same thing then, which the bread and the wine now declare to us in the sacrament. They all ate the same spiritual meat, and all drank the same spiritual drink: all one spiritual thing, but not all one *corporal* matter (for they ate manna, and we eat another thing); rather, the self-same *spiritual* thing that we do. And although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we drink another. which nevertheless signified all one thing in a spiritual sense. How did they drink all one thing? The apostle answers, “Of the spiritual Rock which followed them, for the Rock was Christ.” The manna which came down from heaven, was the same to them that our sacrament is to us, and that by either of them, it is signified that the body of Christ came down from heaven; and yet, notwithstanding, none of them ever said that the manna was the very body of the Messiah, as our sacramental bread is not indeed the body of Christ, but a mystical representation of the same. For, as the manna which came down from heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from heaven, and being given for us, quickens the spirits of the believers unto life everlasting. So then, if the salvation of both people is alike, and their faith also is one, there is no reason why we should add transubstantiation to our sacrament, more than they believed their manna was altered and changed. Moreover, because they are named *sacraments*, even by the signification of the name, they must be signs of things, or else of necessity they can be no sacraments.

When More had gotten a copy of this treatise, he sharpened his pen to answer this young man (for so he calls him throughout his whole book). But once the book was set forth, Frith got a copy by means of his friends, and he answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to perfectly handle the matter.

What knowledge, and genius, and excellency of doctrine was in him may appear not only by his books which he wrote on the sacrament, but also in those which he wrote on purgatory. In this controversy he withstood the violence of three opponents, viz., Rochester, More, and Rastal, one by the help of the doctors, the other by twisting the Scriptures, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, all of whom conspired against him. But like a Hercules, fighting not only against two, but even with all three at once, he so overthrew and confounded them, that he converted Rastal! <sup>74</sup>

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering the truth, joined with a learned godliness. This has always

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<sup>74</sup> That is, John Rastell (1475-1536), an English printer, author, member of parliament, and barrister.



so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, however great they may be, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes very much hurt.

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And would to God that all things in all places were so free from all kinds of dissension, that no mention was made among Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, as neither Zuinglius nor Luther died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. I do think that nothing could more grieve those worthy men, than that their names should be so abused to sects and factions, who so greatly withstood and strove against all factions.

But now, as we treat the history of John Frith, I cannot choose but to earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man. He maintained his controversy over the sacrament of the Lord's supper no less godly than learnedly, yet he did it so moderately, that he never seemed to strive against the papists, unless he were driven to it. In all other matters where necessity did not force him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for the sake of quietness.

When More brought against him the authority of Doctor Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, Frith answered that he would promise never speak more of it, under this condition — that the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be held as ratified. For they agreed with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge the sacrament as God might put it into their hearts. For then there remained no more poison that any man should or might be afraid of.

After he had sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester and Rastal, he was at last carried to Lambeth to plead his cause before the archbishop of Canterbury; and afterwards to Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester. Last of all, he was called before the bishops in a common assembly at London.

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

*A Letter of John Frith to his Friends concerning his troubles,  
in which, after he had first greeted them with a brief preface,  
and then entering into the matter, he writes thus:*

“I do not doubt, dear brethren, that it greatly vexes you to see the one party has all the words, and to freely speak what they wish, and the other is put to silence, and not heard. But refer your matters to God, who shortly shall judge in another fashion. In the meantime I have written to you as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, so that you might understand the matter certainly.

“The whole matter of my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, of *purgatory*, and of the *substance of the sacrament*.

“And first of all, regarding *purgatory*, they inquired of me whether I believed there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life. But I said that I thought there was no such place. For man, I said, consists and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul. The one is purged here in this world by the cross of Christ, which he lays upon every child that he receives, such as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, etc. And last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us. But the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of

body and soul. Now if you can show me a third part of man besides the body and the soul, I will also grant to you the third place, which you call purgatory. But because you cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny to you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless, I count neither part as a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there is such a purgatory or not.

"Secondly, they examined me regarding the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the very body of Christ or not.

"I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body and also our body, as St. Paul teaches us in the first epistle to the Corinthians, tenth chapter. For being one bread made of many grains of corn, it is called our body, which being diverse and many members, are associated and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise the wine, which is gathered from many clusters of grapes, is made into one liquor. But the same bread, again, in that it is broken, is the body of Christ, declaring his body to be broken and delivered to death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

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

"In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as truly as the outward man received the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so truly the inward man, through faith, receives Christ's body and the fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eats.

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

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

"I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he says in another place, 'He was carried as it were in his own hands;' which is a figure of speech, not one that plainly affirms, but only one expressing a thing by a similitude. And even if St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet in writing to Boniface he plainly admonishes all men, that the sacraments represent and signify those things of which they are sacraments, and many times even the similitudes of the things themselves from which they take their names. And therefore, according to this rule, it may be said that Christ was borne in his own hands, when he bore in his hands the sacrament of His body and blood.

"Then they alleged a place from Chrysostom, which at the first blush may seem to make much for them. In a certain homily on the supper he writes thus, 'Do you see bread and wine? Do they depart from you into the draught (sewer) as other foods do? No, God forbid; for as with wax, when it comes to the fire, nothing of the substance remains nor abides: so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body,' etc.

"These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who in another homily says on this matter, 'The inward eyes,' he says, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked by the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' Now compare these places together,

and you will perceive that the last expounds the first plainly. For he says, do you see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, No, for the inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, pass over all creatures, and no longer think upon the bread, but upon Him who is signified by the bread. And in this manner he sees it, and again he does not see it: for as he sees it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he does not see it; that is to say, he does not regard the bread, nor thinks upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do anything else negligently, we commonly say that we do not see what we do; but indeed, we do not see what we are doing, because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and does not attend to that which the eyes do not see.

[527] A.D. 1527-1540.

“In like manner may it be answered to that which follows, ‘Do they depart from you,’ he says, ‘in the passing as other foods do?’ I will not so say, for other foods passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment to the body, are voided into the draft. But this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourishes both body and soul unto everlasting life, nor is it at any time voided as other foods are.”

“Here perhaps many would marvel that the matter regarding the substance of the sacrament, being separate from the articles of the faith, and binding no man of necessity either to salvation or damnation, whether he believes it or not, but rather may be left indifferently to all men to freely judge either on the one part or the other according to his own mind — so that neither party contemns or despises the other, but all love and charity are still held and kept in this dissension of opinions — what then is the reason why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The reason why I die is this: I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, that the substance of the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, only the form and shape not being changed. If this thing were most true (as they will never be able to prove by any authority of the Scriptures or doctors) will they not so bring it to pass, that that doctrine, however true it may be, should be held as a necessary article of faith. For there are many things both in the Scriptures and in other places, which we are not of necessity bound to believe as an article of faith.

“So it is true that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things. And yet for all that, I will not hold it as an article of faith, but that you may without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

“But regarding the reason why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, various reasons lead me to this.

“First, I plainly see it to be false and vain, and not grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures or of approved doctors.

“Secondly, by my example I would not be an author to Christians to admit anything as a matter of faith, more than their necessary points of the creed, in which the whole sum of our salvation consists, especially the belief of such things which have no certain argument from reason.

“I added, moreover, that their church, as they call it, has no such power and authority, that it either should or may bind us under the peril of our souls, to believe any such articles.

“Thirdly, because I will not, for the favor of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point, to so many nations of Germans, Helvetians, and others who altogether reject the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. They are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those who take Luther’s part, such as those who hold with Oecolampadius. These things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright

conscience, who will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put to for this cause only, that I do not think transubstantiation, even if it were true indeed, should be established as an article of faith.”

But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the 20th of June (A.D. 1533), he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln. When he could not be persuaded to recant, or be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence was given against him.

The sentence being read, the bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the city, for receiving John Frith into their charge. Being so delivered over to them, on the 4th of July 1533, he was carried to Smithfield to be burned. When he was tied to the stake, it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death. For when the faggots and fire were put to him, he willingly embraced them, thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ’s sake and the true doctrine. That day he gave with his blood, a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat longer, as if it bore away the flame from him to his companion who was tied to his back. But he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his companion, Andrew Hewet, than be careful for himself.

Thus truly is the power and strength of Christ stirring and vanquishing in his saints, who sanctifies us together with them, and directs us in all things to the glory of His most holy name. Amen.

### ***The History of Andrew Hewet.***

Andrew Hewet, a young man twenty-four years of age, was apprentice with Master Warren, a tailor. As he went on a holiday into Fleet-street, towards St. Dunstan’s, he met with William Holt. And being suspected by Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one who favored the gospel, after a little talk with him, he went into a bookseller’s house to avoid him. Then Holt sent for certain officers, and searched the house. Finding Andrew, they apprehended him and carried him to the bishop’s house, where he was cast into irons. Being there a good while, he had a file conveyed to him, with which he filed off his irons, and got out of the gate. But being a man unskillful in hiding himself, he met with one Withers, who was a hypocrite, as Holt was. Withers, pretending a fair countenance toward him, wished him to go with him, promising that he would be provided for. And so he kept him in the country till Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman, and there he left him for of two days.

Then he came back to Chapman’s house, and brought Holt with him. When they met Andrew, they seemed as if they meant to do him much good, so they would need to sup there that night, and prepared food at their own expense. They came at night and brought guests with them. When they had supped, they went their way. Holt took out of his purse two groats, gave them to Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. Within an hour, the bishop’s chancellor, and sergeant Weaver came, and brought with them the watch. They searched the house, where they found John Chapman, and Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes, and so they carried them to the bishop’s house. But Andrew Hewet they sent to the Lollard’s Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld apart. The next day bishop Stokesley came from Fulham. After they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat — that he would tell another

tale, or else he would sit there till his heels dropped from his body. Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber. But Andrew Hewet, after a long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith.

It was objected against Andrew Hewet, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the consecrated host was not the very body of Christ. So, being demanded what he thought of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, Hewet answered, "Even as John Frith thinks." Then one of the bishops asked, "Do you not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary." "So," he said, "I do not believe." "Why not?" said the bishop, "Because," he said, "Christ commanded me not to rashly give credit to all men who say, 'Behold here is Christ, and there is Christ, for many false prophets shall arise.'" Mat 24.23-24

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Then the bishops smiled at him. And Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is a heretic, and already judged to be burned, and unless you revoke your opinion, you too shall be burned with him." He said, "I am content." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions. He answered, "He would do as Frith did." He was sent to the prison, to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, but manfully persisting in the truth, he would not recant. Therefore, on the 4th of July, in the afternoon, he was carried to Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people that they should in no way pray for them, no more than they would for a dog. At these words, Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words not a little moved the people to anger. Thus, these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

### ***The History of Thomas Benet.***

*Thomas Benet, burned at Exeter.*

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and was made master of arts, a man very well learned and of a godly disposition. The more he grew and increased in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more this man disliked and abhorred the then corrupt state of religion. And therefore, desiring to live in more freedom of conscience, he forsook the university and went into Devonshire (A.D. 1524). He came to the city of Exeter. Hiring a house, he commenced teaching children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behavior, a godly conversation, and a very courteous nature, humble to all men and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, of which he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with anybody, except with those he could learn and understand to be favorers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion.

But as every tree and herb has its due time to bring forth its fruit, so it appeared by this man. For daily seeing the glory of God blasphemed, idolatrous religion embraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome extolled, he was so grieved in his conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he uttered his mind in this. He plainly opened and disclosed how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonored, his word despised, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were carried

headlong to everlasting destruction by blind guides. And therefore he could no longer endure, but must testify against their abominations. For his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defense of God's true religion, he would yield himself most patiently, as God gave him grace, to die and to shed his blood in this, alleging that his death would be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life would be. When his friends had yielded to whose persuasions, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. This done, he ordered the bestowing of such books as he had, and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind on certain scrolls of paper, which he set upon the doors of the cathedral church. It them it was written, "The pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God alone, and no saints."

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search was made for the heretic who had posted these bills. The mayor and his officers were not busy discovering this heretic. But to keep the people in their former blindness, an order was given that the doctors of the church should resort to their pulpits every day, and confute this heresy. Thomas Benet kept his own doings secret. He went the following Sunday to the cathedral church to the sermon. By chance, two men sat down by him, who were the busiest in all the city seeking and searching for heretics. Beholding Benet, the one said to the other, "Surely this fellow in all likelihood is the heretic who posted the bills, and it would be good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behavior of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, always occupied in his book, which was a testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak to him, but departed and left him reading his book.

In the meantime, the canons and priests, the officers and commons of the city, were very earnestly busied as to how, or by what means such an enormous heretic, who had posted those bills might be espied and known; but it was long at first. At last, the priests found a way to curse him, whoever he was, with bell, book, and candle. This curse at that time seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was of this sort:

One of the priests apparelled all in white ascended the pulpit. The other priests, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being held up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon, which was not so long, as tedious and superstitious. And he concluded that, "That foul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was damnably cursed for his blasphemy, and he besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might escape the vengeance."

The manner of the cursing of Benet was extraordinary. The prelate said,

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whoever he or she is, that has in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerics, who serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. He or she, or they are excommunicated plainly, and delivered over to the devil as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed

may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests, and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them. And we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend. And let us this night quench their souls, if they are dead, in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles:) and let us pray to God (if they are alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle). And let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and St. Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and so he put out the third candle) unless they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance (as it shall lie in them) make satisfaction to God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church. And as this holy cross staff now falls down, so might they, unless they repent, and show themselves."

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

[529] A.D. 1527-1540.

Now this silly and foolish mockery being done and played off, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell into great laughter. Though it was within himself, he could not cease for a long time, by which the poor man was observed. For those who were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light upon one or another, asked good Benet, for what cause he so laughed. "My friend," he said, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, "Here is the heretic! Here is the heretic! Hold him fast, hold him fast!" With that, there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he was the heretic or not. Some say that upon that outburst, he was taken and apprehended. Others report that his enemies, being uncertain about him, departed; and so he went home to his house.

He was soon after apprehended, and on the morrow the canons and heads of the city examined him. When he confessed and said, "It was even I that put up those bills, and if it were still to do, I would do it again. For I have written nothing in them but what is very truth." "Could you not," they asked, "as well have declared your mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?"

"No." he said. "I put up the bills, so that many might read and hear what abominable blasphemers you are, and that they might better know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, who destroys and throws down the hedges of God's church. For if I had been heard to speak but one word, I would have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust that more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light. For God will so have it, and He will no longer suffer you."

The next day he was sent to the bishop, who first committed him to the bishop's prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favor as if he were a dog. Then the bishop and others of his clergy, and friars, began to examine and charge him that contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and also denied the supremacy of

the pope. He answered in such a sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he not only confounded and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them into great admiration of him, most of them having pity and compassion on him. Among other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was busier with him.

The principal point between Basset and Benet concerned the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom he named antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, the murderer of Christ's flock. These deliberations lasted about eight days, where both the Black and Gray Friars, with priests and monks of that city, repaired to him. Those who had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The unlearned railed and said that the devil tempted him, and spit upon him, calling him a heretic. But he only prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them. "For," he said, "I would rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly appears by his doings." They asked, "What did the pope do, that he did not have power and authority to do, being God's vicar?" Benet said, "He sells the sacraments of the church for money, he sells remission of sins daily for money, and you do likewise. For there is no day that you do not say masses for souls in feigned purgatory. Indeed, and you do not spare to speak lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole world now begins to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame."

"The shame," they say, "shall be to you, and such as you are, you foul heretic. Will you allow nothing done in holy church? What a perverse heretic you are!" "I am," he said, "no heretic, but a Christian man. I thank Christ, and with all my heart I will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and the edifying of my soul. But I see nothing in your church but what maintains the devil." "What is *our* church?" they asked. "It is not *my* church," said Benet, "God give me grace to be of a better church, for truly your church is the plain church of antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and as far wide from the true universal and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth." "Do you not think," they asked, "that we pertain to the universal church?" "Yes," he said, "but as dead members, to whom the church is not beneficial: for your works are the devices of man, and your church is a weak foundation. For you say and preach, that the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree." "Why," they said, "did Christ not say to Peter, 'I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven?'"

"He said that," he replied, "to *all* the apostles as well as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority given to him than they had, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are not churches. Does not St. Paul say, 'Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets?' Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince the supreme governor under God, it is so to say, that all the churches with their princes and governors are subject to one bishop. This is detestable heresy. The pope your God, claiming this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that was ever in the church, and the foulest whore, of whom John speaks in the Revelation."

"O you blind and unlearned fool," they said, "is not the confession and consent of all the world as we confess and consent; That the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is because," Benet said, "they are blinded and do not know the Scriptures: but if God would of His mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay." "We think," they said, "You are so malicious that you will confess *no* church."



“Look,” he said, “it is where those are who confess the true name of Jesus Christ, and where only Christ is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God. And where it is preached that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron before God his Father, making intercession for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Christ’s death and passion, and only his merits and deservings are extolled, and our own are depressed; it is where the sacrament is duly administered without superstition or idolatry, in remembrance of his blessed passion, and his only sacrifice upon the cross once for all; and where no superstition reigns — I will be of *that church*.” “Does not the pope,” they said, “confess the true gospel? Do we not all do the same?” “Yes,” he said, “but you deny the fruits of it in every point. You build upon the sands, not upon the rock.” “And will you not believe, indeed,” they said, “that the pope is God’s vicar?” “No,” he said, “indeed.” “And why?” they asked. “Because,” he answered, “he usurps a power not given to him by Christ, no more than to other apostles. And also because by force of that usurped supremacy, he blinds the whole world, and does contrary to all that Christ ever ordained or commanded.” “What,” they said, “if he does all things according to God’s ordinance and commandment, would he then be His vicar?” “Then,” Benet said, “I would believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would that every bishop did this in their diocese. Then we would live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there would be no such seditions in it. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it would be a goodly thing. Now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he does, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom.

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“But whichever bishop preaches the gospel, and maintains the truth, is a *true* bishop of the church.” “And does our holy father the pope,” they asked, “not maintain the gospel?” “Yes,” he said, “I think he does read it, and perhaps believe it, and so do you also; but neither he nor you fix the anchor of your salvation upon it. Besides that, you bear such good will toward it, that you keep it close, so that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it — insomuch that the people of Christ know no gospel but the pope’s gospel. And so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. There is no confidence in the true gospel of Christ, but only in your popish traditions, and fantastical inventions.” Then a Black friar asked him, “Do we not preach the gospel daily?” “Yes,” Benet said, “but what preaching of the gospel is that, when with it, you extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls from Rome, a *poena et culpa* (from punishment and guilt), as you term it. And by the merits of your orders, you make many brethren and sisters. You take money from them yearly; you bury them in your coats; and you beguile them in confession — yes, and you do a thousand other superstitious things. A man may be weary to speak of them.” “I see,” said the friar, “that you are a vile heretic. I will have no more talk with you.”

Then a Gray friar, a doctor, stepped up to him and laid before him great and many dangers. “I take God to record,” said Benet, “that my life is not dear to me. I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God’s flock. And for my part, I can no longer forbear; I would rather by death (which I know is not far off) depart this life, so that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject to antichrist your pope.” “Our pope,” said the friar, “is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God.” “I pray you,” said Benet, “depart from me, and do not tell me of your ways. He is my only way, who says, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the

life.' In this way I will walk; His doings shall be my example, not yours, nor your false popes. His truth I will embrace, not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life I will seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; you shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. You are all more vain than vanity itself. If I were to hear and follow you thus, everlasting death would hang over me — a just reward for all those who love the life of this world. Away from me; I do not like your company."

When these canons and priests with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and had perceived that he would by no means recant, they proceeded to judgment. They drew out their sentence against him, condemning him to be burned. This Christian martyr, rejoicing that his end approached so near, yielded himself 'as a sheep before the shearer,' with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. Being brought to his execution, he made his most humble confession and prayer to Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the same for him. He exhorted them with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honoring of God, and the true knowledge of Him, as to set aside the devises, fantasies, and imaginations of men's inventions, so that all those who beheld him were astonished and in great admiration. It went so far that most of the people, and also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, pronounced and confessed that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew, and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and good words, but at length, through threatcnings, desired him to revoke his errors, and to call upon our Lady and the saints. With all meekness he answered them, "No, no, it is God alone upon whose name we must call; and we have no other advocate with him, but Jesus Christ alone, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of the Father to be an advocate for us; and by Him we must offer our prayers to God, if we would have them take place and be heard." Barnehouse was so enraged with this answer, that he took a furze-bush (bramble) upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into his face, saying, "Ah, heretic, pray to our Lady, or I will make you do it."

Thomas Benet, with a humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered him, "Alas, sir, do not trouble me." Holding up his hands, he said, "Father, forgive them." After which the gentlemen had the wood and furzes set on fire. This godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Lord receive my spirit." And so continuing in prayer, he never stirred, but most patiently abode the torments of the fire, until his life was ended. For this let the Lord God be praised, and send us His grace and blessing, so that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

### ***The Divorce of King Henry VIII.***

#### *The Marriage between King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; and Queen Catharine divorced*

After the death of prince Arthur, the lady Catharine, widow of prince Arthur, by the consent of both her father and his, and also by the advice of the nobles of this realm, so that her dowry might remain within the realm, was espoused after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, who was King Henry VIII.

This marriage seemed very strange, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what on this earth can be so hard or difficult, with which the pope, "the omnipotent vicar of Christ," cannot dispense if it pleases him? The pope who then ruled at Rome was Julius II, by whose dispensation this marriage — which neither nature would admit, nor God's law

sanction — was concluded, approved, and ratified. And so it continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, for nearly twenty years, till a doubt first began to be moved by the Spaniards, A.D. 1523, when Emperor Charles promised to marry the lady Mary, daughter to the king of England. The Spaniards were not content with this promise, objecting among other things, that the lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife.

Upon this, the emperor married the lady Isabel, a daughter to Emanuel, the late king of Portugal, and the sister of John III, AD. 1526. King Henry, being thus disappointed by the emperor, endeavored through the French ambassadors, that lady Mary should be married to the French king's son, the duke of Orleans. After long debating, the matter was at length put off by the president of Paris raising a doubt whether the marriage between the king and the mother of this lady Mary, who had been his brother's wife before, was good or not.

The king, upon this, began to consider the case more deeply, first with himself, and afterwards with his nearest council. There were two things which chiefly troubled his mind. The one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage with his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his conscience clear in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the realm, safe by succession of the daughter. It happened at the time that cardinal Wolsey, who was then nearest the king, had fallen out with the emperor for not assisting him to the papacy. For this cause he helped to set the matter forward. Thus the king, perplexed in his conscience, and careful for the commonwealth, and incited by the cardinal, could not rest, but inquired further to know what the word of God and learning would say to it. Nor was the case so hard, once it began to become a public question, that by the word of God, and the judgments of the best learned clerics, and also by the censure of the chief universities of all Christendom, numbering ten and more, it was soon declared to be unlawful.

[531] A.D. 1527-1540.

All these censures, books and writings of so many doctors, clerics, and universities, sent from all quarters of Christendom to the king, although they might suffice to have resolved, and did indeed, resolve the king's conscience regarding this scruple of his marriage — yet he would not straightway use that advantage which learning gave him, unless he had the assent of the pope and the emperor. In this he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was previously authorized by the dispensation of the pope's predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about to undo that which the pope before him had locked. And much less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, or come into any doubt which was likely to come, if that marriage were proved incapable of dispensation by God's word, which his predecessor had licensed through his plenary power. Again, the assent of the emperor he thought would be no less difficult, as the lady Catharine was the emperor's aunt, and a Spaniard. Nevertheless, his purpose was to ascertain what they would say to it. And therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome to deal with pope Clement. To the emperor he sent Sir Nicholas Harvey, knight, ambassador to the court of Ghent. First, pope Clement (not weighing the full importance of the matter) sent cardinal Campegio into England (as said before, p. 506), joined with the cardinal of York.

At the coming of the legates, the king first opened to them the grief of his conscience. With great reasons and persuasions, he seemed to have sufficiently drawn the good will of those two legates to his side. They too, of their own accord, pretended to show a willing inclination to further the king's object. Yet the mouths of the common people, and especially of the women and others who favored the queen, were not stopped. Therefore, willing that all men should know his proceedings, the king had all his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with

diverse other persons, resort to his palace on the 8th of November 1529, where he openly spoke in his council chamber as follows:

*The King's Oration to his Subjects.*

“Our trusty and well-beloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort, it is not unknown to you, how both by God’s provision, and true and lawful inheritance, we have reigned over this realm of England for almost twenty years. During this time we have so ordered us (thanks be to God) that no outward enemy has oppressed you, nor taken anything from us, nor have we invaded any realm, but we have had victory and honor, so that we think that neither you nor any of your predecessors ever lived more quietly, more wealthy, nor in more estimation under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heir is not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble will succeed to you and to your children. The experience of this some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, king Edward IV, and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which dissension this realm was nearly destroyed.

“And although it has pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter of a noble woman, and begotten of me, to our great comfort and joy. Yet it has been told to us by diverse great clerics, that she is neither our lawful daughter, nor is her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery. It is such that when our ambassador was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief councilors to the French king said, ‘It would be well done to know whether she is the king of England’s lawful daughter or not. For it is well known that he begot her on his brother’s wife, which is directly against God’s law and his precepts.’ Do you think, my lords, that these words do not touch my body and soul? Do you think that these things do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we do not doubt that if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid to you. For this cause alone I protest before God, and on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerics in Christendom. And for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man who is indifferent (unbiased), except to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for no other cause, as God can judge.

“And regarding the queen, if it is adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never anything more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of which she is descended (as you well know) she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and obedience. Yes, and of all good qualities pertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I for these almost twenty years have had the true experience. So that, if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it is determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God’s law, and clearly void, then I will not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery to God’s great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These are the sores that vex my mind; these are the pangs that trouble my conscience; and for these griefs I seek remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning, and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, to the discharge of our conscience and saving of our soul, and for the declaration of which I have assembled you together; and now you may depart.”

Shortly after this oration of the king, with which he stirred the hearts of a number, the two legates, being requested by the king, for the discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen and declared to her how they were deputed as impartial judges between the king and her, to hear and determine whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not. When she understood the cause of their coming, being somewhat astonished at first, after a little pausing with herself, she thus began:

“Alas, my lords, is it now a question whether I am the king's lawful wife or not, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and question was never made before? Many prelates still alive, and lords also, and privy counsellors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest. And now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think very strange; especially when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection that king Ferdinand, my father, bore to me. I think that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, that they did not foresee what might follow our marriage. And the king, my father, sent to the court of Rome, and there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a license and dispensation, that I being the one brother's wife, might, without scruple of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully. This license I have in my possession still to show. These things make me say and believe that our marriage was lawful, good, and godly. But for all this trouble I have only to thank you, my lord cardinal of York, because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable immorality, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny. Therefore you have kindled this fire from malice, and set this matter abroad, and especially for the great malice you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition and make you pope. And therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends, and you have kept your promise. For all his wars and vexations he may thank you alone. As for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new-found doubt, God knows, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth.”

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The cardinal of York excused himself, saying that he was not the initiator nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was much against his will that the marriage should ever come into question, but he said that he was deputed by his superior, the bishop of Rome, as a judge to hear the cause. This he swore on his profession to hear impartially; but whatever was said she did not believe him; and so the legates took their leave of her and departed. These words were spoken in French, and written by cardinal Campegio's secretary, who was present.

In the next year, 1530, at the Blackfriars of London, a solemn place was prepared for the two legates. Coming with their crosses, and all the other Romish ceremonies, they were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were cited by Dr. Sampson to appear before the legates on the 31st of May. The commission of the cardinals was first read, in which it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both. The king was called by name. He appeared by two proctors; then the queen was called. Being accompanied with four bishops, and others of her council, and a great company of ladies, she came personally before the legates. There, after her obeisance, with a sad gravity of countenance, she did not utter many words, but appealed from the legates to the court of Rome, that the legates were not competent as judges; and so she departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat weekly, and every-day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitive was determined.

As the time passed on, in the month of June, the king desiring to see an end, came to the court, and the queen also, where standing under his cloth of estate, he uttered these or like words in effect, as follows:

“My lords, legates of the apostolic see, who are deputed judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which is only to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good Christian man knows what pain and what unquietness he suffers who has his conscience grieved. For I assure you on my honor, that this matter has so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scarcely study anything which might be profitable for my realm and people. It is my desire and request to have a quietness in body and soul, and not for any grudge that I bear toward her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, no prince ever had such another. And therefore, if I would willingly change, I would not be wise. Therefore my suit is to you, my lords, at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knows.”

When the king had spoken, the queen departed without saying anything. Then she was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered that she would abide by her appeal. Notwithstanding, the councilors on both sides met almost every day and debated this matter, so that at last the divines were all of the opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother; which she clearly denied. But to that it was answered, that prince Arthur, her husband, confessed the act. And at the time of the death of prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the Prince of Wales for almost half a year.

Thus when the divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three reasons: one was because if it were broken, the only child of the king would be illegitimized, which would be a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation would be a cause of great enmity between her kindred and this realm. And the third reason was that the continuance for so long a time had made the marriage good. These persuasions, with many others, were set forth by the queen's counsel, and especially by the bishop of Rochester, who stood firm in her cause. Yet God's precept was not answered; so they left that ground, and fell to pleading that the court of Rome had dispensed with this marriage. Some lawyers said to this, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God.

When the legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw where the end of this question would tend, as men began to dispute the authority of the court of Rome, and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king cast favor on the lady Anne (whom he knew to be a Lutheran), they thought it best to rid themselves of that difficulty in time. And so cardinal Campegio, dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to Rome. The king seeing himself thus deluded by the cardinals, took no little grief. The fall of the cardinal of York (Wolsey) followed not long after.

That was in the year 1530. Shortly after, it happened that the king by his ambassadors was advised that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bononia. So he directed Sir Thomas Bullen (created earl of Wiltshire), and doctor Stokesley (afterward bishop of London) and doctor Lee (afterwards archbishop of York) with his message to the pope's court, where the emperor was. Pope Clement avoided the matter, fearing what might follow if learning and Scripture were to take place against the authority of their dispensations. And suspecting the emperor's displeasure, he answered the ambassadors, that he would not

hastily decide in this case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and would do justice according to right. Although the king owed no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitration in this case, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet for quietness' sake, and that he might not rashly break order, he bore it so long as he conveniently might. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, the king began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, as to what was best both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his realm.

No man here doubts that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, which his Divine Providence was disposed to work. For as to the king's intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the pope. Rather, he sought all contrary means to establish the See of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of that same see and court of Rome. And therefore, intending to seek his divorce from Rome at the beginning, his device was to exalt the cardinal of York, by means of Stephen Gardiner, his ambassador at Rome, as we showed before, to be made pope and universal bishop. This was to the end that by ruling that apostolic see, the matter of his unlawful marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion without any further rumor of the world. This purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he devised it, and once the English cardinal had been made pope, no doubt but the authority of that see would never have been exterminated out of England. But God being more merciful to us, took a better way. For both without, and contrary to the king's expectation, God so brought things to pass, that the cardinal of York was not made pope; and yet the king nevertheless succeeded in his purpose. For he was rid, by lawful divorce, not only from that unlawful marriage which troubled his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the pope's usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm.

Thus God's holy Providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the king could get no favorable grant of the pope regarding his cause, being so good and honest, he was forced to take the redress of his right into his own hands. And seeing this Gordian knot would not be loosed at Rome, he was driven against his will, to play the noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his princely authority, he cut the knot.

[533] A.D. 1527-1540.

For where the doctors and canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and fulness of the pope's two swords, both temporal and spiritual, the king with one sword so cut off both the pope's swords, that he dispatched them both clean out of England. But first the king, like a prudent prince, following his own proverb, as one going about to cast down an old rotten wall, would not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie on top. So to prepare his way better to the pope, he first began with the cardinal, casting him out of his goods and possessions by the law of praemunire. Shortly after this, about the year 1532, the king gave this proclamation:

“The king's highness straitly charges and commands, that no manner of person, of whatever estate, degree, or condition he or they are of, purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, nor use and put into execution, divulge, or publish anything purchased within this past year, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and royal prerogative of his said realm, or to the let, hindrance, or impeachment of his grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his highness' indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others.”

After this, the king proceeded further, causing the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the King's Bench, as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the legatine power of the cardinal, were all entangled in the *praemunire*, and therefore were called into the King's Bench to answer. But the prelates in convocation at Canterbury concluded among themselves a humble submission in writing, and offered the king a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord, and release them from the *praemunire* by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury 100,000 pounds. And in the province of York 18,840 pounds and 10 pence. This offer was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission, the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which they had never confessed before.

Mention was made a little earlier, of a parliament begun the 10th of January, A.D. 1533, in which the commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the clergy in their proceeding *ex officio*. This complaint, although at first it did not seem to be greatly tendered from the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament, the time so wrought with it, that the king having a clearer understanding of the abuses and enormities of the clergy, and especially of the corrupt authority of the See of Rome, provided certain acts against the clergy. First, concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome to the advancement of their worldly glory, that whoever did or spoke anything either against their usurped power, or against their said laws, decrees, or constitutions, not approved nor grounded upon holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's royal prerogative, would therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of heresy. And likewise regarding such constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which were made in this realm in the convocation of bishops being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before by the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his subjects, or in any way repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the judgment of thirty-two persons chosen by the king out of the higher and lower house, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogated at their discretion. Further, that all the clergy of this realm submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise *in verba Sacerdotii* (in the language of the Priesthood), never to presume hereafter to assemble in their convocations without the king's writ, or to enact or execute such constitutions without his royal assent, etc.

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

In the same parliament, it was defined and concluded that all exportation of annates and first fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the See of Rome for any bulls, breves,<sup>75</sup> or palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also for the investiture of archbishops, bishops, or others of any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said parliament was taken that the king should send a license under the great seal, with a letter missive to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of those cathedral churches where the see was vacant. By virtue of this license, or letters missive, they should within twelve days choose the person nominated by the king, and none other, and that election was to stand effectual. This election being done, then the party elect made first his oath and fealty to the king. If it were a bishop that was elect, the king by his letters

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<sup>75</sup> *Breve*: Any writ or precept under seal, issued out of any court.



patent would signify the election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining of any bulls, breves, or other things from the See of Rome.

Moreover, against all other exactions and great sums of money which used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome — in pensions, censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentious and appeals, legative jurisdictions; also for dispensations, licenses, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called *Perinde valere*, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number of which would be tedious to recite — in the parliament it was ordained that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence which used to be paid to the See of Rome, should utterly cease, and never more be levied. Thus the king with his honorable council would have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, etc., within this realm.

All these things being thus defined and determined in this parliament, and also being concluded in the same parliament, that no man of whatever estate, degree, or condition, has any power to dispense with God's laws, it was therefore by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented that the marriage previously solemnized between the king and the lady Catharine, being beforehand wife to prince Arthur the king's brother, should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the separation of it by Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good, and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further also, for the establishing of the king's lawful succession, it was fully adjudged by the parliament, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king, and queen Anne his wife.

Not long after that, the king, perceiving that the minds of the clergy did not much favor his cause, sent for the Speaker, and twelve of the commons-house, having with them eight lords. He said to them, "Well-beloved subjects, we had thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they are but half our subjects, yes, and *scarcely* our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, contrary to the oath that they make to us, so that they seem to be *his* subjects, and not *ours*."

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And so the king, delivering to them a copy of both the oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be disappointed by his spiritual subjects. The Speaker thus departed, and caused the following oaths to be read in the commons-house.

*The Oaths of the Clergy to the Pope.*

"I, John, bishop or abbot of A\_\_\_\_\_, from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope, and his successors canonically elected. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel confided to me by them, their messengers, or letters, I shall not willingly reveal to any person. The popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and regalities of St. Peter, I shall help and

maintain and defend against all men. The legate of the apostolic see going and coming, I shall treat honorably. The rights, honors, privileges, authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act in which anything shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, seats, honors, or powers; and if I know anyone to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall notify him, or those who may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments apostolic, I shall keep to my power, and cause to be kept by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, unless I am letted (obligated) by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's council. So God me help, and the holy evangelists."

This oath of the clergymen, which they usually made to the bishop of Rome, was abolished by statute, and a new oath was administered, in which they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head under Christ in this church of England.

*The Oath of the Clergy to the King.*

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

These oaths being thus recited and opened to the people, were the cause that the pope lost all his jurisdiction here in England. The matter fell out more and more against the pope. Sir Thomas More, a great maintainer of the pope, and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not well liking this oath, was forced to realign his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After him succeeded Sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man incomparable in eloquence and gifts of tongue, also with a godly-disposed mind, and a favorable inclination toward Christ's religion.

These things being done in the parliament, the king within a short time (November 1532), privately married the lady Anne Boleyn, mother to our most noble queen (Elizabeth), who without all controversy was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, of the learned as well as the unlearned.

Queen Anne, shortly after her marriage had been publicly recognized, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster. Not long after her coronation, on the 7th of September 1533, she was delivered of a fair lady (Elizabeth). For her good deliverance, *Te Deum* was sung in all places, and great preparation was made for the christening.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens. were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, all the walls between there and the

Friars, and the Friars' church, were hung with tapestry. Also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high. It was covered with a fine cloth, and several gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, attended about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin fringed with gold. About it was a rail covered with say.<sup>76</sup> Between the choir and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward, first the citizens, two by two; then the gentlemen esquires, and the chaplains. Next followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next after the mayor, followed the king's council. Then the king's chaplains. Then barons, bishops, and earls. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered gilt basons.<sup>77</sup> After him the Marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next after him was the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the chrisom, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bore the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk with his marshal's-rod, went on the right hand of the duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them went the officers of arms. The countess of Kent bore the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child, went the earl of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the train. In the midst over the child, was borne a canopy by the lord Rochford, the lord Hussey, the lord William Howard, and the lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came to the church door, where the bishop of London met it with diverse abbots and bishops, and began the observances of the sacrament. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather; the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers; and the child's name was Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font and christened. This done, garter, the chief king-at-arms,<sup>78</sup> cried aloud, "God of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth." Then the trumpets blew. The child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave the princess a standing cup of gold. The duchess of Norfolk gave her a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl. The marchioness of Dorset, three gilt bowls pounced (stamped), with a cover. The marchioness of Exeter three standing bowls gilt and graven, with a cover. And so after a solemn banquet ended with hypocras, waters, and such in great plenty, they returned in like order back to the court with the princess, and so they departed.

At the birth of this noble lady, just as there was no small joy to all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to God's true religion, so on the other hand, the papists were not lacking in their malicious and secret attempts, and in their devilish devices. This may sufficiently appear by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false hypocrite, who was found out in this year.

[535] A.D. 1527-1540.

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<sup>76</sup> *Say*: a type of fine cloth similar to serge (worsted wool).

<sup>77</sup> *Basons*: ornamental drinking vessels or bowls (basins) used in ceremonial contexts.

<sup>78</sup> *Gar*ter Chief King of Arms (or simply, *Gar*ter), is the senior king of arms and officer of arms of the College of Arms. He is responsible to the Earl Marshal for running the college. He also serves as the king of arms of the Order of the *Gar*ter; his seal and signature appear on all grants of arms made by the college. On the death of the British monarch, it is *Gar*ter's duty to proclaim the new monarch.

For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, from a devilish intent, had put it into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had a revelation of God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with king Henry for the divorce of the lady Catharine. And they surmised among other things, that God had revealed to a nun named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the holy maid of Kent, that if the king proceeded in the divorce, he would not be king of this realm one month after, and not held in the repute by God one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation, practiced and showed to the people strange alterations of her visage, and other parts of her body, as if she had been rapt or in a trance, and in these feigned trances (as though she had been inspired by God), she spoke many words in rebuking sin, and reproving the gospel, which she called heresy. And she uttered many things to the great reproach of the king and queen, and to establishing idolatry, pilgrimage, and the derogation of God's glory. Her naughtiness being espied out by the great labor and diligence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned and put to death in April 1533.

About the same time William Warham also died, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose place succeeded Thomas Cranmer, who was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the marriage of lady Catharine.

You heard before, how the parliament had enacted that no person after a certain day should appeal to Rome for any cause. Notwithstanding this act, the queen, now called "princess dowager," had appealed to the court of Rome before that act was made; so that it was doubted whether that appeal was still good or not. This question was well handled in parliament, but much better in the convocation. And yet, in both houses it was alleged, indeed, showed by books, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and other famous councils in the primitive church — even in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined — that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same province; and that the patriarch of Constantinople should not meddle in causes moved in the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor should any bishop intermeddle within another's province or country. These things were so learnedly opened, and so ably set forth, that every man who had sense and was determined to follow the truth and not willfully wedded to his own opinions, might plainly see that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void and of no effect. These doctrines and councils were shown to the lady Catharine, who ever continued trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's truth.

Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury (now Cranmer), accompanied by the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and other dignitaries, in a great number, rode to Dunstable. This is six miles from Amptill, where the princess dowager lay; and there she was cited to appear before the archbishop, in the cause of matrimony, in the town of Dunstable. At the day appointed, she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily every day, fifteen days in a row. At last, on the 23d of May 1533, for lack of her appearance, and for rebelliousness, by the assent of all learned men there present, she was divorced from the king, and their marriage declared to be void and of no effect. This sentence being given, the archbishop, and all the others returned.

### ***The Power of the Pope abolished in England.***

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the marriage of queen Anne, and the divorce of lady Catharine, next follows the year 1534. In that year, the high court of parliament was assembled after many prorogations, on the 3d of February. An act of succession was made for the greater security of the crown, to which every person, being of

lawful age, was to be sworn. Every Sunday, during the sitting of parliament, a bishop preached at St. Paul's cross, who declared that the pope was not head of the church.

After this, commissions were sent over all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the act of succession; to which few objected, except Dr. John Fisher bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, parson of St. Thomas the Apostle in London. Therefore, these three persons refused to be sworn, despite the long exhortation made to them by the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. They were sent to the Tower, where they remained, and were often asked to be sworn. But the bishop and Sir Thomas More excused themselves by their writings, in which they said that they had written before, that lady Catharine was queen, and therefore they could not well depart from what they had written.

From the month of March, this parliament was further prorogued to the 3d of November. At that time, among other statutes, most graciously and by the blessed will of God, it was enacted that the pope and all his college of cardinals, with his pardons and indulgences which so long had clogged this realm of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which could never be removed before, was now abolished, eradicated, and expelled out of this land. They were sent back home to their own country of Rome, from which they came. God be everlastingly praised! Amen!

*Act concerning the King's Highness to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same. Cap. 1.*

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

That no man may cavil or surmise that this fatal fall and ruin of the pope came rashly upon the king's own partial affection, or by any temerity of a few; and not by the grave and advised judgment, approval, and consent, generally and publicly, as well of the nobles and commons temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the spiritual and most learned persons in this realm, it shall be requisite to add that the archbishops and bishops solemnly and openly swore to the king, as supreme head of the church of England, to the exclusion of the usurped pretensions of the bishop of Rome, giving to the king alone the style of supreme head, next under Christ, of

the church of England, renouncing and abjuring, utterly and voluntarily, the pope's too long usurped jurisdiction in this realm, moreover testifying the same both with their own hand, and also with their seal.

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Besides these confirmations and oaths of the bishops, you will hear the decree and public sentence of the university of Cambridge, written and subscribed, and signed with the public seal of their university. The tenor of their letter follows here:

*A Letter of the University of Cambridge  
against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome.*

“To all and singular the children of the holy mother church, into whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of regents and not regents of the university of Cambridge, sends greeting in our Savior Jesus Christ.

“Whereas of late a question having arisen among us, as to the power which the bishop of Rome claims for himself by the holy Scriptures, over all provinces and nations in Christendom, and which he has now exercised for a long time in England: and as our opinion concerning this question has been required — to wit, whether the bishop of Rome has any power or authority in this kingdom of England, allotted to him by God in the Scriptures, more than any other foreign bishop, or not — we thought it therefore good reason and our duty, for searching out the truth of the said question, that we should employ our whole endeavor and study in this, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and opinion is, regarding the premises. For therefore we suppose that universities were first provided and instituted by princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might be instructed in the law of God, and also that false errors, if any arose, might through the vigilant care and industry of learned divines be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For this cause we in our assemblies and convocations (in our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with ourselves how and by what order we might best proceed to find out the truth of the matter; and at length choosing out certain of the best learned doctors and bachelors of divinity, and other masters, and having committed to those in charge, to studiously search and peruse the places of holy scripture; by viewing and considering these places together, they might certify to us what is to be said to the question propounded.

“Therefore, having heard, and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations, what may be said on both sides of the question, those reasons and arguments appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and agreeing much nearer to the pure and native sense of Scriptures, which deny that the bishop of Rome has any such power given him by God in the Scripture. By reason and force of these arguments being persuaded, and joining together in one opinion, we have with ourselves thus decreed to answer the question aforesaid, and in these writings we thus resolutely answer in the name of the whole University, and for an undoubted conclusion we affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the bishop of Rome has no more state, authority, and jurisdiction given to him by God in the Scriptures, over this realm of England, than has any other foreign bishop. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common seal to be put to these our aforesaid letters accordingly. At Cambridge in our regent house: A.D. 1534.”

Now, for a further declaration of their judgments and opinions, you will hear what the bishops in their own books, prologues, and sermons, have written and published, regarding the pope's supremacy. We will begin with Stephen Gardiner's book “on True Obedience,” and briefly note a few of his own words, in which he not only confutes the pope's usurped

authority, but he also proves the marriage between the king and queen Catharine, his brother's wife, was not lawful, in these words.<sup>79</sup>

“And among these, if there is a commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent majesty do otherwise, than that which he did by the whole consent of the people, and the judgment of his church — that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and to use lawful and permitted marriage, and obeying (as it was fitting) conformably to the commandment, to cast her off, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take himself to chaste and lawful marriage? In this, although the sentence of God's word (to which all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed; his majesty was content to have the assisting consent of the most notable and grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world — and all to the intent that men should see that he did both what he might do, and ought to do uprightly, seeing that the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed to it, and showing in this such obedience as God's word requires of every good and godly man; so as it may be said both that he obeyed God, and obeyed Him truly.”

In his book, he also alleges the old distinction of the papists, in which they give to the prince the government of things temporal, and to the church of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light. He confutes and derides the distinction, declaring that the sword of the church extends no further than to teaching and excommunication, and refers all pre-eminence to the sword of the prince. He alleges for this the second psalm; “Be wise now therefore, O you kings: be instructed you judges of the earth.” Also the example of Solomon, who being a king, “appointed, according to the order of David his father, the course of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges (to praise and minister before the priests), as the duty of every day required; the gatekeepers also by their courses at every gate; for so David the man of God commanded.” — 2Chr 8.14.

Besides this, he also alleges the example of king Hezekiah, 2Chr 29. He alleges moreover the example of Justinian, who made laws regarding the faith, bishops, clerics, heretics and others. Aaron obeyed Moses. Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest. Alexander the king, in first Maccabees writes to Jonathan; “Now we have made you this day the high priest of your people, etc.” So did Demetrius to Simon.

And where he reasons from the king's style and title — being called king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the church of England, immediately under Christ, etc. — he thus adds his mind and censure, saying that he sees no cause in this title, why any man should be offended that the king is called head of the church of England, rather than of the realm of England. And he adds his reason for this, saying that if the prince and king of England is the head of his kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen as his subjects, is there any reason why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect: because they are Christians. That is to say, for the title of godliness, as though God, who is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion? At length he concludes with this exclamation:

“To say that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, what an absurd and a foolish saying this is! ... The light of the gospel, so spreads its beams in all men's eyes, that the

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<sup>79</sup> Recall from the *Life of Foxe* (p. xiv) that *Stephen Gardiner was John Foxe's greatest enemy*. Though a defender of royal supremacy over the Church, he was the chief opponent of Reformation doctrine. He was secretary to Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. King Henry bypassed him to appoint Thomas Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury in 1532. He was committed to the Tower by Edward VI in 1548, and deprived of his bishopric in 1550. Queen Mary reinstated him in 1553, and appointed him lord Chancellor. Therefore, this section is not a glowing endorsement of Gardiner, but a scathing indictment of his hypocrisy and duplicity — his willingness to say anything to gain political advantage.

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works of the gospel may be known, and the mysteries of Christ's doctrine be opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being in England, see and perceive that they have nothing to do with Rome, nor with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince in his own dominions is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds."

[537] A.D. 1527-1540.

To these extracts from the books of Gardiner we will add a part of the preface to that book, which was written by Bonner, to show how the judgments of men are changed by the vain glory and pomp of this world.

*The Preface of Edmund Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester,  
prefixed before Stephen Gardiner's Book, "On True Obedience."*

"Forasmuch as there may be some who think that the controversy between the king's royal majesty and the bishop of Rome consists in this point, that his majesty has taken the most excellent and most virtuous Lady Anne to be his wife, but which is far otherwise: we, with the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favorers of the gospel of Christ, who do not hate, but love the truth, may more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they will then not be ignorant of what is the unanimous opinion and resolute determination of the best and most learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that case of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel: here will be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester (a man excellently learned in all kinds of learning) entitled 'On True Obedience.'

"But, as to this bishop's worthy praises, nothing will be spoken by me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than it becomes me to recite here. And as for the oration itself (which, as it is most learned, so it is most elegant) to what purpose should I make any statements about it, seeing that it praises itself enough, and requires no recommendation? Yet, in this oration, whoever you are most gentle reader, you will, besides other matters, see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance it is, and how invincible the power and excellency of God's truth is. Just as it may now and then be pressed by the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened in such a way that it will not at length show itself again more glorious and welcome. You will also see, regarding obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience; and besides this, of men's traditions, which are for the most part repugnant to the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaks of the king's highness' marriage which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then, with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent, and most noble lady, Queen Anne. After that, regarding the king's majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false and pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England most justly abrogated — and how all other bishops being fellow-like to him in their function, indeed, and in some points above him within their own provinces, were prior bound to the king by their oath.

"But be most surely persuaded of this, good reader, that the bishop of Rome, if there were no other case except this marriage, would easily content himself, and especially on his having some good morsel or other given to him to chew upon. But when he sees so mighty a king being a right virtuous and learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favor the gospel of Christ, and perceiving the yearly and great prey snapped out of his hands (indeed, so large a prey, that it was nearly as much as all the king's revenues), and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the king's majesty's realm (alas! up to now, too cruel and bitter) nor make many laws, as he has done, to the insult and reproach of the Majesty of God, which it is evident he



has done in times past, under the title of *the catholic church*, and *the authority of Peter and Paul* (when notwithstanding, he was truly a ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the servant of servants) to the great damage of the Christian commonwealth."

In adding to these the judgment and arguments of Bishop Tunstall, we will see how he agrees with them, or rather exceeds them. In his sermon preached before King Henry VIII on Palm Sunday, he disputes against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and proves by manifest grounds, out of the Scripture, ancient doctors, and councils, that the bishop of Rome has no such authority by the word of God. He also reproves and condemns him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer, disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him, contrary to Christ and Peter. And finally, in raising up a war against us for this, he rebukes and defies God, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian men.

First, by the Scripture he reasons that all good men ought to obey the powers and governors of the world, such as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts. For so St. Peter plainly teaches us in 1Pet 2.14, saying, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it is to the king as supreme, or to governors," etc. So that St. Peter, in his epistle, commands all princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all Christian men: and St. Paul in Rom 13.1-2 says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for the powers that be are ordained by God, and whoever resists the powers, resists the ordinance of God, and will receive to himself damnation."

Also, we have another express commandment of Christ, Luk 22.25 who on the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusses the matter, saying, "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and those who exercise authority over them are called 'benefactors.' But you shall not be so. Rather, he who is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he who serves," etc.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declares that his kingdom is not of this world, <sup>Joh 18.36</sup> and therefore, says Tunstall, those who go about to make a worldly kingdom of Christ's spiritual kingdom, fall into the error of some heretics who expect that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here on the earth, carnally in Jerusalem. The Jews believe that Messiah is yet to come, and that when he comes, he will reign worldly in Jerusalem. <sup>80</sup>

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before nor after his incarnation, (as Tunstall says) ever altered the authority of worldly kings and princes, but by his own word, he commanded them still to be obeyed by their subjects, as they had been in ancient times, etc. For an example, he alleges first, the example of Christ himself, who being asked by the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Caesar or not, he told them to give to Caesar the things which are his, and to God the things that are his, Mat 22.21, signifying that tribute was due to Caesar, and that their souls were due to God, etc.

Also, it appears that Christ bid Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples when it was demanded of him (Mat 17.24-27). And why? Because he would not change the order of obedience which was due by subjects to their princes.

He cites another example of Christ out of the sixth chapter of John, where, after Christ had fed five thousand and more with a few loaves and fewer fishes, and saw that the Jews would have taken him and made him their king, he fled from them, and would not consent to it.

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<sup>80</sup> Foxe refers to Chiliasm, or the Jewish Golden Age, newly popularized in John Darby's dispensationalism.

For he says, the kingdom that he came to establish here on earth, was not a worldly and a temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom — that is, to reign spiritually by grace and faith in the hearts of all Christian and faithful people, of whatever degree or nature they may be, and to turn all people and nations, who at his coming, were carnal and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the Spirit, so that Christ, with his Father in heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, etc.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility, it is further to be noted, how Christ the Son of God submitted himself not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but he also humbled himself, and in a manner became a servant to his own apostles — so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honor.

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For so it appears in him, not only by washing the feet of his apostles, but also, when the apostles a little before his passion, fell out and contended among themselves as to who among them could be superior, Christ sets before them the example of his own subjection, and asks this question: "Who is greater, he who sits at the meal, or he that serves? Is not he who sits at the meal? But I am among you as he who serves," etc. Luk 22.24-27

Again, in Peter (Acts 10), what an example of reverent humility is seen in this, that notwithstanding having a commission with the other apostles to go all over the world, nevertheless at Joppa, being sent for by Cornelius, he dared not go to him without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven. By this vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles; for in himself he had no such primacy over all people and places, nor any such commission above the others, etc.,

And Peter being rebuked by Paul, his fellow brother, took no offense, but was content, submitting himself to due correction, Gal 2.11.

But here, says Tunstall, the bishop of Rome steps in and says that,

"Peter had authority given to him above all the apostles, and alleges the words of Christ spoken to him, Mat 16.18-19, 'You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and to you will I give the Keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven,' etc. Christ said this, and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am. And therefore I ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and be the gatekeeper of the gates of heaven, as Peter was, etc. And Christ also said to Peter, after his resurrection, 'Feed my sheep;' which he spoke to him only. So that thereby he had authority over all Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And therefore, whoever will not obey me, king or prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom. For all power is given to me that Christ has, and I am his vicar-general, as Peter was here on earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in heaven."

To open, therefore, the true sense of the Scripture in the places mentioned, and to begin first with the sixteenth chapter of Matthew, it is to be observed that the question being put in general by Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged about him, Peter answered for them all (as he was always ready to answer). He said, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him. Blessed are you, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood has not revealed it to you, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say to you. That you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Mat 16.16-18. That is to say, upon this rock of your confession of me to be the Son of God I will build my church. For this faith contains the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written, "The word is near you, even in

your mouth, and in your heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach; that if you confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God has raised him from the dead, you shall be saved," etc. Rom 10.8-9. And this confession being uttered by the mouth of St. Peter, upon this *confession* of his, and not upon the *person* of St. Peter, Christ builds his church, as St. Chrysostom expounds that place in the twenty-sixth sermon of the Feast of Pentecost, saying, "Not upon the person of St. Peter, but upon his faith Christ has his church been built. And what is this faith? This, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.' What does it mean to say, 'Upon this rock?' That is, upon this confession of St. Peter," etc. And ancient expositors agree with this saying of Chrysostom treating that place (says Tunstall). For if we were to expound that place, that the church is built upon the person of St. Peter, we would put another foundation of the church than Christ, which is directly against St. Paul, saying, "For no other foundation can any man lay than what is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1Cor 3.11.

And as St. Peter was the first of those who confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so he was most ardent in his faith, and bold, and hardy in Christ. This appears by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest, <sup>Mat 14.22-33</sup> and also in his being most vehement in his Master's cause, as it appeared by his drawing out his sword; <sup>Joh 18.10</sup> and after the Lord's resurrection, declared in the second, third, and fourth chapters of the Acts, where the Jews withstood the apostles' preaching the faith of Christ, St. Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugnors of it, and to speaking to the people for all the disciples, etc. And therefore these honorable names have been given to him by the ancient interpreters — that sometimes he is called the mouth of the apostles; the chief of the apostles; the prince of the apostles; the president of the whole church; and sometimes the name of primacy or priority has been attributed to him. And yet notwithstanding these honorable names given to him, St. Peter never had a rule or a judicial power given to him above all the other apostles, as is plain by St. Paul, and many others.

First, St. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, plainly declares, "But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, just as the gospel of the circumcision was to Peter; for He who wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, was mighty in me towards the Gentiles." Gal 2.7-8. Hereby it appears that St. Paul knew no primacy of St. Peter concerning people and places, except among the Jews. And St. Ambrose, expounding that place, says this: "The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to St. Peter, although St. James and St. John were joined with him; just as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to St. Paul, even though St. Barnabas was joined with him, so that St. Peter had no rule over all."

That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, appears by St. Paul, where he says, "Now therefore you are no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, and built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone." Eph 2.19-20. Here he says that they are built not upon the foundation of St. Peter only, but upon the foundation of the *apostles*, so that all of them are in the foundation set upon Christ, the very rock upon which the whole church stands.

In Rev 21.14, the new city, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God, is described by the Holy Spirit not with one foundation only of St. Peter, but with twelve foundations, according to the number of the apostles.

St. Cyprian gives testimony likewise to the same effect, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ. And therefore because all should preach one thing, the

beginning first came by one, who was St. Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was the Son of the living God. Cyprian said further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, of which every man has a part allowed wholly to himself. Now, if the bishop of Rome may meddle over all, wherever he will, then every man does not wholly have his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part jointly with him — so that now he does not have it wholly, which is against Cyprian.

St. Augustine likewise, expounding the gospel of John, in his fiftieth treatise, speaks of the keys of St. Peter, which he says were given by Christ to St. Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

St. Cyril expounding the last chapter of St. John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken to St. Peter, “Feed my sheep,” etc., thus understands them: that because St. Peter had three times denied Christ, he thought that he had lost his apostleship. But Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him three times whether he loved him. And so He restored Peter again to his office, which otherwise he dared not have presumed, saying to him, “Feed my sheep,” etc. With this exposition the ancient holy expositors of that place agree. So that by these words about feeding Christ’s sheep, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintain his universal pastorality over all Christian dominions.

[539] A.D. 1527-1540.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome says that Peter, by these words of Christ spoken to him, has a preeminence above the others, St. Paul, Acts 20.28, proves the contrary; where, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, he says to them, “Take heed therefore to yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.”

And Peter himself, likewise (1Pet 5.2) says, “feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight of it,” etc.

So that by these Scriptures conferred together, it may appear that neither Matthew 16, nor John 21, proves that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given to him by Christ over all the others, nor that they should be under him. And yet, notwithstanding, his primacy still continues, in that Peter, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God. In this confession, all the other apostles joined and preached with him. And thus the power of the bishops of Rome over all, which they would prove by those places wrongfully alleged for this purpose, utterly fails, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and doctors.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, Tunstall comes to councils and examples of the primitive church, as follows:

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth Council of Carthage (A.D. 425), alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters in all places by his supreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to support it) but alleged for him, untruly so, the first Council of Nice, to support his purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article was found in it, but on the contrary, the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the Council of Nice, which was sent to them. And another copy was also sent from Rome, to which they also sent for the same purpose.

After the copy was brought to them, and no such article being found in it, but on the contrary, in the fifth chapter, that all ecclesiastical causes should either be determined within the diocese, or else, if any were still aggrieved, then to appeal to the provincial council, and there the matter was to take full end; so that for no such causes should men go out of their provinces. The whole Council of Carthage wrote to Celestine, at that time bishop of Rome, that since the Council of Nice had no such article in it, as was untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary, they therefore desired him to abstain hereafter from making any such demand, denouncing to him that they would not allow any cause, great or small, to be brought by appeal out of their country; and thereupon they made a law that no man should appeal outside of the country of Africa, upon pain of being accursed. With this the bishop of Rome ever after held himself content, and made no more business with them, seeing that he had nothing to say for himself to the contrary. And St. Augustine was present at this council, and subscribed his hand.

It was also determined in the sixth article of the said Council of Nice, that in the East the bishop of Antioch should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; around Rome the bishop of Rome; and likewise in other countries the metropolitans should have their pre-eminence. So that the bishop of Rome never meddled in those countries.

And, in the next article following, the bishop of Jerusalem (which city had been destroyed and lay desolate) was restored to his old prerogative, to be the chief in Palestine and in the country of Judea.

By this you see how the patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive church, had no such primacy above other patriarchs, much less over kings and emperors. This may appear by Agatho, bishop of Rome, in whose time the sixth general council was held. After his election, he sent to the emperor at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he could be consecrated, as was the custom used at that time (A.D. 479).

St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, and other popes before him, did the same. During all of that time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine left to them by St. Peter and St. Paul, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

After that, Bishop Tunstall, both by Scriptures and ancient doctors, and also by sufficient examples from the primitive church, proved and declared how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God has appointed over every creature in this world, to be obeyed.

Now for confirming this matter, and satisfying the reader, it will not be much out of purpose to also adduce the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, confirmed and ratified in their own public book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called "The Bishop's Book." In that book, though many things were imperfect, yet regarding the bishop of Rome's regality, we will hear what their whole opinion and provincial determination was, as seen by their own words, and subscribed by their own names:

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

teach and command that all Christian people, priests and bishops as well as others, should be obedient and subject to the princes and potentates of the world, even if they are infidels.

“As for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundreds of years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; and since that time he has ever usurped more and more. Although some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled, yet surely he attained most of it by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by conspiracy with great kings and princes — sometimes by training them into his devotion by pretense and color of holiness and sanctity, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length to such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took it upon themselves to be heads, and to enact laws by their own authority, not only for all other bishops within Christendom; but also for the emperors, kings, and other princes and lords of the world; and did that under the pretense of the authority committed to them by the gospel. In this, the said bishops of Rome not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ’s word, but they also do clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church. And so they manifestly violate the holy canons made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, as well as the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils. And finally, they transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For the bishops of Rome always, when they are consecrated and made bishops of that see, make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began; and that is by the bishops of the same province; and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction outside of his own diocese or province; and diverse such other canons were then made and confirmed by the said councils to repress and take away from the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome now pretend to have over the same.

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“And we find that diverse good fathers, bishops of Rome, greatly reprov’d, yes, and abhorred, as a thing clean contrary to the gospel and the decrees of the church, that any bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon himself the title and name of the *universal* bishop, or of the *head* of all priests, or of the *highest* priest, or any such title. For confirmation of this, it is beyond all doubt that there is no mention made either in the Scriptures, or in the writings of any authentic doctor or author of the church, during the time of the apostles, that Christ ever made or instituted any distinction or difference in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves; but that they were all equal in power, order, authority, and jurisdiction. Whatever difference there is now among the bishops, since the time of the apostles, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church, not because it was according to Scripture, but for the conservation of good order and unity of the catholic church, and that was either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the princes and civil powers ruling at the time,” etc.

Judge now for yourself, loving reader, if either Martin Luther himself, or any other Lutheran, could or did ever say more against the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply? If they meant as they spoke, then who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But as we write these things for edification, let us mark their *reasons*, and let the *persons* go.

Although the proofs and arguments alleged up to here might suffice to fully discuss this matter against the pope's usurped primacy, for a more ample confutation of the usurped power we will cite a certain epistle sent by bishop Tunstall and John Stokesley, bishop of London, to Cardinal Pole. About this time Cardinal Pole, brother to the Lord Montague, was attainted (condemned by attainder) of high treason, and fled to Rome. There, a short time after, he was made cardinal (more is to be spoken of him hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen Mary). While remaining at Rome, a certain epistle by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was directed to him, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king. That epistle is as follows:

“For the good will that we have borne to you in times past, as long as you continued the king's true subject, we cannot a little lament and mourn that neither regarding the inestimable kindness of the king's highness previously shown to you in your upbringing, nor the honor of the house that you come from, nor the wealth of the country that you were born in, you should so decline from your duty to your prince, that you would be seduced by fair words and vain promises of the bishop of Rome to join with him, going about by all means possible to pull down and put underfoot your natural prince and master — to the destruction of the country that has brought you up, and for the vain-glory of a red hat to make yourself an instrument to set forth his malice, who has stirred up, by all means that he could, all such Christian princes as would give ear to him, to depose the king's highness from his kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for those who would execute his malice, and to stir, if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his realm, where the office and duty of all good Christian men, and namely of us that are priests, should be to bring all commotion to tranquility, all trouble to quietness, all discord to concord; and in doing the contrary, we would show ourselves to be but the ministers of Satan and not of Christ, who ordained all us who are priests, to use in all places the legation of peace, and not of discord.

“But since what is done cannot be undone, it is secondly to make amends, and follow the doing of the prodigal son spoken of in the gospel, who returned home to his father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you will say as he said in acknowledging your folly, and do as he did in returning home again from your wandering abroad in service of those who little care what comes if you, so that their purpose is served by you. And if you are moved by your conscience, so that you cannot allow the king your master to be supreme head of the church of England, because the bishop of Rome has for many years usurped that name universally over all the church, under the pretense of the gospel of St. Matthew, saying, ‘You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church;’ surely many of the most holy and ancient expositors of that text take it to mean the faith then first confessed by the mouth of Peter; the church is built upon that faith, confessing Christ to be the Son of God, Christ being the very lowest foundation stone upon which both the apostles themselves, and also the whole faith of the church of Christ, preached by them throughout the world, is founded and built: and there can be no other foundation, but that alone, as St. Paul says, ‘For no other foundation can any man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,’ 1Cor 3.11.

“And where you think that Luke 22.32 proves the authority of the bishop of Rome, when Christ says, Peter, ‘I have prayed for you, that your faith not fail: and when you are converted, strengthen your brethren;’ surely that speaks only of the fall of Peter, known to Christ by his godly prescience, of which he gave an inkling, so that after his fall Peter would not despair, but return again and confirm his brethren, as he, being ever most fervent, was prone to do. The place plainly opens itself that it cannot be otherwise taken but with this meaning, and not to be spoken except to Peter. For otherwise his successors must first fail in the faith, and then convert and so confirm their brethren. And whereas you think that this place in the gospel of

John, 'Feed my sheep,' was spoken only to Peter, and that those words make him shepherd over all, and above all, St. Peter himself testifies the contrary in his canonical epistle. There he says to all priests, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is among you,' which he bid them to do by the authority that Christ had put them in as follows: 'And when the chief shepherd appears, you shall receive the incorruptible crown of eternal glory.' St. Paul in the Acts testifies the same, saying, 'Take heed therefore to yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood,' Act 20.28. Where, in the original text, the word signifying to *govern*, or *oversee*, is the same word that is spoken to Peter — *feed*; for it signifies both in the Scripture. That these words did not mean he was constituted a shepherd over all, is made very plain by the fact that St. Peter dared not commence such intercourse among the Gentiles. He eschewed it as unlawful, and prohibited much rather than commanded by God's law — until he was admonished by the revelation of the sheet mentioned in Acts 11.5-7. Whereas, if by these words, 'Feed my sheep,' Christ had given such a universal government to Peter, then Peter, being more fervent than any of the other apostles to execute Christ's commandment, would have gone of his own accord without any such new admonition, or having been sent for by Cornelius. Unless perhaps you would say that Peter did not understand the words of Christ, for lack of the light which later men have obtained, who thereby understand the words of Christ to Peter, better than Peter did himself. It would also be strange to condemn Peter as a high traitor to his Master after his ascension, as if he indeed were worthy of it, if his Master had signified to him that the bishops of Rome, by Peter's dying there, should be heads of the whole church — and him knowing it by these words 'Feed my sheep;' yet notwithstanding his Master's high legacy and commandment, he would flee from Rome, as he did, until his Master encountered him on the way, with terrible words, and caused him to return."<sup>81</sup>

[541] A.D. 1527-1540.

After many references and arguments connected with the ancient history of the church, the letter thus concludes:

"Christian kings are sovereigns over the priests, as they are over all their subjects, and may command the priests to do their offices, as well as they command others; and should by their supreme office see that all men of all degrees do their duties to which they are called either by God or by the king; and those kings that do so chiefly, execute their office well. So that the king's highness, taking upon himself, as supreme head of the church of England, to see that spiritual as well as temporal men do their duties, neither makes innovation in the church, nor yet trouble the order of it. Rather, he does as the chief and best of the kings of Israel did, and as all good Christian kings ought to do. Good Christian emperors always took this office upon themselves, in calling the universal councils of all countries to assemble together in one place and at one time, to the intent that all heresies troubling the church might there be extirpated, calling and commanding the bishop of Rome as well as other patriarchs and all primates, of the East as well as of the West, of the South as well as the North, to come to the said councils. Marcian the emperor did this in calling the great Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, one of the four chief and first general councils, and in commanding Leo, the bishop of Rome, to come to the same. Although Leo neither liked the time, and would have wished it deferred for a season, nor yet the place, for he would have had it in Italy, yet the emperor by his own command summoned the council to meet at Chalcis, in Asia. Yet Leo answered the emperor, that he would gladly obey his command, and sent his agents there to appear for him, as appears in the forty-first, forty-seventh, and forty-eighth epistles of Leo to Marcian, and in the forty-ninth

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<sup>81</sup> Roman Catholics claim Peter founded the church at Rome, based on the writings of Irenaeus, Clement of Rome, and Tertullian, but without Scriptural support. As for Peter being confronted by Christ and caused to return, that is taken from the non-canonical *Acts of Peter*.



epistle to Pulcheria the empress. Marcian likewise desired Theodosius, the emperor of the West, to summon a council of bishops to be called in Italy, for removing the contentions and troubles which at that time troubled the quietness of the churches. And in many epistles of Leo it manifestly appears that the emperors always assembled general councils by their command. In the sixth general council it appears very plainly that at that time the bishops of Rome made no claim, nor did they use any title to call themselves *heads universal* over all the catholic church, as appears in the superscription or salutation of the aforesaid synodical preamble, which is in these words:

“To the most godly lords and most noble victors and conquerors, the well-beloved children of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, Constantine the great, emperor, and Heraclius and Tiberius, Caesars: bishop Agatho, the servant of the servants of God, with all the convocations subject to the council of the apostolic see, sends greeting.’

And he expresses what countries he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation; for it follows, that those were under his assembly, who were in the Northern and Eastern parts, so that at that time the bishop of Rome made no such pretense to be over and above all, as he now does by usurpation. He vindicates to himself the spiritual kingdom of Christ, by which he remains in the hearts of all faithful people; and then he changes it to a temporal kingdom over and above all kings, to depose them for his pleasure, preaching thereby the flesh for the spirit, and an earthly kingdom for a heavenly, to his own damnation if he does not repent. Whereas he ought to obey his prince by the doctrine of St. Peter in his first epistle, saying, ‘Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or to governors, as to those who are sent by Him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of those who do well,’ 1Pet 2.13-14. Again, St. Paul, ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,’ Rom 13.1; with other things alleged before. So that his pretended usurpation, as being above all kings, is directly against the Scriptures given to the church by the apostles. Whoever overturns this doctrine, can neither be the head, nor even the least member of the church.

“Therefore, although you have up to now adhered to the wrongfully usurped power, moved by your conscience as you write, yet since you now see further, if you wish to regard the pure truth, and such ancient authors as have been written to you about in times past, we would exhort you, for the health of your soul, to surrender into the hands of the bishop of Rome your red hat by which he seduced you, trusting to make you, coming from noble blood, an instrument to advance his own vain glory; of which he made you a participant by the hat, to allure you thereby more to his purpose.

“In doing this, you shall return to the truth from which you have erred. Do your duty to your sovereign lord from whom you have declined, and thereby please Almighty God, whose laws you have transgressed. And in not doing so, you shall remain in error, offending both Almighty God and your natural sovereign lord, whom chiefly you ought to seek to please. We pray Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, that you not do this thing, for the good that we have borne you up to now. Amen!”

### **Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More Executed.**

When all the king’s subjects and the learned of the realm had taken the oath of the king’s supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, refused to be sworn. Therefore they were committed to the Tower, and executed, A.D. 1535.

Among other acts of Fisher, he had been a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before. For his learning and other virtues, this bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented by some. But whatever his

learning was, it was a pity that being endued with that knowledge, he should be so far drowned in such superstition; and the more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had to such cruelty. But this we commonly see come to pass, as the Lord says, "That whoever strikes with the sword, shall perish with the sword," <sup>Mat 26.52</sup> and those who stain their hands with blood seldom bring their bodies unbloody to the grave. This commonly appears by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially those who were persecutors of Christ's poor members. Among their number was this bishop, and Sir Thomas More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitton, Byfield, with other saints of God were brought to their death. It was said that the pope, to recompense bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon was cut off before the pope's hat could come to it.

Something was said earlier about Sir Thomas More. He was accounted a man both witty and learned; but whatever he was besides, he was a bitter persecutor of good men, and a wretched enemy to the truth of the gospel, as may appear by his books in which he most slanderously and disdainfully writes against Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Byfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, and the articles and doctrines which they professed.

Briefly, just as he was a sore persecutor of those who stood in the defense of the gospel, so on the other side he had such a blind devotion for the See of Rome, and so willfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give up until he brought himself to the scaffold.

The same is also to be said of the three monks of the charter-house, Ermew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, who the same year in the month of June were arraigned at Westminster for speaking traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity. For this they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn.

In the same year and for the same treason, with the same punishment, were executed John Houghton, prior of the Charter-house in London, Robert Laurence, prior of the charter-house of Belvail, Austen Webster, prior of the charter-house of Hexham.

Besides and with these priors, two other priests likewise suffered, one called Reignold, brother of Sion, and the other named John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth.

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Shortly after the pope's supremacy was rejected, the ruin of abbeys and religious houses in England began to follow in a right order and method, by God's divine providence. For the fall of the monasteries could not have followed, unless the suppression of the pope's supremacy had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious houses had taken place.

Upon which, in the same year, in the month of October, the king then having Thomas Cromwell in his council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeys, priories, and nunneries in all of England, and to set at liberty all those religious persons who desired to be free, and all others who were under the age of twenty-four — providing that those monks, canons, and friars who were dismissed, would have given to them a secular priest's gown by the abbot or prior, instead of their habit, and forty shillings of money. And likewise, the nuns were to have given to them such apparel as secular women then commonly used, and also allowed to go where they would. At that time their chief jewels and relics were taken from the abbeys and monasteries.

When the king had thus established his supremacy, and all things were quieted within the realm, like a wise prince, and having wise counsel about him, he forecast with himself what foreign dangers might fall by other countries. They were all as yet in subjection to the bishop of Rome, except for a few German princes. Not doubting the malice of the pope, he thought it good to remain allied by all possible means with other princes. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to the king of Scotland, the king of France, and to the emperor, to justify his proceedings respecting his marriage, and the suppression of the pope's supremacy.

***The History of William Tyndale.***

But, so that we may go forward with our history, we will now relate the history of the good martyr of God, William Tyndale, who was betrayed and put to death (A.D. 1536). This William Tyndale, as he was appointed a special organ of the Lord to shake the inward roots and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy, so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought to craftily entrap him, and to falsely to betray him, and to maliciously take his life, as may appear by the following process of his history.

*The Life and History of the true Servant and Martyr of God,  
William Tyndale, who for his notable pains and travail,  
may well be called the Apostle of England in our age.*

William Tyndale, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he grew up, and increased in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, but more especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, to which his mind was singularly addicted. So that, in Magdalen-hall he read some divinity privately to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scripture. His life and conversation were such that all those who knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and unspotted life.

Thus, increasing more and more in learning in the university of Oxford, he removed from there to the university of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode for some time, and now being further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, he left that university also, and resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire. There he was schoolmaster to his children. To Master Tyndale resorted abbots, deans, archdeacons, with other doctors and great beneficed men, who there, together with him, sitting at the same table, often used to enter into dialogue, and talk of learned men, such as Luther and Erasmus; also of other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tyndale, just as he was learned and well-practiced in God's matters, so he did not spare to show his judgment simply and plainly; and when those gentlemen at any time varied from Tyndale in opinion and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. Thus they continued for some time reasoning and contending together, until at length they entertained a secret dislike in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that some of these great doctors had invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they talked at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance. Then Master Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters, which the priests had talked about at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by Scripture, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman,

said, "Well, there was such a doctor who could expend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds; and what, do you think it reasonable, that we should believe you before them?" Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time; and after that, he talked but little on those matters. At that time he was busy about the translation of a book written by Erasmus, called "The Manual of a Christian Soldier," which he delivered to his master and lady. After they had well perused it, the doctors and prelates were not so often invited to the house; nor when they came, did they have the same cheer and countenance as they had before.

As this went on, the priests of the country clustering together, began to storm against Tyndale, and railed against him in alehouses and other places. They raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding to his sayings more than ever he spoke. And so they accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor, and warning was given to the priests to appear before him, among whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. It is uncertain whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given to him that they would lay some things to his charge; but he prayed heartily to God, to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word.

Then when the time of his appearance came, the chancellor threatened him grievously, reviling and berating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, though no accuser could be produced. After this examination, Master Tyndale escaped out of their hands and departed home.

There dwelt not far off a doctor who had been chancellor to a bishop. He had been a familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and favored him well. Tyndale went to him and opened his mind upon some questions of the Scripture, for he dared to boldly disclose his heart to him. The doctor said to him, "Do you not know that the pope is the very antichrist whom the Scripture speaks of? But beware what you say, for if you are perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life." He said moreover, "I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

It was not long after, that Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, and in disputing with him, the doctor burst out into these blasphemous words: — "We would do better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Tyndale hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope and all his laws," and added that, "If God spared him life, before many years he would cause a boy who drives the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did."

After this, the dislike of the priests increased still more and more against Tyndale. They never ceased barking at and berating at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, and a heretic in divinity.

To be short, Tyndale being so molested and vexed by the priests, he was constrained to seek another place. And so, coming to Master Welch, he requested that of his good will he would permit him to depart from him, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I will not be allowed to tarry long in this country, nor will you be able, even if you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also, what displeasure might thereby grow towards you by keeping me, God knows, for which I would be right sorry."

[543] A.D. 1527-1550.

So that, in fine, Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and soon after came up to London. There he preached a while, as he had done in the country before, and especially about the city of Bristol. At length, thinking to himself about Cuthbert Tunstall, then bishop of London, especially for the great commendations of Erasmus. In his annotations, Erasmus so extolled Tunstall for his learning, that Tyndale thought that if he could attain to his service, he would be a happy man. And so, coming to Sir Henry Guilford, the king's comptroller, and brought with him an oration of Socrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English. He desired him to speak to the bishop of London for him, which he did. And he desired him to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go with it himself. But God, who secretly disposes the course of things, saw that this was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of his church; therefore God gave him little favor in the bishop's sight. And so he remained in London almost a year, marking the course of the world, and especially the demeanor of the preachers — how they boasted in themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom. He also beheld the pomp of the prelates, with other things which greatly displeased him. It went so far, that he understood not only that there would not be room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all of England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision, by God's providence, given to him by Humphrey Mummuth (recited above), and other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany. There the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal for his country, refused no travail nor diligence, so that by any possible means he could convey to his brethren and countrymen of England, the same understanding of God's holy word as the Lord had endued him with.

Whereupon considering in his mind, and partly also by conferring with John Frith, he thought no way was more likely to conduce to this, than by translating the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, so that the poor people might also read and see the plain simple word of God. He perceived, by experience, how it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, unless the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the meaning of the text. For otherwise, whatever truth might be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without Scripture; or else by juggling with the text, and expounding it in such a sense that it would never be received, which it would be if the right order and meaning were seen.

Again, he perceived and considered that this was the only or chief cause of all the mischief in the church: that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes. For then the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be seen. And therefore all their labor was with might and main to keep the Scriptures suppressed, so that it would not be read at all; or if it were, that they would darken the sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy and worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom.

For these, and other such considerations, this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up by God), to translate the Scriptures into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple common people of the country. He first set in hand the New Testament, which he translated (A.D. 1526). After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, to which he added most learned and godly prologues prefixed before each book, worthy to be read again and again by all good Christians, as he did also with the New Testament.

He also wrote other works under various titles, among which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," by which, with singular dexterity, he instructs all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; also other treatises, such as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates," with expositions on certain parts of the Scriptures, and other books, answering Sir Thomas More and other adversaries.

The books of William Tyndale having been published and sent over into England, it cannot be described what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation.

At his first departing out of the realm, Tyndale took his journey into the farther parts of Germany, and also into Saxony, where he had a conference with Luther and other learned men. After he had continued a certain season there, he came into the Netherlands, and mostly lived in Antwerp till the time of his apprehension.

When these godly books of Tyndale, especially his translation of the New Testament, began to come into men's hands, they wrought great profit to the godly. So the ungodly stirred themselves, envying and disdainng that the poor people should be any wiser than they; and again, fearing lest by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness might be discerned. But especially Satan the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set his might also to impeach and hinder the blessed labors of that man. For when Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses, intending to print it at Hamburg, he sailed for that place. But on the way, on the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings and copies, and was compelled to begin it all again. Thus having lost by that ship, his money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg. There Master Coverdale waited for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter to December 1529.

When God's will was that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale the translator added to the end a certain epistle, in which he desired the learned to amend it, if anything was found amiss. Therefore if any such default had been in it, deserving correction, it would have been the part of courtesy and gentleness for men of knowledge and judgment to have shown their learning in this, and to have corrected it. But the spiritual fathers then, not willing to have that book prosper, cried out against it, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected but utterly suppressed! Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some that it would make them all heretics. And also to induce the temporal rulers to their purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel and rise against the king. All this Tyndale himself declares in his prologue to the first book of Moses, showing what great pains were taken by his critics in examining that translation, comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, so that with less labor they might have translated a great part of the bible themselves. He showed that they examined every tittle and point in the said translation so narrowly, that there was not one (i) in it, that if it lacked a point over its head, they noted it, and counted it to the ignorant people as a heresy! So great were the devices of the clergy (who should have been the guides of light to the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which they would neither translate themselves, nor allow it to be translated by others. This was to the intent (Tyndale says) that by keeping the world in darkness, they might live in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their wishes, their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honor above king and emperor, yes and above God himself.

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The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord as translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels how to suppress it, never rested till they had brought the king to consent. In all haste, a proclamation was devised and set forth that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works of his and of other writers, were prohibited. This was about the year 1527. And yet not contented with this, they proceeded to entangle him in their nets, and to deprive him of his life.

William Tyndale, when at Antwerp, lodged in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman. One whose name was Henry Phillips came out of England, having the appearance of a gentleman, and accompanied by a servant. But why he came, or for what purpose he was sent, no man could tell.

Tyndale was often invited to dinner and supper among the merchants, by means of which this Henry Phillips became acquainted with him. And in a short time Tyndale had great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz. He also had him once or twice to dinner and supper. Through means of this Henry Phillips, William Tyndale was betrayed. After dining together at the house of Thomas Pointz, as they were leaving it, Tyndale was seized by two officers whom Phillips had brought there for that purpose. Then this traitor delivered him up to the emperor's partisans; his books were all seized, and he was himself cast into prison. Tyndale being brought to answer the charges, was offered an advocate and a proctor. But he refused, saying that he would answer for himself; and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, although he did not deserve death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree made in the assembly at Augsburg, and brought forth to the place of execution. There he was tied to the stake, strangled by the hangman, and afterward consumed with fire in the town of Vilvorde, A.D. 1536, crying out at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half) it is said that he converted his keeper, with his daughter and others of his household. Also the rest who were conversant with him in the castle, reported that if *he* were not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "a learned, a good and a godly man."

As to his translation of the New Testament, at which his enemies carped so much, and pretended that it was full of heresies, you will hear what faithful dealing and sincere conscience he used in the work, by the testimony and allegation of his own words written in his epistle to John Frith.

*The Testimony of John Frith in his Book of the Sacrament,  
concerning William Tyndale.*

"And Tyndale I trust, lives well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ and his faithful ministers in this world, who is not sure of so many mites, as you are of yearly pounds; although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he was more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, in which among other matters he writes this:

"I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would

do this day, if all that is in earth might be given to me, whether it be honor, pleasure, or riches. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire from God for myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep His laws,' etc.

“Judge, Christian reader, whether these words are not spoken of a faithful clear innocent heart. And as for his behavior, it is such that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin; although no man is innocent before God, who beholds the heart.”

And thus being about to conclude the life and history of William Tyndale, it remains for us to present to the reader certain of his private letters, which he wrote to John Frith; one is under his own name, and the other under the name of *Jacob*, written and delivered to John Frith, then a prisoner in the Tower.

*A Letter sent from Tyndale to Master Frith,  
then being in the Tower.*

“The grace and peace of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord be with you. Amen. Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say, how the hypocrites — now that they have overcome that great matter which prevented them, or at least have stopped it — they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he has ordained to be, before the world was made, may that come, and his glory reign over all.

“Dearly beloved, however the matter may be, commit yourself wholly and only to your most loving Father, and most kind Lord: fear not men who threaten, nor trust men who speak fair; but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make good his word. Your cause is Christ’s gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and oil poured in every evening and morning, so that the light will not go out. Though we are sinners, yet the cause is right. If when we are buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us. Therefore we also ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things to himself.

“Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that at his coming it may be made like to his immortal one; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, who choose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and speak nothing against that. Stick to necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying they find none who will not abjure rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of those who come back again after they have abjured, though it is accepted with God, yet it is not glorious. For the hypocrites say he must die, and abjuring will not help. But if it might have helped, they would have abjured five hundred times. But seeing it would not help them, therefore out of pure pride, and mere malice together, they spoke with their mouths what their conscience knows to be false. If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father, then his power shall be in you and make you strong, and so strong that you shall feel no pain in that which should be instant death to another; and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine; yes, and you are not yet dead, even though all the hypocrites, with all that they can do, have sworn your death. To look for no man’s help, brings the help of God to those who seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites. Yes, it will make God carry you



through thick and thin for His truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. Not a hair falls till his hour has come; and when his hour has come, necessity carries us from here, even though we are not willing. But if we are willing, then have we a reward and thanks.

“Therefore, do not fear the threatening, nor be overcome by sweet words with which the hypocrites will assail you.

[545] A.D. 1527—1560.

“Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart, no, even if they are your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not your body faint. He that endures to the end shall be saved. If the pain is beyond your strength, remember, ‘Whatever you ask in my name, I will give it you.’ And pray to your Father in that name, and He shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

“William Tyndale.”

*Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tyndale,  
sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.*

“The grace of our SAVIOR JESUS, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

“Dearly beloved brother Jacob, my heart's desire in our Savior, Jesus, is that you arm yourself with patience, and be bold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you bow yourself to the ground, avoiding hard questions that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds to be sin and damnable under the law, before mercy has taken away the condemnation of it. And then, as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of Him. And then your preaching shall be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record to you, and feel that it is so. All doctrine that casts a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them — I mean the law of God, and the mercy of Christ — resist with all your power. Refuse sacraments without signification. If they put significations to them, receive them if you see that it may help, though it is not necessary.

“Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, so that there appears no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons are sorely on the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There are some in Antwerp who say that they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses, and that they spoke with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise on that matter, but I have stopped him as yet. What he will do if he gets money, I do not know. I believe he would make many reasons that little serve that purpose: My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you have progressed. I would have the right *use* preached, and the *presence* to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at the leisure of both parties. If you are required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will. For to believe that God is everywhere, hurts no man who worships Him nowhere but within the heart, in spirit and verity. Even so, to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved) hurts no man who worships him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind; however, if God shows you otherwise, it is free for you to do as He moves you.

“I guessed long ago, that God would send a madness into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it has come to pass. And now I think I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand that it is

not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Therefore cling fast to the Rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to Him. And if God calls you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly as far as you perceive the glory of God may come of it, do not refuse it. Ever thrust in, so that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if anything is required contrary to the glory of God and his Christ, then stand fast and commit yourself to God, and do not be overcome by men's persuasions, which perhaps will say, 'We see no other way to bring in the truth.'

"Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there lives none in whom I have such good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoices, and my soul comforts herself, as in you. This is not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and whatever other gifts you have, as because you will creep slowly by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain — in fear, and not in boldness; in open, necessary things, and not to pronounce or define hidden secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder whether something is so or not; in unity, and not in seditious opinions. Do this insomuch that if you are sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or will say (till others agree with you) 'I think the text requires this sense or understanding.' Yes, and if you are sure that your part is good, and another holds the contrary, yet if it is a thing that makes no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men; but you stick stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you will be persuaded even so of me. For I call God to record against the day that we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would I do so this day, if all that is in the earth might be given to me, whether it be pleasure, honor, or riches. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire from God for myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

"Finally, if there were in me any gift at hand, that could help and aid you if need required it, I promise you that I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body is weary. But God has made me evil-favored in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted. Your part shall be to supply what is lacking in me — remembering that just as lowliness of heart will make you high with God, even so meekness of words will make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature gives age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and gives them honor. Abundance of love makes me exceed in babbling.

"Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you are demanded, you may say that if you err, the spirituality has so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached to you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you. But now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things. And therefore you can believe them no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing. However, you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it. For without proof you cannot believe them when you have found them with so many lies, etc. If you perceive in what we may help, either in being still or by doing something, let us have words, and I will do my uttermost.

"My lord of London has a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black reddish head,. He was once my scholar; he was seen in Antwerp, but did not come among the Englishmen. Where he has gone as a secret ambassador, I do not know.

"The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favor of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they should say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in Him; and His is the glory. Amen.

“William Tyndale.  
“I hope our redemption is near.”

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***The Deaths of Lady Catharine and Queen Anne.***

In the same year in which William Tyndale was burned, the lady Catharine died, princess dowager, in the month of January 1536.<sup>82</sup>

After her, in the same year, in the month of May, the death of Queen Anne (Boleyn) also followed, who had been married to the king about three years. In certain records we find that the king being in his jousts at Greenwich, suddenly departed to Westminster with a few persons. The next day after, Queen Anne his wife was conveyed to the Tower, with the lord Rochford, her brother, and others. And on the nineteenth day after, she was beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian lady at her death were these:

“Good Christian people, I have come here to die, for according to the law, and by the law, I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I have come here to accuse no man, nor to speak anything about that of which I am accused and condemned to die. But I pray God to save the king, and send him long to reign over you. For a gentler or more merciful prince there never was; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person would meddle with my cause, I request them to judge for the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul.”

And so she kneeled down, saying, “To Christ I commend my soul; Jesus, receive my soul.” Repeating the same several times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was struck off.

And this was the end of that godly lady and queen. Godly I call her, whatever the cause was, or the charge objected against her. Her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter the goodness of the cause and matter, whatever it was. This was certain: that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire for the truth and setting forth sincere religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, not many such queens before her have borne the crown of England. Principally she left this one commendation behind her — that during her life, the religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many more things might be written of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature — how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord, she would require her chaplains to plainly and freely tell whatever they saw amiss in her. Also how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other queens, but also nearly the revenues of her estate. She went so far, that the sum of the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year in distribution, is said to have amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. Besides this, there was a great sum of money which her grace intended to send into four sundry quarters of the realm, to be employed as a stock for the benefit of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christ’s gospel, all the world knows, and her acts do and will declare to the end of the world.

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<sup>82</sup> Lady Catherine (of Aragon), was Henry VIII’s first wife, whom he divorced, making her a princess dowager.

This I cannot help but marvel at: why the parliament held this year, that is, in the 28th year of the king (which parliament three years earlier had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawful) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and annul the marriage again as unlawful. But in this act of parliament lay (no doubt) some great mystery which I will not pause to discuss, but only say that it may be suspected that some secret practicing of the papists was in it, considering what a mighty check she was to their purposes, and what a strong bulwark she was for maintaining Christ's gospel. All this seems to be the drift of the wily papists, who seeing the pope repulsed out of England chiefly by means of this queen, and always fearing the succession of this marriage, thought to prevent that peril by whispering in the king's ears.

Again, Stephen Gardiner (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy to lady Elizabeth) being then abroad with the French king and great master of France, did not cease in his letters to put the king in fear that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, nor would he ever be in security unless he repealed the acts passed before, for the ratification of that succession. When they had now brought it to pass according to their own desire, and had now gotten both the queen beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disinherited, they thought all things were forever sure. Yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them. For after the suffering of queen Anne, the king married within three days, lady Jane Seymour, from whom would come king Edward VI — as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

In the meantime, when these things were going on in England, Paul III, bishop of Rome, was not slow to help forward his own advantage. Seeing his kingdom and seat darkened in Germany and in England, he thought it high time to stir himself. And therefore, to provide some remedy against further dangers, he appointed a general council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either to be there personally, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretenses, so as to suppress heresies, to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, etc. This bull was subscribed with the hands of twenty-six cardinals, and set up in the great cities, so that it might be known and published to the whole world. The protestants of Germany answered to this bull, that as the council was to be convened at Mantua, in the pope's own country, that alone would be a sufficient cause why they should refuse to resort to it. Our king Henry also entered his protest against this council, and declined to attend it. This protest was as follows:—

*A Protestation in the name of the King, and the whole Council  
and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come  
to the Pope's Council at his call.*

“Seeing that the bishop of Rome is convening learned men from all parts, inducing them by great rewards, making as many of them cardinals as he thinks fit, and ready to defend frauds and untruths, we could not without much anxiety cast within ourselves, what so great a preparation might mean. As chance was, we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romish subtleties and popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworn to think all his wishes to be laws — we were not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, has called a council, to which he knew well that either few or none of the Christian princes could come. Both the time that he convened it, and also the place where he appointed it, might assure him of this. But where do these popish bulls not wander? Where do they not go astray? What king is not cited and summoned by a proud minister and servant of kings, to come to bolster up his errors, frauds, deceits, and untruths, and to set forth this feigned general council? For who will not perceive

that Paul, the bishop of Rome, sooner goes about to make men believe that he pretends a general council, than that he desires one indeed? No, who can less desire it, than those who despair of their cause, unless they are judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We who greatly against our will at any time, leave off procuring to the realm any advantage, need neither come ourselves, nor yet send our proctors there, nor yet make our excuse for either. For who can accuse us, that we do not come at the call of one who has no authority to call us?

“But for a moment let us grant that he may summon us, and that he has authority to do so, yet (we pray you) may not all men see what it avails to come to this council, where you will have no place, unless you are known both to willingly oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and establish errors?

[547] A.D. 1527-1540.

“Do not all men perceive as well as we do, with what integrity, fidelity, and religion these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, who take these in hand in so troublesome a time as this? Is it not plain what fruit Christendom may look for, when Mantua is chosen as the place to hold his council? Is there any prince that is *not* from Italy, or indeed, is there any *from* Italy — prince or others differing from the pope — who dares come to this assembly and this place? If none come who dare to speak for truth, none who would risk his life, is it strange if the bishop of Rome being judge, and no man discontent or challenging, then the defenders of the papacy obtain that popish authority being setup again, which is now recoiling and almost fallen?

“Is this the way to help afflicted things, to redress troubled religion, and to lift up oppressed truth? Will men know in this way, whether the Roman bishops (who indeed are far under other bishops if you look at either their doctrine or their life) ought to be made like their fellows — that is, to be pastors in their own diocese, and thus to use no other power — or else whether they may make laws not only for other bishops, but also for kings and emperors? O boldness, fit to be beaten down with force and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul, who now lords it, or any of his partisans, go about in earnest to heal the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck down the abuses that have now crept into the church and are bolstered up in it, by such councils as now is likely to be at Mantua?

“Is it very likely that those who prowl for nothing but profit, will gladly pull down all those things which their forefathers made only for the increase of money? Whereas their forefathers, when their honor, power, and primacy were called into question, would maintain their dignity despite God’s law, or better said, their intolerable pride. Is it likely that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new canons, whereby they may defend the old evil decrees? However, why need we care either about what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, since England has taken her leave of popish crafts forever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops have nothing to do with English people. The one does not traffic with the other; at the least, even if they will have to do with us, we will have none of their merchandise, none of their stuff. We will receive them into our council no longer. We have sought our hurt, and bought our loss a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put down, will have no other place with us than all bishops’ decrees have — that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest men think that we follow our own senses too much, and that moved by small or no just causes, we forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought it best here to show our mind to the whole world.

“Therefore we protest before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever do so, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, are all so dear

to us, that we would much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm, than see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of His faith, nor will we depart an inch from it. No, we would much sooner lose our lives, than any article of our belief should decay in England. We who, in all this cause, seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a general council. No, we promise all our labor, study, and fidelity to setting up trampled truth, and troubled religion, in their place again; and to do all that lies in us to finish such controversies as have too long vexed Christendom. Only we wish all Christian men to be admonished that we can suffer no longer that they should be esteemed willing to take away errors, who by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about seeing that no man, under pain of death, may speak against any error or abuse.

“We would have a council; we desire it; indeed, we crave nothing so often from God, as that we may have one. Yet we wish that it be such as Christian men ought to have; that is, frank and free, where every man may say his mind without fear. We desire that it be a *holy* council, where every man may go about setting up godliness, and not apply all their study to oppressing the truth. We wish it to be *general*, that is to say, kept at such a time, and in such a place, that every man who seeks the glory of God may be present, and there frankly open his mind. For how can it seem *general* when either every man who dissents from the bishop of Rome is compelled to be kept from it; or when those who are present are hindered by terror, from boldly saying what they truly think. For who would not gladly come to such a council, unless it is the pope, his cardinals, and popish bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, where the chief point that is to be handled in this council is the pope's own cause, power, and primacy, as to grant that the pope should reign, should be judge, should be president of this council? If he, who indeed can never think himself able to defend his cause before any other judge, is evermore made his own judge — and so controversies are not decided, but errors are set up — then what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth than general councils?

“And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogancy, by what law, power, or honest title do they take it upon themselves to call kings, to summon princes to appear, where their bulls command them? In times past all councils were appointed by the authority, consent, and commandment of the emperor, kings and princes. Why does the bishop of Rome now take this upon himself? Some will say that it is more likely that bishops will more attend to the cause of religion, and be more glad to have errors taken away, than emperors, kings, and princes. The world has good experience of them; and every man sees how faithfully they have handled religious matters! Is there any man who does not see how virtuously Paul now goes about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it likely that he who chooses such a time as this to keep a council, much intends the redress of things that are amiss? Is it likely that he seeks the restoring of religion, who now calls a council while the emperor and the French king, two princes of great power, are so bent on wars that neither they, nor any other Christian prince can, in a way, do anything but look for the end of this long war? Go to, go to, bishop of Rome; the occasion long-wished-for offers herself to you. Take her; she opens a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your cardinals, your own creatures, show them that this is a jolly time in which to deceive princes.”

And so the king, proceeding in his protestation, declared how the pope, after he had summoned his council first at Mantua, shortly after published another bull postponing the same council to the month of November, pretending for his excuse that the Duke of Mantua would not allow him to keep any council there unless he maintained a number of warriors for defense of the town. And the king thus concludes:

“No, we will have the pope and his adherents understand what we have often said, and now say, and ever will say, that he and his have neither authority nor jurisdiction in England. We give him no more than he has; that is, none at all. That which he has usurped against God’s law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take back from him. But he and his will say that we gave them a primacy. We hear them well: we gave it to you indeed! If you have authority upon us as long as our consent gives it you, and you would make your plea upon our consent, then let it have even an end where it began. We consent no longer; your authority must be gone. If we being deceived by false pretense of evil-alleged Scriptures, gave to you what we should have refused, why may we not, our error now being perceived, and your deceit espied, take it back? We princes wrote ourselves to be inferior to popes. As long as we thought so, we obeyed them as our superiors. Now we do not write as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel if hereafter we do not do as we did. Both the civil laws and the laws of God are on our side. For a freeman born does not lose his liberty, nor does he hurt the plea of his liberty, though he writes himself a bondman.

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“Again, if they lean on custom, we send them to Saint Cyprian, who says that custom, if truth is not joined with it, it is nothing but ‘an old error.’ Christ said, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the life.’ He never said, ‘I am the custom.’ Therefore, seeing that custom serves you on one side, and Scripture serves us on the other; are you able to match us? In how many places does Christ admonish you not to seek primacy? No, but to be obedient to all creatures? Your old title, ‘Servant of servants,’ agrees badly with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters that are so plain. We only desire of God, that Caesar and other Christian princes would agree upon some holy council where truth may be tried and religion set up, which has been hurt by nothing so sore as by general councils; errors and abuses grow too fast. Get learning, you who judge the earth, and invent some remedy for these many diseases of the sick church. Those who are wisest, despair of a general council. Therefore we think it now best that every prince call a *provincial* council, and every prince redress his own realm. We make all men privy to what we think best to be done for the redress of religion. If they like it, we have no doubt but that they will follow it, or some other that is better. Our trust is that all princes will so handle themselves in this behalf, that princes may enjoy their own, and priests of Rome content themselves with what they ought to have. Princes, we trust, will no longer nourish wolves’ whelps; they will no longer subscribe to popish pride, to the papacy, etc.

“Favor our doings, O Christian princes. Your honor and ancient majesty is restored. Remember there is nothing pertaining so much to a prince’s honor, as to set forth truth, and to help religion. Take heed that their deceits do not work more mischief than your virtue can do good; and we wish all princes had everlasting war with this papacy. As for their decrees, so hearken to them, that if in this Mantuan assembly things are well done, you take them, but not as authorized by them; only that truth and things that maintain religion are to be taken at all men’s hands. And even as we will admit things that are well made, so if there is anything determined to be in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance of their evil-grounded primacy, or that may hurt the authority of kings, we protest to the whole world that we shall neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

“You have, Christian readers, our mind concerning the general council. We think you all see that Paul and his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, friars, with the rest of the rabblement, intend nothing less than they do the knowledge and search of truth. You see that this is not a proper time to meet, and that Mantua is no place for a general council. And even if they were both fitting, unless some other authority were to call this council, we do not need to come, nor to send. You have now heard how every prince in his own realm may quiet those things which are amiss. If there are any of you who can show us a better way, we promise with all hearty

desire, to do that which is thought best for the settling of religion, and we will leave our own advices if any man shows us better. This mind of ours, we most heartily pray God who gave it to us, not only to increase it in us, but also to send it to all Christian princes, all Christian prelates, and all Christian people.”

A little before the death of Queen Anne, there was a parliament at Westminster, in which all houses of religion that were under three hundred marks were given to the king by consent of the abbots. This was a shrewd omen of the ruin of greater houses, which followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived by many who then said that the low bushes and brambles were cut down before, but great oaks would follow after.

***The King Marries Lady Jane Seymour.***

Although the proceeding of these things did not well please the pope’s friends in England, they began to take some comfort when they saw Queen Anne dispatched. Nevertheless they were frustrated of their purpose. For the Lord raised up another queen, not greatly for their purpose, with her son King Edward. And also the Lord Thomas Cromwell at the same time began to grow in authority. Like a mighty pillar set up in the church of Christ, he was enough alone to confound and overthrow all the malignant devices of the adversaries, so long as God gave him life.

Shortly after this marriage of the king with Queen Jane Seymour, in the month of June, during the continuation of the parliament, and by the consent of the clergy then holding a solemn convocation in the church of St. Paul’s, a book was set forth containing certain articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people. In it they specially treated three sacraments: baptism, penance, and the Lord’s supper. Other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of religion, such as that certain holy days were forbidden, and many abbeys suppressed. For this cause the rude multitude of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion in which they had been so long fostered, rose up in great commotion, numbering 20,000. They had for their captain a monk called Doctor Mackerel, then calling himself Captain Cobler; but those rebels being repressed by the king’s power, and desiring pardon, soon dispersed.

After this, a new insurrection followed in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation of seditious persons, especially monks and priests, making them believe that their silver chalices, crosses, jewels and other ornaments would be taken out of their churches; and that no man should be allowed to be married, or to eat any good food in his house, but should first give tribute to the king. But their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other councilors.

The number of these rebels was nearly 40,000, having for their badges the five wounds, with the sign of the sacrament, and Jesus written in the midst.

They called their devilish rebellion a holy pilgrimage, but they served a wrong and naughty saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, upon which was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisy, pretending thereby to fight for the faith and holy church.

As soon as the king was notified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed the duke of Norfolk, duke of Suffolk, marquis of Exeter, earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with a great army to immediately encounter the rebels. These noble captains and councilors being well-furnished with munitions of war, approached the rebels. And understanding both their number, and their intention to give battle, they first with policy went about to appease all



without bloodshed. Then by the great wisdom and policy of the captains, a communication was had, and a pardon of the king's majesty obtained for all the captains and chief doers of this insurrection. And they promised that in such things as they found themselves aggrieved, they would gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted; and also that their articles would be presented to the king, so that by his highness' authority and the wisdom of his council, all things might be brought into good order and conclusion. With this order, every man quietly departed.

In the time of this commotion in Yorkshire, and while the king was at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all those that took part with the Yorkshiremen (whom he called God's people), fought in God's cause. for this both he and the priest were apprehended and executed. Other priests also, with other persons, about the same time committing like treason against the king, suffered execution. Such a business the king then had to rid the realm of the servitude of the Romish yoke. But God's hand still worked in upholding His gospel and truth, against all seditious stirs, commotions, and rebellions.

[549] A.D. 1527-1540

The great execution had been done upon certain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with certain noble persons also, and gentlemen. Among them was the lord Darcy, the lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bygot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the Abbots of Gerney, and of Rivers, etc. The following year, in the month of October 1537, prince Edward was born. His mother, queen Jane, died a few days after his birth, and left the king a widower again, in which estate he continued for two years.

Here, by the way, it is to be understood that during this entire season since the time the king of England had rejected the pope out of the realm, both the emperors, the French king, and the king of Scots, with other foreign potentates (who were still in subjection under the pope) bore King Henry no great good favor inwardly, whatever they pretended outwardly.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Lord defended his cause against them all. For although the French king was for a long time set upon by the pope, hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the king's son by queen Jane, and understanding also by the death of queen Jane that the king was a widower, and perceiving that the king might join in marriage with the Germans, the French king began to give much gentler words, and to demean himself more courteously, laboring to marry the queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors for the king, then resident in France, were Stephen Gardiner, with doctor Thirleby, etc. What Stephen Gardiner wrought secretly for the pope, I do not have it to expressly charge him. Whether he did so, or what he did, the Lord knows all. But this is certain: that when doctor Bonner, then archdeacon of Leicester, was sent into France by the king to succeed Stephen Gardiner in the embassy, which was about the year of our Lord 1538, he found such dealing in the bishop of Winchester, as was not greatly to be trusted.

It would be long to recite from the beginning, and few men perhaps would believe the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels, and bitter dissensions between these two, especially what despiteful insults doctor Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader, that this doctor Bonner yet remained a good man all this while, as he seemed, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favorer of Luther's doctrine. He was advanced only by lord Cromwell. He was archdeacon of Leicester, parson of Bladon, of Dereham, Cheswick, and Cheriburton. Then he was made

bishop of Hereford, and at last preferred to be bishop of London. The chief of these preferments and dignities were conferred upon him only by means of lord Cromwell, who was then his chief and only patron, as Bonner himself protests and declares in all his letters.

This doctor Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a steadfast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings. On the other hand, Stephen Gardiner wavered then, both with God and with the king. When the king sent Bonner to be his ambassador in France instead of Gardiner, the contention between these two was very great.

This being so, we wonder greatly what might be the reason that Bonner — seeing that all his advancement was by the gospel, and by those of the gospel's side, and being then so hated by Stephen Gardiner, and also being at that time such a furtherer and defender of the gospel — could ever be so ungrateful and unkind as afterwards to join with Gardiner against the gospel, and now to persecute so vehemently that which he defended so openly before.

But referring this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed in Bonner's legation. Now being ambassador at the court of France, Bonner received a commission from the king to deal with the French king for printing the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; and for the king's pension to be paid, etc. Bonner employed his diligence to the satisfaction of the king, and in discharge of his duty — except that the French king one time took some displeasure with him for bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor.

So that the French king sent a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willing him to revoke and call this ambassador home, and to send him another.

The king of England replied by other letters, in which he revoked and called home bishop Bonner, giving him the bishopric of London at about the same time. He sent in Bonner's place Sir Jolin Wallop, a great friend to Stephen Gardiner. This was in February, about the beginning of the year 1540. Here follows the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

*The Oath of Doctor Edmund Bonner, when he was made  
Bishop of London, against the Pope of Rome.*

“You shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practice, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other of the king's dominion, but you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power. And from henceforth you shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head on earth of the church of England, and to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, you shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority, and other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head on earth of the church of England. And this you shall do against all manner of persons, of whatever estate, dignity, degree, or condition they are, and in nowise do nor attempt, nor to your power allow to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privately or openly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation of it, or of any part of it, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretense. And in case any oath is made, or has been made, by you to any person or persons, in maintenance or favor of the

bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, you repute the same as vain and annihilated — so help you God,” etc.

***Ecclesiastical Matters, A.D. 1538.***

It will be judged that I have lingered perhaps too much in these affairs of princes and ambassadors. Therefore I purpose to put my history in order again, showing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the benefit of his subjects. The king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome and transferred it to himself, was then a full prince in his own realm (although he perceived by the wisdom and advice of lord Cromwell and his council, that the corrupt state of the church needed reformation in many things). Yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, he dared not reform everything at once, but proceeded little by little to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if Lord Cromwell had lived). And therefore he began with a book of articles bearing this title: “Articles devised by the King’s Highness to establish Christian quietness and unity among the People,” etc.

*Articles devised by the King.*

In the contents of this book, he first set forth the articles of our Christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king’s preface, follows the declaration of the three sacraments of baptism, penance, and the sacrament of the altar. In drawing this up, he altered nothing from the old trade and system received from the church of Rome.

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Then, proceeding to the cause of our justification, he declares, “That the mercy and grace of the Father promised freely to us for his Son Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the merits of his passion and blood, are the only sufficient and meritorious causes of our justification. Yet good works, with contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, are necessarily required, and must also concur in remission of our sins; that is, our justification. And afterwards, being justified, we must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in observing and outwardly fulfilling his laws and commandments, etc.

As to images, he desires all bishops and preachers to teach the people how they may be safely used in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, such as thus: That they represent virtue and good example, and also may stir up men’s minds and make them remember themselves, and lament their sins; so far he permits them in churches. But otherwise, to avoid idolatry, he charges all bishops and preachers to diligently instruct the people, so that they commit no idolatry to them, in burning incense to them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other similar worshippings, which should not be done except to God.

And likewise, for honoring saints, the bishops and preachers are commanded to inform the people how departed saints should not be revered or honored. That is, they are to be praised and honored as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ is to be praised in them for their excellent virtues, and for their good example left to us, in teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ. And also as assisting our prayers, yet no confidence or any such honor was to be given to them, as is due to God alone. And so he charges the spiritual persons to teach their flock that all grace and remission of sins and

salvation cannot otherwise be obtained but from God alone, by the mediation of our Savior Christ, who is a sufficient Mediator for our sins — that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ, and no other.

From that he comes to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church, such as in having vestments used in God's service, the sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulcher, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites, and ceremonies. The book does not repeal all of these old rites and customs, but admits them as good and laudable, so far as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things.

And so concluding with purgatory, he makes an end of those articles, thus saying:

“Because the book of Maccabees allows praying for departed souls, he therefore does not disprove so laudable a custom, which has so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinks it necessary that such abuses should be put away, which have been advanced under the name of purgatory, so as to make men believe that by the pardons of the bishop of Rome, or by masses in any place, or before any image, souls might be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains of it, to be sent straight to heaven, and such other abuses,” etc.

These were the contents of that book of articles devised and passed by the king's authority a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. In this book, though there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any truly reformed church, yet the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings who were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, till better should come.

### **The King's Injunctions for the Reformation of the Clergy.**

And so, not long after these articles, some other injunctions were given out about the year 1536, by which the number of holy-days were abrogated, especially those which fell during harvest time. Keeping them greatly hindered the gathering in of corn, hay, fruit, and other such necessary commodities.

#### *The King's Injunctions.*

“Because the number of holy-days has grown so excessively, and yet daily more and more by men's devotion, or rather superstition, it was likely to increase further, the same was and would be prejudicial to the commonweal. This is not only because it is an occasion of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and diverse other unthriftiness and inconveniences, as well as the decay of good trades and arts that are profitable and necessary for the commonweal — and the loss of man's food being frequently destroyed through the superstitious observance of the holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather in time of harvest; but it is also pernicious to the souls of many men who (being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days) commonly use and practice more excess, riot, and superfluity then, than upon any other days. And since the Sabbath-day was used and ordained but for man's use, and therefore ought to give way to the necessity of the same whenever the occasion occurs, much rather should any other holy-day instituted by man. It is therefore decreed, ordained, and established, among other things, by the king's highness authority, as supreme head on earth of the church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated:

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“First, that in all places throughout this realm, the feast of dedication of churches shall be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October forever, and on no other day.

“Also, that the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, commonly called the *church holy-day*, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as it has been used previously; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery, and truly to exercise and occupy the same upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except that the said feast of church-holyday is such as must, for other causes, be universally observed and kept as a holyday by this ordinance following.

“Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which happen to fall or occur either in the harvest time, which is to be accounted from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from now on as holy-days, but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation the same as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, or of the blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as those in which the king’s judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment. All of these shall be kept holy and solemn by every man, as they have been accustomed in times past. Provided always, that it may be lawful for all priests and clerics, secular as well as regular, in the aforesaid holydays now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days in their churches; so long as they do not do it solemnly, nor ring their bells in the manner used in high holy-days, nor command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

“Finally, that the feasts of the nativity of our Lord, of Easter day, of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the archangel, shall be from now on be counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering days.

“And for further declaration of the premises, let it be known that Easter Term begins always the 18th day after Easter, reckoning Easter day for one, and ends the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

“Trinity Term begins always the Wednesday next after the octaves of Trinity Sunday, and ends the 11th or 12th of July.

“Michaelmas Term begins the 9th or 10th of October, and ends the 28th or 29th of November.

[551] A.D. 1527-1540.

“Hilary Term begins the 23rd or 24th of January, and ends the 12th or 13th of February.

“In Easter Term, on Ascension-day; in Trinity Term, on the nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas Term, on All-hallow-day; in Hilary Term, on Candlemas-day — on these days the king’s judges at Westminster do not use them to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday.”

After these articles and injunctions were thus given out by the king and his council, then as time served, other injunctions followed concerning images, relics, and miracles; and for abrogating pilgrimages devised by superstition and maintained for lucre’s sake; also for the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Bible to be translated into English, with other points necessary for religion: The words of these injunctions ensue:

*Other Injunctions given by the authority of the King’s Highness,  
to the Clergy of this Realm.*

“In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1536, and of the most noble reign of our sovereign Lord Henry VIII, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and on the earth supreme head of the church of England, the 28th, etc. I, Thomas Cromwell, knight,

lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal of our said sovereign lord the king, and vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highness' honor, the public weal of this realm, and increase of virtue in the same, have appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed by the dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries, resident or having cure of souls,<sup>83</sup> or any other spiritual administration within this deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

“The first is that the dean, parsons, vicars, and others, having cure of souls anywhere within this deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as it lies in them, shall cause to be kept and observed by all others, all and singular the laws and statutes of this realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction within this realm. And for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority and jurisdiction within the same, as of the supreme head of the church of England; and shall to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any color or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open in their sermons and other collations, for the next quarter of a year ensuing, once every Sunday, and after that at the least twice every quarter of a year, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was taken away and abolished for most just causes; and that therefore they owe him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the king's power is, within his dominion, the highest potentate and power under God, to whom all men within the same dominion, by God's commandment, owe most loyalty and obedience before and above all other potentates on earth.

“Also, whereas certain articles were lately devised and set forth by the king's authority, and agreed to by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation assembled, of which part were necessary to be held and believed for our salvation, and the other part concerns and touches certain laudable ceremonies, rights, and usages of the church, which are fitting and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politic (prudent) order in the same. It is ordered that the said dean, parsons, vicars, and other curates shall so open and declare in their sermons and other collations, the said articles to those who are under their cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them are necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation; and what are not necessary, but only concern the decent and politic order of the said church — according to such commandment and admonition as has been previously given to them by the authority of the king in that behalf.

“Moreover, that they shall declare to all those who are under their cure, the articles likewise devised, set forth and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certain superfluous holydays, according to the effect and purport of the said articles, and persuade their parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolably, as things honestly provided, decreed, and established by the common consent and public authority, for the benefit of this realm.

“Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy which have crept into diverse men's hearts may vanish away, it is decreed that they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any encouragement to make pilgrimages to any saint other than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the king, and agreed to by the prelates and clergy of this realm in convocation assembled — as though it were proper or peculiar to that saint to give this or that commodity, seeing that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both looked for and asked for only from God, as the very author of the same, and from no other; for without Him it cannot be given.

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<sup>83</sup> *Cure*: having spiritual charge over someone; the care of their soul; or the office of a parish priest or of a curate.

But they shall exhort their parishioners, as well as other pilgrims, that they rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of charity; persuading them that they will please God more by the true exercise of their bodily labor, travel, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to these said pilgrimages. And it will profit more their souls' health if they bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.

“Also in their sermons and other collations, the parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, masters, and governors of youth, being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught to their children and servants, even from their infancy, the Lord's Prayer, the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments in their mother tongue. And the same being taught, that they will cause the said youth to often repeat and understand them. And to the intent that this may be more easily done, the said curates shall, in their sermons, deliberately and plainly recite the Lord's Prayer, articles, or commandments, one clause or article one day, and another on another day, till the whole is taught and learned little by little. And they shall deliver the same in writing, or show where printed books containing the same are to be sold to those who can read, or will desire the same; and that the fathers and mothers, masters and governors, bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry; exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, in their sermons and collations, as well as otherwise, the said fathers, mothers, masters, and other governors being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the youth are in no way kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness. We may see daily what diverse able-bodied men fall into through sloth and idleness — some to begging, some to theft and murder; who after being brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part of it to their friends and governors, who allowed them to be brought up so idly in their youth. When, if they had been brought up and educated in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they might, besides being rulers of their own families, have profited themselves as well as diverse other persons, to the great benefit of the country.

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“Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates shall diligently provide that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happens either in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or from special license given by the king's majesty, that they are absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude or unlearned person, but to an honest well-learned and expert curate, who may teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, so that they do not err; and always let them see that neither they nor their vicars seek more their *own* profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

“Also, that every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm shall on this side of the feast of St. Peter next coming, provide a book of the whole bible, both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the quire,<sup>84</sup> for every man who chooses to look and read in it, and shall discourage no man from reading any part of the bible, either in Latin or English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbor; ever gently and charitably exhorting them,

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<sup>84</sup> A quire in the church refers to a specific area, often called the chancel, which is located between the nave and the sanctuary. It is the part of the church where the choir and clergy have seats during services.

that by using a sober and a modest behavior in reading and inquiring about the true sense of the same, they in no way stiffly or eagerly contend or strive with one another about the same; but refer the declaration of those places that are in controversy to the judgment of those who are better learned.

“Also the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests shall in no way, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses. And after their dinner and supper, they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at tables or card playing, or any other unlawful game. But at such times as they have leisure, they shall read or hear something from holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise. And that they always do those things which pertain to good behavior and honesty, with profit of the commonweal, always having in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to all others to live well and Christianly.

“Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may yearly expend twenty pounds or above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly among their poor parishioners or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, who reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot grant to impart the fortieth portion among the poor people of that parish which is so fruitful and profitable to them.

“And to the intent that learned men may hereafter increase the more, for executing these said premises:

“Every parson, vicar, cleric, or beneficed man within this deanery, having a hundred pounds to expend yearly in benefices or other promotions of the church, shall give competent exhibition (a scholarship or internship) to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may have to expend, to so many scholars more. He shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-school; which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron’s cure and charge, in preaching as well as otherwise; in the execution of their offices, or may when the need is otherwise, profit the commonwealth with their council and wisdom.

“Also that all parsons, vicars, and clerics, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter, upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices, till they are fully repaired; and the same being so repaired, they shall always keep and maintain in good state.

“All of these and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed by the said deans, parsons, vicars, curates, stipendiaries, and other clerics and beneficed men, under pain of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duties according to these injunctions.”

These injunctions and articles were given in the years 1536 and 1537. And in the following year, other injunctions were also published for the further instruction of the people in the proceedings of religion by which both the parsons of churches, and the parishes together, were enjoined to provide in every church a Bible in English: also for every parishioner to be taught by the minister, to understand and to say the Lord’s prayer and creed in their own vulgar tongue, with other necessary and most fruitful injunctions, as follows:



*Injunctions exhibited, A.D. 1538.*

“In the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent Prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith; lord of Ireland; and on earth supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England, I, Thomas Lord Cromwell, lord privy seal, vicegerent to the king, for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, for the advancement of the true honor of Almighty God, increase of virtue, and discharge of the king’s majesty, give and exhibit to you N\_\_\_\_. the following injunctions to be kept, observed and fulfilled upon the pains hereafter declared.

“First, that you shall truly observe and keep all and singular the king’s injunctions, previously given to you in my name, by his grace’s authority; not only upon the pains expressed in them, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the king’s arbitrament, or his vicegerent aforesaid.

“Also, that you shall provide on this side the feast of N\_\_\_\_, next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the church that you have cure of, where your parishioners may most conveniently resort to the same and read it. The cost of this book shall be rateably borne between you the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, one half by you, and the other half by them.

“Also, that you shall discourage no man privately, nor openly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he looks to be saved, admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention and altercation in this, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquiry into the true sense of the same, and to refer the explanation of the obscure places, to men of higher judgment in Scripture.

“Also, that you shall every Sunday and holy-day through the year openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener if need requires it, one article or sentence of the Lord’s prayer or creed in English, to the intent that they may learn the same by heart; and so from day to day, give them one like lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Lord’s prayer and creed in English by rote; and as they are taught every sentence of the same by rote, you shall expound and declare the understanding of the same to them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do; and that done, you shall declare to them, the ten commandments, one by one, every Sunday and holy-day, till they are likewise perfect in it.

“Also, that you shall in confessions, every Lent, examine every who that comes to confession to you, whether they can recite the articles of our faith and the Lord’s prayer in English, and hear them say the same particularly; if they are not perfect in this, you shall declare to them, that every Christian person ought to know the same before they receive the blessed sacrament of the altar.

[553] A.D. 1527-1540.

“And admonish them to learn the same more perfectly by the following year, or else they should not to presume to come to God’s Board (the Lord’s table) without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls) — so you shall declare to them that you look for other injunctions from the king, by that time, to stay and repel all those from God’s Board, who are found ignorant;. Therefore, thus admonish them, to the intent that they should avoid the peril of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

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“Also, that you shall make, or cause to be made, in the church, and every other cure you have, one sermon every quarter of a year at least, in which you purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same, exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in other works devised by men’s fancies besides the Scriptures; such as wandering to pilgrimages, offering money, candles, or tapers to feigned relics, or images, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of beads, or such like superstition — for the doing of which you not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise, you have great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offenses, God Almighty most detests and abhors, for these diminish most His honor and glory.

“Also, that such feigned images as you know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anything made for them, you shall, to avoid that most detestable offense of idolatry, immediately take down, without delay; and from now on, you shall suffer no candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set before any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goes across the church by the rood loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulcher. For adorning the church and divine service, you shall allow these to remain, admonishing your parishioners, that images serve no other purpose, but are like the books of unlearned men who can read no letters, whereby they might be admonished about the lives and conversation of whose whom the images represent. If they abuse these images, for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in do so, to the great danger of their souls. And therefore the king’s highness, graciously tending to the good of his subjects’ souls, has in part already, and will travel more hereafter for the abolishing of such images, as might be the occasion of so great an offense to God, and such great danger to the souls of his loving subjects.

“Also, that in all such benefices or cures as you have, in which you are not yourself resident, you shall appoint such curates in your stead, as can both by ability and will, also promptly execute these injunctions, and otherwise do their duty that you are bound to do in every behalf accordingly, and profit their cure no less with a good example of living, than with a declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed to you, who shall straitly answer for the same if they do otherwise.

“Also, that you shall admit no man to preach within any of your benefices or cures, except those who appear to you to be sufficiently licensed for it by the king’s highness, or his grace’s authority, or the bishop of the diocese; and those who are so licensed, you shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

“Also, if you have up to now declared to your parishioners anything to extol or set forth pilgrimages to feigned relics or images, or any such superstition, you shall now openly before them, recant and reprove the same, showing them, as the truth is, that you did it upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse which had crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of those who profited by the same.

“Also, if you know or come to know any man within your parish or elsewhere, who is an opposer of the word of God being read in English, or has sincerely preached against, or is an opposer of the execution of these injunctions; or a favorer of the pretended power of the bishop of Rome — now justly rejected and extirpated by the laws of this realm — you shall detect (identify) the same to the king, or to his honorable council, or to his vicegerent aforesaid, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

“Also, that you and every parson, vicar, or curate within this diocese, shall for every church, keep one book of register, in which you shall write the day and year of every wedding,

christening, and burying, made within your parish for your time; and so too for every man succeeding you likewise, and also set down in it every person's name that is so wedded, christened, or buried. And for the safe-keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide out of their common charges, one sure coffer with two locks and keys, of which the one is to remain with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish in which the said book shall be laid up. This book you shall every Sunday take out, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, all the weddings, christenings, and buryings made during the previous week; and that being done, lay up the said book in the said coffer as before. For each time the same is omitted, the party who defaults shall forfeit to the said church three shillings and four pence, to be employed for the repair of the church.

“Also, that you shall once every quarter of a year, read these and the other former injunctions given to you by authority of the king, openly and deliberately before all your parishioners, to the intent that both of you may be better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners more incited to ensue the same on their part.

“Also, because by established law every man is bound to pay the tithes, no man shall by color of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, and be his own judge. But they shall truly pay the same, as accustomed, to their parsons and curates without any restraint or diminution; and whatever lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, they are to call for the reformation of it, at their ordinaries' and other superiors' hands, who upon complaint and due proof of this, shall reform the same accordingly.

“Also, that no parson shall from now on alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is commanded and indicted by the church, nor of any prayer, nor of divine service, other than is specified in the said injunctions, until such time as the same is so ordered and transported by the king's authority, except the evenings of those saints whose holy-days are abrogated, which shall be declared from now on not to be fasting days — except for the commemoration of Thomas à Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be entirely omitted; and instead of it, the Ferial (weekday) service is to be used.

“Also, that the knolling (tolling of the bell) of the Aves after service and certain other times, which has been brought in and begun by the pretense of the bishop of Rome's pardon, is to be left and omitted from now on, lest the people hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their aves between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

“Also, where in times past men in diverse places in their processions, used to sing *Ora pro nobis* (“Pray for us”) to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following, such as *Parce nobis Domine* (“Spare us, Lord”), and *Libera nos Domine* (“Save us, Lord”), it must be taught and preached that it would be better to omit it, and to sing the other suffrages, as more necessary and effectual. All these singular injunctions I minister to you and to your parishioners, by the king's authority, to be committed in this part which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as seems convenient for the time, to the king or his vicegerent.”

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By these articles and injunctions thus coming forth one after another for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear how well the king then deserved the title of his supreme government given to him over the church of England. By this title and authority, he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion in England in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates had done in the previous three hundred years. Such vigilant care was then in the king and

his council, that they were desirous by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs, and idolatry, to some better form of a more perfect reformation. He not only provided these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but he also procured the bishops to help forward the cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, as you have heard. So that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, a bishop was appointed every Sunday to preach at St. Paul's Cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

By the king's injunctions, A.D. 1538, all such images and pictures that were abused with pilgrimage, or offerings of any idolatry, were abolished. And by virtue of these injunctions, several idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down in the same year — such as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the lady of Willesdon, Thomas à Becket, with many others, which had machinery to make their eyes open and roll about, and to stir other parts of their body, and many other false jugglings with which the simple people had long been deceived. All of these were detected, and destroyed.

Among these foul idols, there was also a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named "Darvel Gatheren." In the month of May 1538, it was brought up to London and burned in Smithfield. At the same time with the idol, Friar Forrest was also burnt, and hanged for treason. He was partly mentioned before in the history of Cardinal Wolsey (p. 501).

*Friar Forrest.*

This Forrest was a friar, who had secretly in confessions declared to many of the king's subjects that the king was not the supreme head of the church. Being apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not the supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "That he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented to it." And being accused of many damnable articles, and convicted, he submitted himself to the punishment of the church. Upon his submission, having more liberty than before to talk with whomever he chose, he departed as far as ever from his submission. And when his abjuration was read to him, he refused it, and persevered in his errors. Therefore he was condemned, and fastened up in Smithfield upon a gallows, by the middle and arms. Fire was put under him, and so he was consumed.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's most honorable council and the nobles of the realm to sit upon, to grant him pardon if he had any spark of repentance in him. A pulpit was also prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared the man's errors, and manifestly confuted them by Scripture, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance. But Forrest would neither listen, nor speak. A little earlier, the image called Darvel Gatheren, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the friar, was set on fire. The Welchmen much worshipped the image, and had a prophecy among them, that this image would set a whole forest on fire. This prophecy took effect; for he set this Friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire coming, and that present death was at hand, caught hold of the ladder, and would not let it go. He so impatiently took his death, as never any man who put his trust in God had done at any time. So in that manner he ungodly and unquietly ended his life.

In the month of October and November in the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, the ruin of the abbeys and religious houses also followed. By the special motion of lord Cromwell (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God) these were suppressed. This had been granted a little earlier by an act of parliament unto the king's hand. Whereupon not only the houses were razed, but their possessions were also distributed among the nobility. So that all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion were then so rooted out of this realm from their very foundation, that there seemed, by God's grace, no possibility left for the generation of those strange weeds to grow any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Savior Christ in his gospel, "Every plant which my Father has not planted, shall be rooted out." <sup>Mat 15:13</sup>

***The History of John Lambert***

*The History of the worthy Martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicolson, with his Troubles, Examinations and Answers, before the archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, and other bishops, as well as before King Henry VIII, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in A.D. 1538.*

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, followed the condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge. When he had sufficiently profited by the study of Latin and Greek, and had translated sundry things out of both tongues into English, he was at last forced by the violence of the time, to depart beyond the seas to Tyndale and Frith. There he remained for a year and more. He was preacher and chaplain to the English House at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow. He was carried from Antwerp to London, and brought to examination first at Lambeth, and then at the bishop's house at Oxford, before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries. He had forty-five articles exhibited against him, to which he answered in writing. Because his answers contain great learning, and give some light to better understand the common questions of religion now in controversy, we will provide them all here.

*The Answer of John Lambert.*

1. To your first article, in which you ask whether I was suspected of heresy? I answer that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me, perhaps some better, some worse — as the opinions of the people were never united, but they thought variously of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yes, and of Christ himself, as it appears in St. John. When Christ came into Jerusalem, a great noise arose, some saying, "That he was a very good man," others said, "no," and called him a deceiver, because he led the people away from the law of Moses. <sup>Joh 7.12</sup> Seeing therefore that all men could not speak well of Christ, who is the author of verity and truth, indeed the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants, why should I regard it, if at some time, some person for a like cause were to suspect me of being amiss, and report evil of me? It is said in the gospel, "Woe to you, when all men speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets." <sup>Luk 6.26</sup> If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded it, that I have forgotten it. And even if I did remember any such charge, I would be

more than twice a fool to tell you of it. For it is written in your own law, “No man is bound to betray himself.”<sup>85</sup>

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2. To your second article, where you inquire whether I had any of Luther’s books, since they were condemned; and how long I kept them, and whether I have spent any study in them? I say that I have indeed had them, and that was both before they were condemned and also since. But I never will, nor can I tell you, how long I have kept them. The truth is, I have studied them, and I thank God that I did so; for by them has God shown me, and also to a multitude of others, such light, as the darkness of those who call themselves the holy church, cannot abide. He covets above all things, as all his adversaries well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages. Thus all people might see and know what is said on every side, and by which men might better judge what is the truth. And in this, I think, he requires nothing but equity. For the law would have no man condemned, or justified, until his cause is heard and known.<sup>86</sup>

3. To your third article, in which you ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and by what bishop — I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and by the bishop’s suffragan of the same diocese.

4. To the fourth, in which you demand whether it is lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case is bound by the law of God to marry a wife? I say that it is lawful, yes, and necessary for all men who do not have given to them by God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife, which both Christ and St. Paul show. In Matthew 19, Christ speaking to the Pharisees who came to tempt him, says, “Whoever puts away his wife, except it be for fornication, and marries another, commits adultery. A whoever marries her who is put away, commits adultery.” Mat 19.9. His disciples then ask him, if this is the case of a man with his wife, would it not be hurtful and not expedient to contract matrimony? Christ answers, verse 11, “All men cannot receive this saying, except those to whom it is given” — meaning that every man could not abide being single or unmarried, except those to whom it was given by God, by a special grace, to so continue.

St. Paul assents to this when he had persuaded the Corinthians to a single life. He concludes thus: “This I say for your own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you.” 1Cor 7.35. And a little before, “I would,” he says, “that all men were even as I myself. But every man has his proper gift from God, one in this manner, and another in that,” 1Cor 7.7. He shows thereby, that to some it is given by God to live continent, and to others to engender and procreate children. He proceeds further, and would have all men marry, none excepted, who want the gift of continency. “I say, therefore, to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain themselves, let them marry. For it is better to marry than to burn.” 1Cor 7.8-9. And again, “To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.” 1Cor 7.2. He says here, “every man and every woman,” and not “some man or some woman.” He excepts neither priest nor nun, but everyone is bound, both man and woman, for avoiding fornication, to marry, not having the gift of chastity.

5. To the fifth, where you ask whether I believe that whatever is done by man, whether it is good or bad, comes of necessity; that is, whether man has free will, so that he may deserve

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<sup>85</sup> A maxim of English Common Law; in Latin it is, “*nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.*”

<sup>86</sup> In the Common Law, this is the Latin maxim “*audi alteram partem,*” meaning “hear the other side.”

joy or pain? I say to the first part of your riddle, that I neither can, nor will I give any definitive answer; as it surmounts my capacity, trusting that God shall send, hereafter, others who will be of better learning and wit than I, to answer it. Concerning the second part, where you interpret whether man has free will or not, so that he may deserve joy or pain — as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very little or none at all, even when we do the very commandments and law of God. And I am taught that by our Savior in St. Luke, where he says: “But which of you, having a servant ploughing or feeding cattle, will say to him by and by, when he has come from the field, Go and sit down to eat? Will he not rather say to him, Make ready something for my supper, and gird yourself, and serve me till I have eaten and drunk; and afterwards you will eat and drink? Does he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded of him? I think not. So likewise, when you have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants. We have done that which was our duty to do,” Luk 17.7-10.

In these words you may clearly see that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, even when we have done what is commanded by God; but rather, reckoning ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, for He has no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loves to see us do well *for our own sake*. And moreover, that when we have done His bidding, we should not so magnify either our self, or our own free will, but praise him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) His will and pleasure; not regarding *our* merit, but *His* grace and benefit, by which alone is done all that is in any way acceptable to him. And thus, if we should not see merit in doing the commandments of God, much less should we look for merit from observing our own inventions or traditions of men, to which there is no benefit promised in all Scripture, which Paul calls the word of truth and of faith.

But here it may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to those who observe the precepts of God. Still, such reward will never be attained by us, except by the grace and benefit of Him who works all things in all creatures.

6. Whereas in your sixth article, you inquire whether the sacrament of the altar is a sacrament necessary to salvation; and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine. I neither can nor will answer one word, other than I have said since I was delivered into your bands. Nor would I have answered one whit then to this point, knowing so much as I do now, till you had produced some person who would have accused me of erring in the question; which I am certain you cannot do, that is, bringing anyone who is honest and credible.

Concerning the other six sacraments, I give you the same answer that I have given to the sacrament of the altar, and no other. That is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in them; unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why should I do so. But as to the form and fashion, I will answer willingly so far as my ignorance will serve. I hold that those who are duly elected ministers in the church ought to baptize, unless necessity requires otherwise: and that the form used in the church is in my opinion not uncommendable. Nevertheless, it would edify much more if it were uttered in the English instead of the Latin language; and it would cause people in the baptism of children to more effectually thank God for his institution of it, and the high benefit represented in it.

7. In like manner, I also deem the same about the ministration in all the others: that it would be expedient to have them ministered openly in the English language, to edify the people.

8. As touching private auricular confession, I say that the common fashion now used was never ordained by Christ's law that is written in the Bible. Nor can you prove by any authority from it, that we ought to confess all our offenses particularly, with all the circumstances, to any man. I never said, nor will I say anything but that men seeing themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, may go to those whom they know and trust to be of steadfast credit, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief to them, so that they may have thorough advice, some ease, and remedy.

But in this, I do not mean that they ought to go to their curate, or to any other priest, whose credit they deem not at all trustworthy, or their counsel sage, but to any person whom they know to be wise and discreet.

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As to the other part of your question, where you ask whether a priest may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoining him wholesome penance? I say that Christ alone looses a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise; and the priest does nothing but show and declare the word. Nor does the declaration or ministry of the priest avail to loose any person, unless he that would be loosed gives credence to the word ministered and shown by the priest. This word or promise of Christ is called "The word of reconciliation," or atonement between God and man. And St. Paul testified to this where he says, "God has reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ." 2Cor 5.18-19. See how it is God who looses us from sin, who is to make reconciliation or atonement between us and him, and that is through Christ, whom he caused to die for that purpose. "And he has given to us the ministry of reconciliation." See how Christ's apostles did not call themselves the *authors* of binding and loosing, but *ministers*; "For he (that is, God) reconciled the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses to them." There you may know what reconciling is. "And he has committed to us the word of reconciliation," or tidings of atonement or reconciling.

9. Also you may know that the power by which men are loosed from sin, is not the priest's power, by the common saying which is right and true; yes, and with leisure, I have no doubt that I can show the same in the decrees, which is this: "Only God forgives and pardons us of our sins."

10. Concerning the enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoin, unless it is renovation of living in casting away old vice, and taking them to new virtue. This is what every true penitent intends or ought to intend to show and perform, truly by the grace and assistance of our Savior Christ.

11. To the eleventh article I say that grace is given to those who duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church, but I cannot define whether this is by the sacraments or not; for God sends his grace wherever he pleases, either with them, or without them, and whenever he pleases; so that it is at his will, and how and when. Moreover, many a person receives the sacrament that is destitute of grace to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments *give* grace; yet, in duly receiving the sacraments, I suppose and think that God gives grace to those who so take them, as He does to all good persons, even without them.

12. Whereas, in your twelfth article you ask whether all things necessary to salvation are in holy Scripture; and whether only things there are sufficient; and whether some things are to be believed and observed as necessary to salvation which are *not* expressed in Scripture. This is the question which is the head of all others objected against me. Indeed, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended to impugn.



But touching an answer to this question, I suppose truly, that if I had Saint Cyril's works near by me [Cyril of Alexandria, 376-444], I would not need to show any other answer than what he has shown in prior times, writing upon this saying of St. John, "There are many things more which Jesus did." Notwithstanding, since every man cannot have what he would at all seasons, and therefore must make other provision, I hold that the first part of your question is very true, and therefore it is to be affirmed; to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation, are mentioned in holy Scripture; and that those things alone which are there, are sufficient for the soul's health.

But why should I treat this, without reciting all of Scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cling fast to this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel? I beseech God, grant us all both to know and love this, taking heed that we are in no way seduced from this by the laws and doctrines of men. Look also to Colossians, chap. 2, and in the epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude, in holy Scripture is contained sufficiently enough doctrine for the salvation of our souls; and because learned men call it the head article laid against me, I would have all men well note and record my saying this, whatever happens to me. For the truth is such that the sum of all hangs on this. Therefore, I will recite it once again. I say that, "In holy Scripture, and in that alone, is contained the doctrine which is sufficient for the salvation of Christian men's souls." God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith steadfastly upon it.

As to the latter part of your question, I say that there are many things both to be observed and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture — such as the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil government of the body, and all others. So long as they are not hurtful to faith or charity, I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake, although such ordinances are not expressly and particularly required in Scripture.

13. To the thirteenth article, where you ask whether I believe that there is a purgatory, and whether souls departed are tormented and purged there? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, which the Scripture, and also the holy doctors call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as St. Paul testifies in the second chapter of his second epistle to Timothy. His testimony is notable and true, although few know it, and fewer perhaps will believe it. Mark the words, good people, and know that the words are his and not mine: "All who would live godly in Jesus Christ will suffer persecution." <sup>2Tim 3.12</sup> In this purgatory I now reckon myself to stand. God enable me to persevere to his honor! Of this St. Peter also speaks in these words which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people — "You," he says, "who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time; in which you greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, you are grieved through manifold temptations: so that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perishes, though it is tested by fire, might be found to praise and honor and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ," <sup>1Pet 1.5-7</sup>.

14. To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles and confessors departed from this world ought to be honored, called upon, and prayed to? I answer with the words of St. Augustine, in his book "On True Religion," in his last leaf, where he says that, "We should worship no departed men, however good and holy, for they seek no such honor, but would have us worship God alone; no, nor even an angel, nor honor them, but only in the imitation of them — following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name or to the honor of them, for they would have no such honor done to them. It is no pleasure to them, but

contrariwise. No, the angels do not wish us to build any churches in reverence of them; but wish that we would honor the original Maker and Performer of all.” Thus says St. Augustine, “We shall follow their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man. This is no light matter to those who consider the thing well. But whoever would truly and duly follow it, will feel it as the burden of Christ’s cross was to Him, right weighty and grievous when he bore it to Calvary — except that we need not fear, for He has promised to be with us in tribulation.”

As to invocation, that is, calling upon them, we learn in Scripture how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities and tribulations. It is everywhere in the Psalms, as in this, “Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I shall deliver you.” <sup>Psa 50.15</sup> Mark, how he says here, “Call upon me,” appointing neither one saint nor another. And also in another place, “The Lord is near to those who call upon him, who call upon him in truth.” <sup>Psa 145.18</sup>

And thus the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in olden times, in all tribulation and anguish, used to resort to the head Fountain, who is of infinite grace, as shown in many places in this way:

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“In my trouble I called upon the Lord,” says David, “and he heard me graciously.” <sup>Psa 118.5</sup> When I was troubled, I cried to the Lord, and he mercifully heard me.” <sup>Psa 120.1</sup> Also, I lift my eyes to the mountains, but from where shall help come to me? My help,” he said, “shall come from the Lord who made both heaven and earth.” <sup>Psa 121.1-2</sup> Also, it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, “Everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.” <sup>Act 2.21</sup> And mark, it is said, “upon the name of the Lord,” without sending us either to St. Christopher, or to St. Patrick’s purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, or yet to any other saint. But He would have us call upon Almighty God, and upon His name, for the love that he bears to Christ, who is always our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins.

You argue that when one might desire to come to our sovereign to obtain some boon from him, he must first purchase the favor of his chamberlains or officers to bring him to the king’s presence; and that it is in like manner between God and us. If we would purchase any benefit, you say, we must first go to the saints, making them our friends to go between God and us as mediators and intercessors. But I answer that I think such reasoners are deceived, in that they compare God and the king together. For even if the king is a fully gracious prince, yet he is not to be compared with God in graciousness. And even if he were as gracious as possible, yet he does not have the knowledge that is in God; for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and He is everywhere, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men’s hearts; so that he needs no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king needs. And God is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain from him that which is for my good, as I might win by praying to holy saints, to be intercessors to Him for me.

Therefore I point to the example of antiquity — I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and the authority of Scripture — which teach that we need not fear, but may boldly resort to Christ himself, and His holy father, because He bids us to do so, saying, “Come to me all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,” <sup>Mat 11.28</sup>. Mark how he bids us resort to himself without fear. For he and his Father, who are all one, gives abundantly of all goodness to all men, and upbraids no man for his unworthiness. But if we

intend to obtain from Him, we must lay all doubtfulness apart, and with a sure confidence in his mercy, ask from him that which we would have. So that I leave to others what they choose to do, praying Jesus that we all may wish for that which is most pleasing to Him.

15. To the fifteenth article, you demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us? I say that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know, generally, that all men living upon earth are wrapped in manifold miseries, as they themselves also were. But I think they do not know what particular miseries men upon earth are entangled with; therefore I believe that they pray for us as *petitioners*, but not as *mediators*, so far as I can see. For Scripture speaks of but one Mediator, which I think signifies a maker of peace or atonement between God the Father and man. “There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.” <sup>1Tim 2.5</sup>

16. In the sixteenth article, you demand whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchers and relics of saints? I say that I cannot tell what they may be; for God can so work that to those whom he has chosen to be inheritors with Him, all things will turn to a good conclusion. As St. Paul says, “All things shall work together for good to those who love God.” Rom 8.28. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or not, I will not define, God knows. But this I say: that God never instituted any such thing as pilgrimages in the New Testament, which is the truth and rule for all Christian people to follow and believe.

Concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said before what I think of the milk of our Lady, the blood which they say is at Norwich and other places, with other such things — things with which I trust you to do what ought to be done. And I beseech God, that you may do with this as your office requires, setting an example for other prelates to follow your lordship in good doing, as it is fitting for a primate to do — remembering always, as St. Paul says, “the time is short;” and therefore, it would be good to set to hand in time.

Finally, when holy Moses died, he would be so buried that no man might know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in Deuteronomy 34.6, and as the expositors testify — so that the Jews, who were prone to new-fangled worshipping, would not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, on account of the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints’ graves and relics are meritorious works, or that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think otherwise, I would desire to know for my instruction, what part of Scripture would go against me?

17. In the seventeenth article you ask whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the common law and received in common usage, are to be observed? I say that those are the ones to be observed, and fasting discreetly is commendable. <sup>Mat 6.16-18</sup>

Yet breaking these fasts does not make a man a deadly sinner, unless in his mind there is some other malicious affection. Because no law of man, made without the foundation of Scripture, may bind any person such that in breaking it he thereby commits a deadly sin. And the fast of Lent is of this sort made by man. Other days ordained in your laws without authority of Scripture, which wills us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking only when need requires (and not for any voluptuousness, as I fear many have done, who count themselves great fasters) yes, and to do that sparingly, always being mindful that our stomachs are never cloyed “with drunkenness or surfeiting,” as commanded by our Savior.

And (to tell the truth) I suppose the prelates might better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God, and by fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining so great a multitude of laws and constitutions.

18. To the eighteenth article you ask whether it is laudable and profitable to have worshipful images set up in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints? I say that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, which are made by the hand of men. For, "Let all be put to shame who serve graven images, who boast of idols." Psalm 97.7.

And concerning the exciting of men's memory, I suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so shown and opened by preaching and teaching that people might clearly understand it (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates) I think we would have little need of any other images than that which might, by wholesome doctrine, be shown to us by word of mouth and writing. Nothing is so effectual to exercise the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers.

So that I suppose if this lively doctrine of God had previously been diligently opened to the people, as curates ought to have done, we would not have needed to contend for setting up or taking down dumb stocks and lifeless stones, carved or made by men. And if prelates would begin to set up Christ's word — I say, if this doctrine were still set up in churches, and truly opened, so that all men might have their judgment reformed and made clear by it, then I think we would not greatly need the profit that comes by images made by men, to excite our remembrances to live to Christianity. Alas, for pity's sake, His word is not looked upon, but rather is so trodden down and despised that many are not ashamed to say, 'I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors did; for those who magnify it must be sorely punished, and taken for heretics,' with other such grievous words.

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For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written down by those who wrote and spoke by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Spirit, perfectly shows His will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this were therefore diligently inculcated, I think we would be transformed anew, according to the mind of St. Paul, who writing to the Colossians says, "Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge according to the image of Him who created him," Col 3.9-10.

19. To the nineteenth article you ask whether I believe that the prayers of living men profit souls that are departed and in purgatory? I answered this in the thirteenth article.

20. To the twentieth article you ask, whether men merit and are deserving by their fasting, and also by other deeds of devotion? I have shown what I think of this in the fifth article.

21. In the twenty-first article you ask whether I believe that men prohibited by bishops to preach, being suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching until they have purged themselves of suspicion? I say that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never believed such errors as men by false suspicion deem them to believe; or else when men, by sinister judgment, think that which is the very truth to be an error,. Isaiah speaks of this: "Woe to those who call evil good, and good evil; who put darkness for light, and light for darkness," Isa 5.20 — as the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called St. Paul, saying this before Felix:

"We pray you would hear by your clemency, a few words from us. For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a

ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes. He has also gone about to profane the temple. We took him, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands, commanding his accusers to come to you. By examining him yourself, you may gain knowledge of all these things of which we accuse him.” Act 24.4-8.

This is to call truth falsehood, by perverse judgment. And thus their predecessors spoke of the prophets; yes, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy. Men being thus suspected should in no way therefore cease either from preaching or teaching.

We have another example of this in Acts, when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man who had been lame from his birth (whom they healed by the power of Christ, and caused to go wherever he pleased). The people hearing of this, came running around Peter and John. Peter seeing this, exhorted the people in a sermon, that they should not think that he or his companion St. John, had done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, the priests and officers of the temple came upon them, accompanied with the Sadducees. Being sorely displeased that they should teach the people, and preach that men might arise from the dead by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified. Therewith, they laid hands on them, and put them in prison until the next day. On the following day they sent for the apostles, and demanded by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle?

“Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said to them. You rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, if we this day are examined for the good deed done to the impotent man, by what means he was made whole; let it be known to you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by Him this man stands here before you whole. This is the stone which was rejected you builders, which has become the head of the corner,” Act 4.5-12.

These great men wondered that Peter should speak so freely, seeing that he and his fellow John were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or a great guard of servants, and being unlearned men. At last they commanded them to depart out of their council house, until they might commune more freely about the matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no longer preach or teach in the name of Jesus. “But Peter and John answered and said to them, Whether it is right in the sight of God to listen to you more than to God, you judge. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard,” Act 4.19-20. Then the head priests threatening them sorely, strictly charged them not to break their precept; so they let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them. For they feared lest the people take part with the apostles; for the people gave glory to God for the miracle shown by them.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought still miracles among the people; doing them to show that glory ought to be given to Jesus, by whose power and name they were done. With this, the hearts of the people melted for joy; so that they followed after the apostles wherever they went.

The primate of the priests, and all who were about him, on hearing of this, were filled with indignation, and laid hands upon the apostles, putting them into the common prison. But the angel of God in the night opened the prison doors, and brought them out, saying, “Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life” Act 5.20 — that is to say, Christ’s doctrine; and so they did, early in the morning. Then the chief priest came forth,

and those they used to have around him, called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or elders of Israel. So they sent to the prison-house to have the apostles brought out before them. When their servants came to the prison-house and found the apostles gone from there, they returned to their masters saying, 'We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers diligently watching at the doors without fail. But when we had the prison opened, we could find nobody within.' <sup>Act 5.21-23</sup>

When the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would come of it. Then one came to them and showed them, saying. 'Behold the men you put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching to the people. Then they went there, and brought the apostles back with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people might have beaten them down with stones.

Then they had the apostles brought into their council house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in this form: Have we not strictly commanded you (he said) that you should not preach in the name of Christ? And see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us? "Then Peter, and the other apostles answered and said. We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom you slew and hanged on a tree. God has exalted Him with his right hand to be a prince and a Savior, to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." Acts 5.29-32.

These great rulers hearing this, were cut to the heart, and consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their number advised them otherwise, whose advice they approved. Then they called the apostles again before them, and had them scourged, they commanded them not to preach and teach in the name of Jesus; and so they allowed them to depart.

Then they went away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for His name's sake. Yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, do not doubt; for such practice is shown in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men are wrongfully suspected or accused of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they should not for man's commandment to leave or stop, even if they never purge themselves before them, for many times such men will not allow any just purgation, but judge in their own causes, and do as they please.

[559] AD. 1527-1540.

22. In the twenty-second article you demand whether I believe it is lawful for all priests to freely preach the word of God or not; and to do that in all places, and to all persons to whom they please, even if they are not sent? I say that priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *presbyteri* and *sacerdotes*. The first refers to old men, seniors, elders, or presbyters — secular judges and similar head-officers are also sometimes called by that word. As we read in Daniel, they were so called who defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna. This is seldom, and not so customary as those who are called *presbyteri*, but it is generally applied to those who are set in the church to guide it by the word of God and his blessed doctrine.

The others called *priests* in the New Testament, are called by this word *sacerdotes*; that is to say, I think, *sacrificers*. And thus, as Christ was called king and priest, so all Christian men in the New Testament are called kings and priests. The words in Rev 1.5-6 are, "Unto Jesus

Christ who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and has made us kings and priests to God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.” Thus says St. John, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said (1Pet 2.9), where he writes to all Christian men, “You are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people.”

But this may seem a strange thing, that all persons should be called priests, and yet that is in Scripture, which cannot lie. It is truth indeed. It may seem strange to some, as it did to me and many others when we first read it, because we never read or heard of it before; and so Christ’s doctrine seemed new to his apostles and to his audience, when he himself first preached it.

23. In the twenty-third article you ask whether I believe that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God? I say, that it is fitting for none to preach openly the word of God, unless they are chosen and elected to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both. And therefore St. Paul calls himself in all his epistles, *an apostle of God*, that is to wit, a *messenger* of God. And to the Galatians (Gal 1.1) he writes thus, “Paul, an apostle, not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised him from the dead.” Also to the Romans, “How shall men preach, unless they are sent?” Rom 10.15

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by support of God’s law, and also by laws written in the decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach, both men and women.

As concerning sacrificing, I say that it is lawful for all men and women to sacrifice; but by *sacrifice* I do not mean to say *mass*, as priests do; but as Christian people who are *sacerdotes*, that is to say, *sacrificers*. So they should offer spiritual sacrifices, as St. Paul writes to the Romans, saying, “I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service. And do not be conformed to this world; but be transformed by the renewing of your mind, so that you may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God,” Rom 12.1-2.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requires is that we should always offer to God the sacrifice of praise, that is, the “fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name;” Heb 13.15 or as Hosea calls it, the sacrifice of “the calves of our lips,” Hos 14.2 giving praise to His name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be serviceable to our neighbors; for in such sacrifices, he says, God is well pleased. Heb 13.16

24. In the twenty-fourth article you ask whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, obliges and binds them before God? I say, that it binds them before God if it is lawfully denounced — that is, if they are in very deed, as they are named; and if he denounces them with the consent of others, gathered with him in Christ’s name, on behalf of Christ’s church. The gospel declares the same, (Mat 18.15-20):

“Moreover, 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, 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. Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again, I say to you, that if two of you agree on earth regarding anything they ask, it

shall be done for them by my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them.”

So that such excommunication ought to be done, I think, by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they should principally esteem and follow, if it is virtuous and godly.

Thus it is to be done conveniently, for the pope is made of flesh, like other men. Therefore he may sometimes judge wrongly — cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. Other prelates may do likewise, judging Christians to be heretics, and heretics to be Christians.

25. In the twenty-fifth article you ask whether every priest is bound to daily say his matins and evening-song, as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offense or deadly sin? I say that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and unmeasurable benefits are shown to ensue from it, so that men should give themselves more to it. In diverse places, St. Paul bids us to fight with prayer, continuing in it against our spiritual enemies. In Exodus we read a figure of this, when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels; I believe their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what would be the conclusion. Lifting up his hands, he prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites. But in holding them up a long time, at last his fervor began to grow cold and faint, and his hands lagged downward. As his hands grew heavy, which signifies that his affection in praying abated and grew cold, the infidels prevailed. But as he kept them upward (by which was meant the intent prayer of a devout mind) he purchased victory for the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, who indited the law to the people, and were the interpreters, stood with Moses. As they saw his arms faint, they always held them up, so that finally the victory came to Israel.

But no promise is made by God to those who daily say matins. Nor are we certain by the word of God, that we will be blessed by Him for saying matins — no more than we are certain that for repeating the fifteen O's <sup>87</sup> once every day during the whole year, we will see our Lady aid us before our death — as testified in the Scripture of the primer, but not by the Scripture of the Bible; or that we will have a like benefit for saying her psalter upon the ten beads, that comes from the crossed friars; or upon the five beads, hallowed at the charter-house; or fasting the ladies' fast, as men call it; or for fasting on the Wednesday; as is showed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read, for it is neither the New Testament nor the Old.

26. In the twenty-sixth article you ask whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give to the people the holy Scriptures in their mother language? I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know holy Scripture, and I do not know how that can be done so well as by giving it to them truly translated into their mother tongue. Thus they may have it by them at all times to pass the time in a godly way, whenever they have leisure.

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I think it would be profitable and expedient that the holy Scriptures were delivered by authority of the head rulers to the people, truly translated into the vernacular tongue. And whereas you add, 'whether they are bound by necessity of salvation to give them to the people,' I will not so narrowly touch that point now. But I say that they are bound by right

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<sup>87</sup> The fifteen O's refers to reciting the fifteen Rosary promises, instituted by the Dominicans.



and equity, to cause it to be delivered to the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying and consolation.

27. In the twenty-seventh article you demand whether it is lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advice, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered to the people in the vulgar language? All men may see here that whoever devised these questions, thought that it is good for the people to have the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and that my so saying could not be well reprov'd. Therefore they have laid out all these additions to entrap me, as it were: "Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people?" and "Whether they may restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advice?"

The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is shown to be true in many places of Scripture, just as other meat is food for the body. Then if he is an unkind father who keeps bodily meat away from his children for a week or a month, it would seem that our bishops are not gentle pastors or fathers if they would keep away the food of men's souls from them — especially when others offer it for months, years, and ages. Nor do I see any circumstance of time or reasonable advice that would cause it to be withdrawn and taken away, but the contrary. For it is reasonable, convenient, and needful for men to eat their food when they are hungry, and they are blessed who hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teaches us to know him and do his pleasure at all times.

28. In the twenty-eighth article you ask whether I believe the consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised? I say that I do not know all of them, and therefore I will not dispraise them. Nor can I speak very much *for* them, seeing that I do not know them, such as the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrims when they go to Rome, the hallowing of beads, and such like practices. But those which I am advised of, and remember, are good in my opinion, such as this — when the priest having consecrated the holy bread, he says, "Lord bless this creature of bread, as you blessed the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting of it may receive health," etc. I wish every man in England might say this when he goes to meal, I like it so well.

Also this is a right good one, that is said over the one who reads the gospel: "The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and show forth his blessed gospel." This is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he goes into a pulpit. And such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing that all people might know what they mean, so that they with joy of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness — which would occur if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul, in 1Cor. 14.19, where in the church he wishes to speak five words with understanding so that by his voice he might teach others, rather than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.

29. In the twenty-ninth article you ask whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all Christian men, to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin — so that such laws and statutes are not contrary to the law of God? I say, if it is true that is written in the decrees, that laws are never confirmed until they are approved by common consent of those who will use them, then the pope's laws *cannot* bind all Christian men; for the Greeks and the Bohemians never admitted them, but refuse them utterly. So that I do not find that his laws may bind all Christian men.

Finally, I cannot see that he has authority to make laws which will bind men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, any more than the king or the emperor have.

On the contrary, I think truly that the church was more full of virtue *before* the decrees or decretals were made, than it has been since. May God repair it, and restore it again to its ancient purity and perfection.

30. In the thirtieth article you ask whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests, and lay-people, who are disobedient, from entering the church; and to suspend them from the ministration of the sacraments? I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, who are rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to His law; for such are separated from God. And the prelates should pronounce of sinners as they find them; that is, to pronounce those who will not amend, to be excommunicated by God, and unworthy to administer any sacraments, or to be in communion with Christian folk.

I am not certain that prelates generally have any such power. And even if they had, I doubt whether charity would permit them to show it and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches, the word of God ought to be declared and preached, so that the sturdy who come there and hear it, may soon be struck with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment.

Moreover, when you speak of prelates' deputies, I think that such prelates are of little use to Christ's flock. It is necessary and right that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, that they themselves should labor and teach diligently the word of God, and not shift the labor from one to another till all is left undone.

31. In the thirty-first article you ask whether faith alone, without good works, may suffice for a man who has fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, faith alone justifies and works salvation, before a man can do any other good works. And truly I think in this matter, that a man fallen into sin after baptism shall be saved through faith, and have forgiveness by Christ's passion, even if he does no more good deeds — just as when a man having a short life, lacks leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity comes, it cannot help but work plenteously deeds of charity; which are a testimony and witness-bearer of man's true faith. St. Augustine declares this: "Good works do not make a just or a righteous man, but a man once justified does good works."

32. In the thirty-second article you ask whether a priest marrying a wife, without the dispensation of the pope, commits a deadly sin? I say that he does not offend as much as those who give dispensations for money to priests, to take concubines. Nor does he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they clearly commit fornication and adultery, which is utterly forbidden by God's law; and the priest of whom your demand speaks, offends only man's law.

33. In the thirty-third article you ask whether a priest, being sorely and often troubled with incontinence, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy, commits a deadly sin? I see only that a priest may marry. Therefore, following the law of God, I give the same answer that I made before of all priests: that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry.

34. In the thirty-fourth article you ask whether I ever prayed for John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who were condemned of heresy at the Council of Constance, or any one of them, since they have been dead; and whether I have openly or secretly done any such deeds of charity for them; and affirmed that they are in bliss and saved? I say that I never prayed for any of them, so far as I can remember. And even if I had, it does not follow

that in so doing I would be a heretic. For you know well, that there is a great country called Bohemia, where the people follow that same doctrine which their ancestors were taught by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, whom (as I know) neither the pope nor you consider as heretics and infidels.

[561] A D. 1527-1540.

35. In the thirty-fifth article you ask whether I have accounted these men or any of them to be saints, and worshipped them as saints? I say that in secret things, which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, who desires that we should not judge too soon, but wait till the coming of the Lord, who will illuminate and show clearly things that now lie hidden in darkness. <sup>1Cor 4-5</sup> Therefore I have neither judged for them, nor against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment is infallible.

And whereas you say they were condemned of heresy, at the Council of Constance; if the council did right, then God will allow it. So there is no need to ask me whether their acts are commendable or not. Nor can I give any direct answer; for I do not know them. And even if I did, I am not persuaded that because the council has condemned them, I must therefore believe them to be damned. For a council, I believe, may sometimes decide erroneously.

36. In the thirty-sixth article you ask whether I believe that every general council, and the Council of Constance, represent the universal congregation or church? I say that what such councils represent, I cannot certainly tell; and therefore I believe neither yes nor no. I know of no Scripture to certify me about the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. The church I take to be all those whom God has chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation — whether they are temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church spreads throughout the universal world, wherever anyone calls upon the name of Christ. And there they most grow and assemble, where His blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared.

37. In the thirty-seventh article you ask whether I believe that the same thing which the Council of Constance, representing the universal church, has approved and does approve for the maintenance of faith and souls' health, is to be approved and held by all Christian people; and that what the same council has condemned and does condemn as contrary to faith and good manners, should be believed and affirmed by the same Christian people as a thing condemned? I say that whatever the same council or any other has approved, being worthy of approval, is likewise to be approved by all Christian people. And again, whatever the same council or any other has condemned, being worthy of condemnation, ought to be condemned by all Christian people.

38. In the thirty-eighth article you demand whether the condemnations of John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general Council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done? I answer that it surpasses my knowledge, and I cannot tell. I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being ignorant of it, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yes nor no.

39. In the thirty-ninth article you ask whether I believe that John Wycliffe of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics; and their books and doctrines are perverse, for which they were condemned by the holy Council of Constance as heretics? I say, that I do not know whether they were heretics or not; nor whether their books are erroneous or not; nor whether they ought to be called heretics or not.

40. In the fortieth article you ask whether I believe and affirm that it is not lawful in any case to swear? I say, that I neither so believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

41. In the forty-first article you ask whether I believe that it is lawful at the command of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth; or any other oath, for purgation of infamy? I answer that I never said to the contrary; but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge; to say the truth, if the judge so requires it; and it is by lawful and convenient request. Such as, when a thing is in controversy between two persons, upon which they sue to a judge for sentence. When the judge cannot otherwise arrive at the truth, he may require an oath. Such as when the two women who contended before Solomon, to avoid the crime of murder, which the one had committed in pressing her child to death, and would have done the same upon the other, if Solomon had not otherwise discovered the truth by his wisdom. Solomon might, I suppose, in order to gain more certain information about the thing, have had one or both of them swear, seeing that it was expedient for him. In this case the women would have been bound to obey him. But judges need to be careful in requiring oaths.

42. In the forty-second article you ask, whether a Christian person despising the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing matrimony, commit a deadly sin? I say the same about receiving the sacraments themselves, as I have said before about the third article, and not otherwise.

43. In the forty-third article you ask whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, and had power on earth to bind and loose? I say that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term "vicar." For Christ never called St. Peter, nor any other so in Scripture. If you mean that, after the departing of Christ from here, when he arose from the dead in his immortal body, and so went into heaven, that him being away, St. Peter occupied his place, then I say it is not true that St. Peter was his vicar, in any other manner than was St. Paul or the other apostles. The one was no less a vicar than the other.

I think that St. Peter and all the rest of the apostles were Christ's vicars — if you mean by this word *vicar*, a deputy or such to preach his gospel, to minister sacraments, and to do divine service in God's church. And thus they were worthy to be called, as the Scripture names them, Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, etc.

44. In the forty-fourth article you ask whether I believe that the pope is the successor of St. Peter? I say that it seems to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believes so or not. I cannot see that it ought to be numbered among the articles of our faith. However, I will show my rude thought on it, which is this:

The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same duly in diligently feeding Christ's flock, and showing a virtuous example of living. And in so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named, a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions, with other properties requisite to your order and duty; yes, and as many others who truly do their duty, and duly execute the office of a bishop. But otherwise, the pope cannot be called the successor of St. Peter merely because he has entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding what is requisite, nor following the track of virtue, but the contrary. Why should men call St. Peter's successors those who play the pagans, and follow Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such, truly, cannot rightly claim to be Peter's successors, any more than the night can claim to be the successor to the day. Indeed, they should rather be called Peter's adversaries, because they do not do his will, which is shown by his own acts and writings, but rather work against the same.

So, the pope is the successor of St. Peter, if he follows St. Peter's godly living.

45. In the forty-fifth article you ask whether I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles which seemed to you right and consonant to the faith? I say that I do not remember that I ever made a pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles which seemed to me and others right and consonant to the faith; unless it has chanced to me to say in this form: that I would never, with the aid of God, forsake or decline from the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.

And concerning such opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none other than I have shown, the sum of which I reckon to be concluded in two propositions which are both written in the New Testament.

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The first in the Acts of the Apostles:— “This is the stone which was rejected by you builders, which has become the head of the corner; nor is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved,” Act 4.11-12. This is one of the propositions in which is comprehended my saying which St. Paul thus expresses, “But of Him you are in Christ Jesus, who by God is made for us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption,” 1Cor 1.30. And in another place, “For no other foundation can be laid by man than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ,” 1Cor 3.11.

The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Savior in the gospel of Mark, in these words: “For in vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, you hold the tradition of men, such as the washing of pots and cups, and many other such things you do. And he said to them, Full well you reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition,” Mar 7.7-9. St. Paul writes of this very largely in diverse places — among others in the second chapter of Colossians (2.8), where he warns the Colossians to take heed that no man cheats them; to steal them away by philosophy or vain deception, according to the traditions of men, and ordinances of this world.

Thus I certify to all of you the opinions and conclusions which I intend, or have intended to sustain, being contained in the above two propositions. I hold no others than such as are mentioned in the creed; both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other creed, that all people say every day. Finally, you require to know the names and surnames of those who were adherents to me. I say that I know of none particularly that I remember, without noting a great multitude, which you may know and hear of through all the regions and realms of Christendom. And even if I did, I would not detect nor betray anyone of them; for I am bound to obey God rather than man. May God be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen!

These answers of John Lambert to the forty-five articles, had been directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeared, about A.D. 1532, when Lambert was in custody in the archbishop’s house at Oxford. But the providence of God so wrought for Lambert, that a short time later (Aug. 1532), archbishop Warham died; whereby it seems that Lambert was delivered for that time. In the meantime, Cranmer was sent over on an embassy with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Karne, Dr. Benett, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome, to dispute the matter of the king’s marriage openly — first in the court of Rome, and then in the court of the emperor. There, sundry promises and appointments were made. Yet when the time came, no man appeared to dispute with them

on these two propositions — first, that no man could or ought to marry his brother's wife; secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary.

After the death of William Warham, Cranmer succeeded to that see. Lambert was delivered in the meantime, partly by the death of this archbishop, and partly by the coming in of Queen Anne. He returned to London, and there he exercised himself in teaching children in both the Greek and Latin tongues.

After John Lambert had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, it happened (A.D. 1538), that he was present at a sermon which was preached in St. Peter's church, in London, by Dr. Tailor — a man in those days who was not far from the gospel. Afterwards, in the time of King Edward, Tailor was made bishop of Lincoln; and at last, in the time of Queen Mary, he was deprived of it. And so he ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert having gotten an opportunity, went gently to the preacher to talk with him, and uttered various arguments in which he desired to be satisfied. All the matter or controversy concerned the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Tailor excusing himself at that time for other business, desired Lambert to write his mind; and to come again when he had more leisure.

Lambert was content, and so he departed. A short time later, when he had written down his mind, he came again to Tailor. His arguments were ten in number, which he comprehended in writing — partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason and by the doctors. Men reported the arguments were of great force and authority.

He said, if these words, "This cup is the New Testament," do not change either the cup or the wine corporally into the New Testament, then it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ.

Another reason was this — that it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time. Therefore, it must follow of necessity that either Christ did not have a natural body; or else truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, much less in many — that is to say in heaven and in earth, at the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament.

Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents (incidentals), just as the accidents and conditions also cannot exist without their subject or substance. Then, since in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally, no appearance at all of flesh, who does not very plainly perceive that there is no substantiated body of His in the sacrament? And by reasoning the contrary, all the proper conditions, signs, and accidents pertaining to bread, whatever they are, we see to be present in the sacrament — things which cannot be there without the subject. Therefore, we must of necessity confess the bread to be there.

Lambert also added many other allegations from the doctors.<sup>88</sup> But to be short, this Tailor, the preacher, who was willing and desiring, we suppose, to satisfy Lambert in this matter, conferred with Dr. Barnes. Barnes, although he otherwise favored the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding, he did not seem to greatly favor this cause — fearing it would breed some hindrance among the people to the preaching of the gospel, which was now well advancing. He persuaded Tailor to put the matter to archbishop Cranmer.

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<sup>88</sup> "The doctors" refers to the early Church Fathers, such as Augustine.

Lambert's affair began in this manner, and was brought to the point that it moved from a private talk, to being a public and common matter. For he was sent for by the archbishop, brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favored the doctrine regarding the sacrament, of which afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert appealed from the bishops to the king. But however the matter was, the rumor of that disputation spread throughout the court.

I told you before, how king Henry, for two years past, showing the part of a hard husband, had beheaded queen Anne, his wife (A.D. 1536). This not only greatly displeased the German princes, who for that cause alone had broken off the league with him, but also many good men in England.

Moreover, I told you how, after abbeys began to be subverted, and all their goods were being confiscated, the commoners conceived a very evil opinion of the king; so that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time, Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority among the king's counsellors. Just as he was of a cruel nature, so he was no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion to hinder the gospel. He went to the king privately, admonishing him, and with fair and flattering words he gave him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised against him in all places.

This was first, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority; then for subversion of the monasteries; and also for the divorce of queen Catharine. Now the time served the king, if he would take it, said Gardiner, to easily remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of those who were displeased and offended with him — if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest to the people how stoutly he would resist heretics. By this new rumor, the king would extinguish all other former rumors, and also discharge himself from all suspicion of now being a favorer of new sects and opinions.

[563] A.D. 1527-1540.

The king, giving ear more willingly, than prudently or godly to this, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of his realm, to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, upon which the king himself would sit in judgment.

### ***Lambert's Disputation before the King***

These preparations being made, a day was set for Lambert to appear. A great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold (stage).

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men, even as a lamb to fight with many lions. He was placed right over against where the king's royal seat was; so that now they tarried but for the king's coming.

At last the king himself came as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, and covering by that color all bloody judgment.

On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the custom. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order, behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which although it was terrible enough

to abash any innocent man, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent to severity, not a little augmented this terror — plainly declaring a mind full of indignation, far unworthy such a prince; especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was seated on his throne, he looked at Lambert with a stern countenance. And then turning himself to his counsellors, he called Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare to the people the causes of this assembly and judgment.

The whole effect of his oration tended to this purpose: that the king would have all estates, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished of his will and pleasure; that no man should conceive such an opinion of him, as that the authority and name of the bishop of Rome now being utterly abolished, the king would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty to heretics to trouble the churches of England without punishment; and that they should not think that they were assembled to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose — that the heresies of Lambert, and the heresies of all such men, should be refuted, or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the king stood up. Leaning on a cushion of white tissue cloth, and turning himself towards Lambert, with his brows bent — as it were, threatening some grievous thing to him — said these words; “Ho, good fellow, what is your name?” Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, “My name is John Nicholson, although I am called Lambert by many.” “What,” said the king, “have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, even if you were my brother.” “O, most noble prince!” replied Lambert, “your bishops forced me to change my name.” And after much talk in this manner, the king commanded him to get to the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought regarding the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he would not disdain to hear the controversies of religion, because it often happened through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men were secretly murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge.

But now, because that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, has inspired and stirred up the king's mind, so that he would himself be present to understand the causes of his subjects, especially whom God, of his divine goodness, has so abundantly endued with such great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he does not mistrust that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of His name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupted Lambert's oration. “I did not come here,” he said, “to hear my own praises thus painted out in my presence, but briefly to get to the matter without any more circumstance.” This he spoke in Latin.

Lambert, abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, paused a while, considering.

But the king being hasty said with anger and vehemency, “Why do you stand still? Answer regarding the sacrament of the altar, whether you say that it is the body of Christ, or will deny it?” And with that word, the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert. “I answer with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, in a certain manner.”



The King. "Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether you say it is the body of Christ or not?" The king again spoke these words in Latin.

Lambert. "Then I do not deny it to be the body of Christ."

The King. "Mark well, for now you shall be condemned even by Christ's own words, 'This is my body.'"

Then he commanded Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury to refute his assertion. First making a short preface to the hearers, he began his disputation with Lambert, very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us impartially, that if I show your argument to be false by the scriptures, you will willingly refuse it; but if you prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I promise that I will willingly embrace it."

His argument was taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared to St. Paul, thus disputing that it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once; who being in heaven was seen by St. Paul at the same time on earth; and if his body may be in two places, why may it not be in more places?

Lambert answered, saying that it was not proved that Christ's body was in two places or more, but rather remained in one place. For the Scripture does not say that Christ, being on the earth, spoke to St. Paul; but that suddenly a light from heaven shone round about Paul, and falling to the ground, he heard a voice saying to him, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? I am Jesus whom you persecute," etc. Here this place proves nothing but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak to St. Paul, and be heard upon earth.

The archbishop said that St. Paul himself witnesses, Acts 26, that Christ appeared to him in the vision. Act 26.12-19

But Lambert again said that Christ witnessed, in the same place, that he would again appear to Paul, and deliver him out of the hands of the gentiles. Yet we read in no place that Christ corporally appeared to him.

Thus, when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself, that the king seemed greatly moved; and the bishop himself who disputed with him, seemed to be entangled, and the whole audience was amazed. Then the bishop of Winchester alleged the twelfth chapter of Corinthians, where St. Paul says, "Have I not seen Jesus?" <sup>89</sup> And again, in the fifteenth chapter, "he appeared to Cephas: and afterwards to James, then to all the apostles, but last of all he appeared to me as one born out of due time." 1Cor 15.5-8

Lambert answered, he did not doubt that Christ was seen, and appeared, but he denied that he was in two or in diverse places, in bodily form.

Then Winchester again repeated the passage from 2Cor 5.16. "Therefore from now on we know no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now know we him *thus* no more.'

Lambert answered that this knowledge is not to be understood as a bodily knowledge, and this so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who speaking of his own revelation says, "I knew a

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<sup>89</sup> It was in fact the *ninth* chapter of 1Corinthians, verse 1; the bishop misspoke.

man (whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knows) who was caught up into the third heaven; and whether in the body or out of the body, God knows.” <sup>2Cor 12.2-3</sup>

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By this a man will easily gather that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and saw those things, rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven to show them to him — especially because it was said by the angel, that even as he ascended into heaven, so he would come again. <sup>Act 1.11</sup> St. Peter says, “whom the heavens must receive,” it behooved to dwell in the heavens. And moreover, appointing the measure of time, he adds, “until the times of the restitution of all things,” etc. <sup>Act 3.20-21</sup>

After the bishop of Winchester was done, Tunstall, bishop of Durham, spoke much of God’s omnipotency, and said that if Christ could perform what he spoke, regarding converting the body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform.

Lambert answered that there was no evident place of Scripture, in which Christ at any time says that he would change the bread into his body. Rather, this is a figurative speech, used everywhere in the Scripture when the name of the thing signified is attributed to the sign. By such a figure of speech, circumcision is called the *covenant*, the lamb the *Passover*, besides six hundred other such instances. Now it remains to be settled, whether we will judge all these in the words pronounced, “to be directly changed into another nature.” Then they began to rage against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he might be vanquished with rebukes and taunts.

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert. So that he was not only forced into silence, but might also have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, each in his order as they were appointed, supplied their passages of disputation.

Ten were appointed to perform this tragedy, one for each of Lambert’s ten arguments which were delivered to Tailor the preacher. It would take too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous if I were to do so, especially as they were all but common reasons.

Lambert, compassed with so many and great perplexities, chose to hold his peace. He was vexed on one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages. He was partly amazed with the majesty of the place and the presence of the king, but he was especially wearied with standing no less than five hours, from twelve o’clock until five at night.

Whereby it came to pass that those bishops who last disputed with him, spoke what they chose without interruption, except that Lambert would now and then allege something out of St. Augustine for the defense of his cause— in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part, being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he remained silent.

At last, when the day had passed, and torches began to be lit, the king said to Lambert, “What do you say now after all these great labors which you have taken upon you, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men. Are you not yet satisfied? Will you live or die? What do you say? You still have free choice.”

Lambert answered; “I yield and submit myself wholly to the will of your majesty.” “Then,” said the king, “commit yourself to the hands of God, and not to mine.”

Lambert. "I commend my soul to the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit to your clemency." Then the king said, "If you commit yourself to my judgment, you must die; for I will not be a patron to heretics." By and by turning himself to Cromwell, the king said, "Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him." Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gossellers. Here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), Satan attained the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gossellers themselves — Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell — who afterwards, in a way, all suffered the same fate for the gospel's sake.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, who desired that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, rather than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he would have incurred the same danger. But to be short, Cromwell, at the king's command, took up the schedule of condemnation, and read it.

Thus John Lambert, in this bloody session, was judged and condemned to death by the king, whose judgment now remains with the Lord against that day when, before the tribunal seat of that great Judge, both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according to what they have done and deserved. *Ex testimonia ejusdam αὐτητηρον*, A.G.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning to the house of Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his chamber. It is reported by many, that Cromwell desired forgiveness for what he had done. There Lambert, being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered. And being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution. There he would offer himself to the Lord, a sacrifice of sweet savor, who is blessed in His saints for ever and ever. Amen.

As to the terrible manner of the burning of this blessed martyr, it is to be noted that of all who have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was none yet so cruelly and piteously handled as he was. For after his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that only a small fire was left under him, two who stood on each side of him with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach. Then, lifting up such hands as he had, and his finger's ends flaming with fire, he cried out to the people in these words, "None but Christ, none but Christ!" And so being set down again from their halberts, he fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before the disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defense of his cause to king Henry.

In that treatise he confirmed his doctrine regarding the sacrament, by testimonies of the Scriptures. By these he proves that the body of Christ, whether it rises, ascends, sits, or is conversant here, is always in one place.

Then gathering the opinions of the ancient doctors, Lambert proved and declared the sacrament to be a mystical matter. Yet he did not deny that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Savior, and the wine his natural blood; and that moreover his natural

body and blood were in those mysteries, but in a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors interpret it. His argument is as follows:

“Christ is ascended bodily into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father; that is to say, he is with the Father in glory; that by the infallible promise of God, he shall not return before the general doom, which shall be at the end of the world. And as he is no longer in the world corporally, so I cannot see how he can be in the sacrament corporally. And yet I acknowledge and confess that the holy sacrament of Christ’s body and blood is the very body and blood, in a certain manner, which will be shown hereafter with your grace’s favor and permission, according to the words of our Savior, who when instituting the same holy sacrament, who says,

[566] A.D, 1527-1540.

“Take, eat; this is my body.’ And again, ‘This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ Mat 26.26-28.

“The Scriptures for the continuation of my opinion, are these: ‘He was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them,’ etc. Here it is evident that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscribed body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words testify: ‘You men of Galilee, why do you stand gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, will so come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven,’ Act 1.9-11. Here we see that Jesus is taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to what we read in 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.’

“It is further shown in what manner he will come again, by these words, ‘He will so come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven.’ Which is, as you visibly saw him ascend to heaven, a cloud embracing him and taking him from among you. Even so you will visibly see him come again in the clouds, as we read in Mat 26.64. ‘Hereafter you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.’ And again, Mat 24.30. ‘And they will see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.’

“My statement is this: that Christ ascended into heaven, and so has forsaken the world, and there he shall abide, sitting at the right hand of his Father, without returning here again until the general doom. At that time he will come from there to judge the dead and the living. All this I believe is done in the natural body which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross; this body died for us, and was buried: in this body he also rose again to life immortal. We may quickly prove that Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so taken up into heaven, because his godhead is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth. And besides that, it is infinite and interminable or uncircumscribable; so that, it can neither properly ascend nor descend, being without all alteration, and immutable or immovable.

“So that now his natural body being taken up from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no longer return from there till the end of the world. For as Peter witnesses, Act 3.21, ‘Whom heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.’ The article of our creed teaches us the same, which is, ‘from there (*i.e.* from heaven) he shall come, to judge the quick and the dead.’ St. Paul calls this time, ‘the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ’ (1Tim 6.14).

“Seeing then that this natural body of our Savior, which was born of his mother the Virgin Mary, is wholly taken up into heaven and departed out of this world, St. Peter says that He must remain in heaven until the end of the world, which he calls *the times when all things*

*must be restored.* This I say, seen and believed according to our creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how his natural body can be in the world, and in the sacrament. And yet notwithstanding, this is true: that the holy sacrament is Christ's body and blood, as it shall be declared later."

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*The Death of Robert Packington.*

Among other matters done that year (A.D. 1538), was the lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London (a dealer in textiles), caused by the enemies of God's word. The story is this: Robert Packington, being a man of substance, and dwelling in Cheapside, every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, used to go to pray at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercers' Chapel. One very misty morning, such as seldom seen, as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly shot with a gun; but the murderer was unknown for a great while. Although many were suspected in the meantime, none could be found at fault in it. At length, Doctor Incent, dean of St. Paul's, on his death-bed, made it known and confessed that he himself was the author, by hiring an Italian for forty crowns, to do the deed.

The reason why Packington was so little favored with the clergy, was that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one who could both speak, and would also be heard. For at the time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy. Therefore he was held in contempt by them. And it was thought that he had also talked with the king, for which he was held more in disdain by them, and murdered by Doctor Incent, as declared.

And thus much about Robert Packington, who was the brother of Augustine Packington, who had deceived Bishop Tunstall in buying the new translated Testament of Tyndale. This piteous murder, although it was secret and sudden, yet has it pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

*The burning of one Collins at London.*

Neither is there here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, sometime lawyer and a gentleman, who also suffered this year in Smithfield (A.D. 1538). Although I do not recite him here as one of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him entirely sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the church of Rome condemned and burned him as a heretic. Rather I recount him as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At least his case and his end may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness in burning this man without any discretion, being mad and deprived of his perfect wits, as the following will show.

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and loveliness; but notwithstanding, she was of such light behavior and unchaste conduct (nothing corresponding to the grace of her beauty) that she forsook her husband, who loved her entirely, and took to herself another. When he understood this, he took it very grievously and heavily to heart. At last, being overcome with exceeding grief and heaviness, he became mad. He was at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus deprived of his wits, by chance he came into a church where the priest was saying mass. When he came to the place where they hold up and show the sacrament, Collins seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and showing it to the people, he in like manner, imitating the priest, took up a little dog by the legs and held him over his head, showing him to the people. And for this he was by and by

brought to examination, and condemned to the fire. He was burned, and the dog with him, in the same year in which John Lambert was burned.

*The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford, A.D. 1538.*

With this Collins may also be associated the burning of Cowbridge, who likewise being mad and beside his right senses, was either in the same or the next year following condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire at Oxford. What the opinions and articles were with which he was charged, are not necessary to recite here. For as he was then a madman, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Rather indeed, what wise man would ever collect articles against this man who said he could not tell what. And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Alan Cope in his dialogues declares them to have been, then he was in my judgment a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam than to have been sent to the fire in Smithfield, to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature who is mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

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*William Leiton, Puttedew, and Peke, Martyrs.*

About the same time, one Puttedew was also condemned to the fire for having gone into a church, and there drunkenly told the priest that after he had drunk all the wine, he blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice. He was immediately apprehended and burned.

William Leiton, was a monk of Eye, in Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich for speaking against a certain idol which was customarily carried about in processions at Eye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds.

In the burning of another man, named Peke, at Ipswich, I find it recorded that when he was bound to a stake, and the furze (shrubs) were set on fire about him, that one Doctor Reading who was standing there, with Doctor Hevre and Doctor Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, knocked him on the shoulder and said, "Peke, recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after the priest has spoken the words of consecration over it. And here have I authority in my hand to absolve you of your unbelief" — holding up a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered and said, "I reject it, and you also;" and he spit blood, for his veins broke in his body from extreme anguish. When Peke had so spoken, Doctor Reading said, "To as many as will cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich."

Then Baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others there present, rose from their seats, and with their swords cut down boughs, and threw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

***The King's Letter to the Emperor and other Christian Kings.***

The year before this, which was 1537, it was stated how Pope Paul III called a general council to be held at Mantua. The king of England, among other princes, refused either to go himself or to send someone at the pope's call. And to defend himself, he put out a public protestation, rendering just and sufficient reasons why he would not, nor was he bound to obey the pope's command. This protestation was to be read prior to the council, which was appointed to begin the 23d of May. It was stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would allow no council there unless the pope would protect the city with a sufficient army, etc. For this reason, the pope postponed the council to the following November,

appointing no certain place at first. At length he named the city of Trivirence, in the Venetian territory. When the king was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort there, either himself or to send someone, he again refused (as he had done before), and sent the following protestation to the emperor and other Christian princes.

*Henry VIII, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, etc.  
salutes the Emperor, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men,  
desiring Peace and Concord among them.*

“Whereas, not long ago, a book came out in our and all our council’s names, which contained many reasons why he refused the council, then, by the bishop of Rome’s usurped power, first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the 23rd of May, afterward postponed to November, no place appointed where it should be kept. And whereas the same book sufficiently proves that our cause could take no hurt either with anything done or decreed in such a company of men addicted to one sect, nor in any other council called by his usurped power, we think it unnecessary to so often make new protestations, as the bishop of Rome and his courts, by subtlety and craft, invent ways to mock the world by new pretended general councils. Yet, notwithstanding, because some things now occurred, either upon occasion given us by the change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now being known to the world, may do much good, we thought we should do even as that love enforces us, which we owe to Christ’s faith and religion, to add this epistle. And yet we protest that we neither put forth that book, nor yet would we set this epistle before it, so that thereby we might seem less to desire a general council than any other prince or potentate. But rather it is to be more desirous of it, if it were free for all parts, and universal. And further, we desire all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteem and think that no prince would more willingly be present at such a council than we would — such a council we mean, as we spoke of in our protestation made concerning the Council of Mantua.

“Truly, just as our forefathers invented nothing more holy than general councils, if used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the Christian commonwealth, to the faith, and to our religion, than general councils, if they are abused to lucre, to gain, and to the establishment of errors. They are called *general*, and even by their name they admonish us that all Christian men who dissent in any opinion, may say their mind in them openly, frankly, and without fear of punishment or displeasure. For seeing such things as are decreed in general councils touch equally all men who give assent to them, it is fitting that every man may boldly say there what he thinks. And truly we suppose that it should not be called a general council, where only those men are heard who are determined forever, in all points, to defend the popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the quarrel of the bishop of Rome, even if it were against God and his Scripture. It is no general council, nor should it be called general, where the same men are both advocates and adversaries, accusers and judges. No, it is against the law of nature, that we should either condescend to so unreasonable a law against ourselves, or that we should allow ourselves to be left without any defense — and being oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no refuge to succor ourselves at. The bishop of Rome and his are our great enemies, as we and all the world may well perceive by his doings.

“He desires nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our realm. Do we not then violate the judgment of nature, if we give him power and authority to be our judge? His pretended honor, first gotten by superstition, and afterward increased by violence and other ways as evil as that. His power set up by pretense of religion, indeed both against religion, and also contrary to the word of God. His primacy, born by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of the bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood — these three things, we say, which have fallen with us, and are like to fall in other realms shortly, shall they not be established again if he may decide our cause as it pleases him? If he

may at his pleasure oppress a cause most righteous? Certainly he is very blind who does not see what end we may look for of our controversies, if our enemy may give the sentence.

“We desire, if it were in any way possible, a council where there would be some hope that those things shall be restored which now, being depraved, are likely (if not amended) to be the utter ruin of the Christian religion. And as we desire such a council, and think it fitting that all men in all their prayers should desire and crave it of God, even so we think it pertains to our office, to provide that these popish subtleties hurt none of our subjects. And also to admonish other Christian princes, that the bishop of Rome may not by their consent abuse the authority of kings, either by extinguishing the true preaching of Scripture (that now begins to spring, to grow, and to spread abroad) or to the troubling of princes’ liberties, to the diminishing of kings’ authorities, and to the great blemish of their princely majesty. We do not doubt that an impartial reader will soon approve such things as we write here, not so much for our excuse, as that the world may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtleties of the papists, and also how much we desire that controversies in matters of religion may once be taken away.

[567] A.D. 1527-1540.

“What other princes will do, we cannot tell; but we will never leave our realm at this time; nor will we trust any proctor with our cause, in which the whole stay and wealth of our realm stands; but rather we will handle it ourselves. For unless another judge is agreed upon for those matters, and a more commodious place is provided for debating our causes, even if all other things were as we would have them, yet we may lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended council. We will in no case make him our arbiter who, not many years past (our cause not heard), gave sentence against us. We require that such doctrine as we profess, following the Scripture, is rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchstone of true learning.

“We will not allow them to be abolished before they are discussed, or oppressed before they are known; much less will we allow them to be trodden down, being so clearly true. No, as there is no jot in Scripture that we will not defend, even if it were with jeopardy of our life, and the peril of our realm; so there is nothing that oppresses this doctrine, or obscures it, that we will not be at continual war with it. As we have abrogated all old popish traditions in our realm, which either helped his tyranny, or increased his pride; so if the grace of God does not forsake us, we will foresee that no new naughty traditions are made with our consent, to bind us or our health.

“If men will not be willingly blind, they will easily see even by a due and evident proof in reason, even if grace does not yet enter into them by the word of Christ, how small the authority of the bishop of Rome is, by the lawful denial of the duke of Mantua for the place. For if the bishop of Rome earnestly intended to keep a council at Mantua, and has power of the law by God to call princes to what place he likes, why does he not also have authority to choose what place he wishes? The bishop chose Mantua: the duke kept him out of it. If Paul the bishop of Rome’s authority is so great as he pretends, why could he not compel Frederick the duke of Mantua, that the council might be kept there? The duke would not allow it. No, he forbade him his town.

“How does it happen that excommunications here do not flee abroad? Why does he not punish this duke? Why is his power empty here, that is usually more than full? Why is it prone to be more than all, but here nothing? Does he not call men in vain to a council, if those who come at his calling are excluded from the place to which he calls them? May not kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooses? If other princes order him, as the duke of Mantua had done, what place will be left to him, where he may keep his general council?



“Again, if princes have given him this authority to call a council, is it not necessary that they also give him all those things without which he cannot exercise his power? Shall he call men, and will you hinder him from finding a place to call them to? Truly he is not prone to appoint one of his own cities as a place to keep the council in. No, the good man is so faithful and friendly towards others, that he seldom desires princes to be his guests.”

The protestation then concludes as follows:

“Whether these writings of ours please all men or not, we think we ought not to notice much. No, if that which is indifferently written about us may please indifferent readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of things by partial men shall not move us, or else very little. If we have said anything against the deceits of the bishop of Rome, that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you to impute it to the hatred we bear toward his vices, and not to any evil will that we bear toward him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his vices than with him and his, our prayer is that it may please God at last to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that for once they may with us (their own glory set apart) study to set forth the everlasting glory of the ever-living God.

“Thus, mighty emperor, fare you most heartily well, and you Christian princes, the pillars and state of Christendom, fare you heartily well. Also all you, whatever people you are, who desire that the gospel and glory of Christ may flourish, fare you heartily well.”

As the Lord of his goodness had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel, so, on the contrary side, Satan had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to put back the same. After Gardiner had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert, he proceeded still in his crafts and wiles. He thought under the name of heresies, sects, anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books, and faithful professors of God’s word out of England. He so wrought upon the king, that the next year, which was A.D. 1539, he gave the following injunctions.

*Certain other Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King,  
against English Books, Sects, and Sacramentaries also,  
with putting down the Day of Thomas à Becket.*

“First, that none, without special license of the king, transport or bring from outward parts into England any manner of English books; neither yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to be imprisoned, so long as it shall please the king’s majesty.

“Also, that none shall print, or bring over any English books with annotations or prologues, unless such books are examined before by the king’s privy-council, or others appointed by his highness; and not without these words being put there them: *Cum Privilegio Regali* (with Royal Privilege, *i.e.*, with the King’s permission), and also, *Ad imprimendum solum* (“with the exclusive right to print”). Nor yet to imprint it without the king’s privilege being printed with it in the English tongue, so that all men may read it. Nor shall they print any translated book without the plain name of the translator upon it, unless the printer is to be the translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment for it at the king’s pleasure.

“Also, that none having the occupation of printing shall within the realm print, utter, sell, or cause to be published any English book of Scripture, unless the same is first viewed, examined, and admitted by the king’s highness, or one of his privy-council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall be expressed in it; upon pain of the king’s most high displeasure, the loss of their goods and chattels, and imprisonment so long as it shall please the king.

“Also, those who are in any error, such as sacramentaries, anabaptists, or others, shall not sell any books having such opinions in them; otherwise, once they are known, both the books and

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such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately to the king's majesty, or one of his privy council; to the intent of having them punished without favor, even with the extremity of the law.

“Also, that none of the king's subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the sacrament of the altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels, without any favor: only those excepted who are learned in divinity, and they are to have such liberty only in their schools and other places appointed for such matters.

“Also, that the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter day, setting up lights before the Corpus Christi, the bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, purification of women delivered of child, offering of chrismos, the keeping of the four offering-days, paying their tithes, and such-like ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it pleases the king to change or abrogate any of them.

(This article was made because many of the people were not satisfied or contented with the ceremonies then used.)

“Finally, that all those priests who are married, and those of them who are openly known to have wives, or who hereafter intend to marry, shall be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any of the duties of a priest, and shall have no manner of office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity, in anything pertaining to the clergy; but from then on shall be taken, had, and reputed to be lay-persons for all purposes and intents; and those who after this proclamation shall marry, shall expose themselves to his grace's indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his grace's will and pleasure.

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“Also, he charges all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons; deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every one of them in their own persons, within their cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God, and the truth of his word; and also considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and minds of many, by reason of their fond ceremonies, he charges them upon pain of imprisonment, at his grace's pleasure, not only to preach and teach the word of God accordingly; but also do it sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between the things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their church then used, lest the people might thereby grow into further suspicion.

“Also, because it now appears clearly that Thomas à Becket, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's noble progenitor King Henry II, for the well-being, rest, and tranquility of this realm, did, of his froward mind, flee into France, and from there to the bishop of Rome, who was a maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws, whereby much trouble arose in this said realm. They untruly call his death a martyrdom; but that happened upon a rescue having been attempted, and on which occasion (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen, who then counselled him to give up his stubbornness and to avoid the commotion of the people, who had risen up to attempt a rescue. He not only called one of them by a bad name, but also took Tracey by the chest, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such a manner that he almost threw him down on the pavement of the church. So that in this fray, one of their company perceiving it, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain. And further, that this canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because Becket had been a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and an encourager of the iniquity of the clergy.

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“For these, and for other great and urgent causes, which it would be too tedious to recite, the king’s majesty, by the advice of his council, thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appears nothing in his life and exterior conversation by which he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince.

“Therefore his grace straitly charges and commands, that from now on the said Thomas à Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a saint, but instead *Bishop* Becket; and that his images and pictures throughout the realm shall be pulled down and thrown out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from now on the days which used to be a festival in his name, shall not be observed; nor shall the service, office, antiphons, collects, and prayers, be read in his name, but razed and put out of all their books; and that all the festival days, already abrogated, shall in no way be solemnized, but his grace’s ordinances and injunctions thereupon observed. This is to the intent that his grace’s loving subjects shall no longer blindly be led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past; upon pain of his majesty’s indignation, and imprisonment at his grace’s pleasure.

“Finally, his grace straitly charges and commands that his subjects keep and observe all and singular these injunctions made by his majesty, upon the pain therein contained.”

*Here follows a summary of how  
Religion began to go backward.*

To many who are still alive, and who can testify to these things, it is not unknown how variable the state of religion stood in these days — how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, and what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled and gave ear sometimes to one, sometimes to another; so it went forward with one, and at another time as much backward again. Sometimes it altered and changed for a season, according to which of those who were about the king could prevail. So long as Queen Anne lived, the gospel had success.

Afterward, by the sinister instigation of some of those around the king, she was done away with. Then the course of the gospel began to decline again. But the Lord then stirred up the lord Thomas Cromwell to help it, who no doubt would have done much for the increase of God’s true religion, and would have brought much more to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By means of these adversaries, it came to pass that lord Cromwell was accused of high treason by the duke of Norfolk, in the king’s name, and arrested and sent to the Tower. He was hated by the popish party, for it was through him that many of the most important reforms were made. A bill of attainder was passed against him in June, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the 28th of July 1540.

Among these adversaries, the chief was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. With his confederates and adherents, being dissatisfied with the state of lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves (who was married to the king at the beginning of 1540); and also grieved at the dissolution of the monasteries; and fearing the growing of the gospel; these men sought all occasions to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose.

It happened that lord Cromwell, to better establish sincere religion, had devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the lady Anne of Cleves, whose other sister was already married to the duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance would be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany. And thus godly religion might be made stronger on both parts against

the bishop of Rome, and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in the way of the king. For when the parents of the noble lady were conferred with for the furtherance of the marriage, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, disliked the marriage. The crafty bishop of Winchester, taking advantage of this, so alienated the king's mind from the duke, that at length he brought the king out of credit with that religion and doctrine which the duke had maintained for many years.

This wily bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), with his crafty assistants, and also by other pestilent persuasions, did not cease to seek all means to overthrow religion. First, bringing the king into hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scotland, and other foreign powers — but especially of civil tumults and commotions within his own kingdom. These he most dreaded above all things. Because of these innovations of religion, and the dissolving of abbeys, and the abolishing of rites, and other customs of the church, which had so fast a hold on the minds of the people, it was to be feared that their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were provided. The bishop exhorted the king, for his own safeguard and the tranquility of his realm, to see how and by what policy such manifold mischiefs might be prevented. He suggested that no other way or shift could be better devised, than to show himself to be sharp and severe against the new sectaries, the anabaptists, and sacramentarians (as they called them). And also that he should set forth such articles, confirming the ancient catholic faith, as might recover his credit with Christian princes, and that all the world might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholic. The king was too much led away by these and similar suggestions. He then began to withdraw his defense from the reformation of true religion, supposing he would procure for himself more safety in his own realm, and also avoid such dangers as might happen by other princes. Therefore, though he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself nevertheless to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blind opinion of the world then esteemed them) he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert.

[569] A.D. 1527-1540.

Then he published those injunctions prefixed above. And now, to increase this opinion with all men, on the 28th of April 1540, he summoned a parliament at Westminster, of all the states and burgesses of the realm; and also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be assembled in like manner.

### ***The Act of the Six Articles.***

In this parliament, synod, or convocation, Six Articles regarding matters and questions of religion were decreed by certain prelates, commonly called *The Six Articles*, to be received among the king's subjects for the purpose of unity. But what unity followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of many, can well declare — both in the days of King Henry, and of Queen Mary. I pray God the like may never be felt hereafter.

The doctor of these wicked articles is worthy of no memory among Christian men, but rather deserves to be buried in perpetual oblivion. Yet the office of history compels us to faithfully and truly comprise things done in the church at one time as well as another, for the light of posterity. We will briefly summarize the Six Articles as they were given out.

**The First Article.** The first article agreed upon in this present parliament was this, that in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (spoken by the priest), the natural body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, as conceived

of the Virgin Mary, is really present under the form of bread and wine; and after the consecration there remains no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man.

**The Second Article.** Secondly, that the communion in both kinds is not necessary for salvation to all persons by the law of God; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted, but that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under the form of wine, is the very flesh, separate as well as they were both together.

**The Third Article.** Thirdly, that priests, after the order of priesthood, may not marry by the law of God.

**The Fourth Article.** Fourthly, that the vow of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman, made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempts them from other liberties of Christian people, which otherwise they might enjoy.

**The Fifth Article.** Fifthly, that it is appropriate and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation; and in them good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits; and it is agreeable also to God's law.

**The Sixth Article.** Sixthly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained and continued in the church of God.

After these articles were concluded, the prelates perceiving that such a foul and violent act could not prevail, unless straight and bloody penalties were set upon them, caused the following to be ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament;

“That if any person or persons within this realm of England, or any other of the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, cyphering, or any in other way, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold any opinion that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration of it), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, as conceived of the Virgin Mary; or that after the said consecration there remains any substance of the bread or wine, or any other substance of Christ, God and man; or after the time abovesaid, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold the opinion that in the flesh, under the form of bread is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, apart as well as though they were both together; or by any of the means abovesaid, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be any other substance than is abovesaid, or by any means disdain, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament; that then every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors in this (being convicted of this in the form underwritten, by the authority abovesaid) should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged as manifest heresy; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, or suffered; and also should forfeit and lose to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honors, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other of his or their hereditary lands, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatever they were, through any such offense or offenses committed or done, or at any time after, as in any case of high treason.”

And as to the other five articles, the penalty devised for them was this:

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“That every such person or persons who preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth of July of the said year, anything contrary to the same; or if any being in orders, or after a vow advisedly made, married, or makes marriage or a contract matrimony, in so doing they should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in the case of felony, without any benefit of the clergy, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary,” etc.

Also,

“That every such person or persons, who after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, cyphering, or otherwise, publish, declare or hold an opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being convicted or attainted for any such offence duly, for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods, and chattels, and possessions whatever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the king’s pleasure; and for the second time, being accused, presented, and convicted or it, should suffer as in the case aforesaid of felony.”

Also,

“If any within the order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.”

Also,

“That the same danger that belonged to priests marrying wives, should also redound to women who are married to the priests.”

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said parliament,

“That full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should be committed and directed down into every shire, to certain persons specially appointed; that such persons, three at least (provided always the archbishop, or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissary are one of them) should sit four times at least in the year, having full power to take information and accusation by the depositions of any two lawful persons at least, as well as by the oaths of twelve men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembered; having also as ample power, to make process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the aforesaid heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offenses, as well as if the matter had been presented before the justices of peace in their sessions.

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“And also that the said justices in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, should have power by the oaths of twelve lawful men, to inquire likewise about all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offenses, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present act,” etc.

“Provided that no person or persons thereupon accused, indited or presented, should be admitted to challenge any who should be empanelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; this challenge should immediately be tried in like manner as in cases of felony, etc.

“Provided moreover, that every person who should be named commissioner in this inquisition, should first take an oath, the tenor of which oath here ensues.

*The Oath of the Commissioners.*

“You shall swear, that you to your cunning, wit and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority given to you by the king’s commission, made for the correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favor, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help and all saints.”

And thus much is briefly collected out of the act and originals, which are to be seen in the *Stat. Anno 31. Reg. Hen. 8.* concerning the Six Articles, which otherwise for the bloody cruelty of them, are called “The Whip with Six Strings,” set forth after the death of queen Anne and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but especially of the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), and at length also subscribed by king Henry.

These six articles specified above, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning, yet such was the miserable and unhappy state of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was left utterly desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing that the king wished to have these articles passed, few in all that parliament would either appear to perceive what was to be defended, or dared defend what they understood to be true — except Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then being married (as is supposed), like a constant patron of God’s cause, took upon himself the defense of that truth which was so oppressed in the parliament, and for three days continued disputing against these six wicked articles.

Cranmer behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience towards his prince, and protesting that the cause was not his, but the cause of Almighty God, that his courage was not disliked by the king, and his reasons and allegations were so strong that they could not well be refuted. The king (who ever bore special favor to him) admired his zealous defense, and only desired him to depart from the parliament house into the council chamber for a time (for the safety of his conscience) till the act would pass. Cranmer, notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to do this.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king considering the constant zeal of the archbishop in defense of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons by which he had confirmed the same sent lord Cromwell, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth. There they signified to him that it was the king’s pleasure that they all should, in his highness’ behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him as one who had declared himself in that parliament, as both greatly learned, and also a man who is discreetly wise. Therefore they wished him not to be discouraged in anything that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations.

Cranmer most humbly thanked, first the king’s highness for his singular good affection towards him, and then all of them for their pains; adding moreover that he hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities would be employed for the glory of God, and the advantage of the kingdom. These allegations and authorities of his, I wish were extant to be seen and read. No doubt they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles mentioned above.

#### **ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE SIX ARTICLES.**

In the meantime, these heretical articles are not to be lightly passed over, so that the rude and ignorant multitude may not hereafter be deceived in their false and erroneous doctrine any more, as they have been in times past, for lack of right instruction, and the experience of the ancient state and course of times in our forefathers’ days. I thought, therefore (the Lord assisting in this) — to the extent that the antiquity of histories may help to restore the truth

and doctrine which has now decayed — to annex some allegations out of ancient records, which may throw some light for understanding these new-fangled articles and heresies.

**First Article.**

And first, as to the article of *transubstantiation*, in which this parliament enacts that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the self same body which was born of the Virgin Mary; and that there remains no substance of bread and wine after the priest's consecration, but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine. Here it is to be noted that this monstrous article of theirs was never imposed, received, or held, either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, as a catholic article of doctrine, until the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under Pope Innocent III (A.D. 1215).

And because it has been mistakenly understood by most people, that this article has ever been, since the time of Christ, a true catholic and general doctrine, commonly received and taught in the church, being approved by the Scriptures and doctors, with the consent of all ages to this present time — and that the *contrary* may therefore appear, so that the people may see how far they have been beguiled, we will here take a little pause in our history, to examine this article.

This monstrous paradox of transubstantiation was never received publicly in the church before the time of the Lateran council, under Pope Innocent III, A.D. 1215, or at most before the time of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 1070.

In the time of Lanfranc, I do not deny that this question of transubstantiation began to come into controversy, and was reasoned upon, among certain learned of the clergy. But it may be proved to be false, that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or authorized in the church as a general law or catholic doctrine of all men, and necessarily to be believed, before the time of Innocent III.

Our adversaries allege out of the old doctors certain speeches and phrases which they twist and wring to their purposes, as if this doctrine of transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole universal church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and that the judgment of the church was never other than this. Yet if the old doctors' sayings are well weighed and examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation had no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine. Nor that it was any heresy or treason to deny transubstantiation, before the time of Innocent III, or at the furthest, of Lanfranc.

But in our church of England it is most certain that transubstantiation was unknown till a very late period, as is most evident from the epistles and homilies of Elfric. This Elfric was made archbishop of Canterbury about the year of our Lord 906, in the time of king Ethelred II, and of Wulfsine, bishop of Sherborne. Elfric was so esteemed in those days, among the most learned, for his learning, authority, and eloquence, that his writings were accepted and authorized among the canons and constitutions of the church in that time. This may appear by the following history.

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The bishops and priests, before the coming of William the Conqueror, had collected a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the



epistles of Alcuin, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, etc. Among the canons and constitutions are placed two epistles of Elfric.

Besides this, he translated two books containing eighty sermons out of the Latin into the Saxon language, which then used to be generally read in churches on Sundays and other festival days of the year.

*An Epistle of Elfric to Wulfstane,  
regarding the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

“Christ himself blessed the eucharist before his suffering; he blessed the bread and broke it, thus speaking to his apostles, ‘Take eat; this is my body.’ And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and also said to them, ‘Drink you all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ The Lord who hallowed the eucharist before his suffering, and said that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, hallows daily by the hands of the priests, bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood, in spiritual mystery, as we read in books. Yet notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor is that holy wine the Savior’s blood which was shed for us in bodily things; but only in spiritual understanding. Both are truly — that bread is his body; and that wine also is his blood — just as was the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed for forty years God’s people in the wilderness. And the clear water which then ran from the Rock in the wilderness was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his epistles: ‘All our fathers ate in the wilderness the same spiritual food, and drank the same spiritual drink; they drank of that spiritual Rock, and that Rock was Christ.’ The apostle has said, as you have heard, that they all ate the same spiritual food; that they all drank the same spiritual drink. He does not say bodily, but spiritually; as Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel ate that food, and drink of that Rock. The Rock was not bodily Christ, though he said so. It was the same mystery in the old law, and they spiritually signified that spiritual eucharist of our Savior’s body, which we consecrate now.”

Besides the epistles of Elfric, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was also made of certain sermons, numbering eighty, translated by Elfric out of the Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue. Of these eighty sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read to the people as homilies or treatises.

There was one appointed to be read on Easter day. This sermon, translated by Elfric, we have exhibited here in English, so that the Christian reader may judge how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received nor known in the church of England:

“He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, ‘Take eat; this is my body: do this in remembrance of me.’ Also he blessed the wine in a cup, and said, ‘Drink you all of it:’ ‘For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ The apostles did as Christ commanded; that is, they blessed bread and wine for the eucharist, and gave it to be received in remembrance of Him. Even so, their successors and all priests by Christ’s commandment, also bless bread and wine for the eucharist in His name with the apostolic blessing. Now men have often searched, and still often search, how bread that is gathered from corn, and baked through the heat of fire, may be turned to Christ’s body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned through one blessing into the Lord’s blood. Now, we say to such men, some things are spoken by Christ as significations, and some things are certain. This is true and certain, that Christ was born of a Virgin, and suffered of his own accord, and was buried, and on the third day arose from death. He is said to be bread, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain by signification. He is called bread because he is our life, and angel’s life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, with

which he overcame the strong devil. But notwithstanding, Christ is not so in his true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why then is the holy eucharist called Christ's body, or his blood, if it is not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and wine which is hallowed in the supper by the priest, show one thing without to human understanding, and another thing within to believing minds. Without, bread and wine are seen both in figure and in taste; and after their hallowing, they are truly Christ's body and blood through spiritual mystery. A heathen child is christened, yet he does not alter his shape without, even though he is changed within. He is brought to the font sinful through Adam's disobedience; however, he is washed from all sin within, even though he has not changed his shape without.

“Even so, the holy font water, that is called the well-spring of life, is like other waters in shape, and it is subject to corruption; but the Holy Spirit's might comes to the corruptible water through the priest's blessing, and afterward it may wash the body and soul from all sin, through spiritual might. Behold now, we see two things in this one creature: in its true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and in a spiritual mystery, it has wholesome virtue. So too, if we behold the holy eucharist in bodily understanding, then we see that it is a corruptible and mutable creature. If we acknowledge there is spiritual might in it, then we understand that there is life in it, and that it gives immortality to those who eat with belief. Much is between the invisible might of the holy eucharist, and the visible shape of its proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and by the might of God's word, it is truly Christ's body and blood. Notwithstanding, it is not so bodily, but spiritually. Much is between the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body which is hallowed for the eucharist. The body that Christ suffered in truly, was born of the flesh of Mary; with blood and with bone; with skin and with sinews in human limbs; with a reasoning living soul. And his spiritual body, which we call the eucharist, is gathered from many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood in it bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. Whatever is in that eucharist, which gives substance of life, that is of the spiritual might, and invisible doing.

“Therefore that holy eucharist is called a *mystery*, because one thing in it is seen, and another thing is understood. That which is seen there, has bodily shape; and that which we understand there has spiritual might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death and rose from death, never dies from then on, but is eternal and incorruptible. That eucharist is temporal, not eternal, corruptible and divided into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; nevertheless, it is all in every part after spiritual might. Many receive that holy body, and yet notwithstanding, it is whole in every part after spiritual mystery. Though some chew less, notwithstanding, there is no more might in the most part than in the least, because it is whole in all men, after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we keep mystically, until we come to the truth itself; and then this pledge is ended. It is truly, as we said before, Christ's body and his blood; not bodily, but spiritually. But now hear the apostle's word about this mystery. St. Paul the apostle speaks of the old Israelites, thus writing in his epistle to faithful men, ‘Moreover, brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and all ate eat the same spiritual food: and all drank the same spiritual drink: (For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ.)’ <sup>1Cor 10.1-4</sup>

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“Neither was that rock, then, from which the water ran, bodily Christ, but it signified Christ, who called thus to all believing and faithful men: “If any man thirsts, let him come to me and drink;” and “out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.” He said this of the Holy Spirit, which those who believed in him received. The apostle Paul says that the Israelites ate the

same spiritual food, and drank the same spiritual drink, because that heavenly food that fed them for forty years, and that water which flowed from the rock, signified Christ's body, and his blood that is now offered daily in God's church. It was the same then, which we offer now — not bodily, but spiritually."

After the time of Elfric, transubstantiation first began to be talked about among a few superstitious monks. So that as blindness and superstition began to increase, this gross opinion more and more prevailed. And about the year 1060, denying transubstantiation began to be accounted heresy.

**Berenger**, a Frenchman and archdeacon of Anjou, was the first of all Christian men called and accounted a heretic for denying transubstantiation. This Berenger lived about the year 1060. The substance of his history is that when he had professed the truth of the sacrament, and had stood in open confession of it, according to the ancient doctrine received before in the church, he was so handled by superstitious monks, that by evil entreaty, and for fear of death, he began to shrink and recant the truth. Of these malicious enemies against him, the chief troubler was Lanfranc, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and Hildebrand, afterwards bishop of Rome.

By these and other monks, the error and heresy of transubstantiation first began to be defended. The first who began to set up that faction in writing seems to be Paschasius, who lived a little before Berenger, about the time of Bertram; and Lanfranc was the first who brought it into England.

On the other hand, the first who was openly troubled for denying transubstantiation, was Berenger. Lanfranc was at first supposed to hold and take part with him. But afterwards, to clear himself, he stood openly against Berenger in the council, and wrote against him.

It follows in the act of the council, when the synod of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates were assembled together, that the greater number held that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. There were others who held the contrary with Berenger, but at last were driven to give up. Berenger, among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defense of the truth, at last submitted to their wills, and desired pardon from the council. And this was (it seems to historian William of Malmesbury) his first recanting. Afterwards, returning to himself again after the death of Pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, he was driven again to recognize the truth which he had denied.

The pope, perceiving this, would not leave him in that belief. He sent his cardinal chaplain, Hildebrand, into France. He so handled Berenger that he recanted again.

Pope Nicholas II, congregating a council at Rome, (A.D. 1059), again sent for Berenger. Being present, he argued what he could for the justness of his cause; but nothing would serve. Berenger — being borne down on every side, when no remedy would serve but to recant again — desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would have of him, besides that which he had confessed. Then Pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lotharing and afterwards a cardinal, that he should draw out in formal words the order of his recantation, which he should read and publicly profess before the people. The form of his words is registered in the decrees to the following effect:

"That he pretends with heart and mouth to profess that he, acknowledging the true, catholic, and apostolical faith, execrates all heresy; namely, that with which he has lately been defamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remains only a sacrament, and are not the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; neither can

these be handled or broken with the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, other than by way of a sacrament. Consenting now to the holy and apostolical church of Rome, he professed with mouth and heart to hold the same faith regarding the sacrament of the Lord's mass, which the lord Pope Nicholas, with his synod here present holds, and commands to be held by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but are also the very true and self-same body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth — swearing by the holy evangelists, that whoever holds or says the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed, and if he himself hereafter presumes to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the severity and rigor of the canons," etc.

This cowardly recantation of Berenger, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave no little triumph to the other party.

Some time after this, Pope Hildebrand summoned a new council at Rome in the church of Lateran, to revive again the affair of Berenger, about the year 1079, as some hold.

Thus Berenger, being tossed by these monks and Pharisees, was so confounded and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear, restraining him on the one side; and partly for shame and grief of conscience on the other, that he had now twice denied the truth, he is reported to have forsaken his goods, studies, learning, and former state of life, to become a laborer. He worked with his hands for his living, the remainder of his life.

The opinion which Berenger maintained regarding the sacrament (as it may appear by his own words in Lanfranc's book) was this:

"The sacrifice of the church consists of two things: the one visible, that is, of the sacrament, and the other invisible, of the thing or matter of the sacrament. This thing (meaning the body of Christ) if it were here present before our eyes, it would be a thing visible and to be seen. But being lifted up into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of his Father until the time of the restitution of all things (as St. Peter says) it cannot be called down from there. For the person of Christ consists of God and man. The sacrament of the Lord's table consists of bread and wine, which being consecrated, are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude to those things of which they are sacraments," etc.

By these words of Berenger's doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy Scriptures, believing with St. Augustine, and all other ancient elders of the church, that in the holy supper all faithful believers are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life.

We have heard when and by whom the rude and misshapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation first began to be broached. So if we would now know by what learning and Scripture they confirmed and established it, we must understand that their chief ground to persuade the people was, at this time, certain miracles forged by them, and published both in their writings and preachings.

Many fabulous miracles are to be found in popish histories, counterfeited and forged under diverse and sundry names. Some referred to Gregory; some to Paschasius and others. To recite them would fill a whole volume full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented by Paschasius. He said there was a priest named Plegildus, who saw and handled with his hands visibly, the shape of a child upon the altar. And after he had embraced and kissed him, it returned back to the likeness of bread.

[573] A.D. 1527-1540.

When this miracle was objected against Berenger, he merrily derided the fable, answering, "A godly piece from a scoundrel, that the one whom he kissed before with his mouth, he by and by went about to tear with his teeth."

Another miracle is reported of a Jew-boy who, upon entering the church with another lad who was his playfellow, saw upon the altar a little child broken and torn in pieces, and afterwards distributed among the people in portions. When the young Jew coming home told this to his father, he was condemned to be burned. Being enclosed in a house, and the door fast where he was to be burned, he was found and taken out from there by the Christians, not only alive, but also not having one hair of his head hurt by the flames. When asked by the Christians how he was so preserved from the burning fire, he said, "A beautiful woman sitting in a chair appeared to me, whose son the child was which was divided and distributed in the church among the people. She reached out her hand to me in the burning flame, and kept the flame from me with her gown; so that I was preserved from perishing."

Such as these, then, were commonly the arguments of the monks, with which they persuaded the people to believe their transubstantiation. But to leave these monks' fictions, and to return to Berenger, Malmesbury reports of him, that after he had once or twice recanted, this doctrine of the sacrament remained in the minds of his hearers.

Although in the time of Berenger, which was about A.D. 1060, this error of transubstantiation began to grow in strength by the support of certain monks, such as Lanfranc, Guimund, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Fulbert (of whom it is said in histories, that, when he was sick, our Lady suckled him with her own breasts), and others. Yet all the while transubstantiation was not decreed for public law, nor as doctrine to be held by any general consent either by the church of Rome, or any other council, before the Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent III. In A.D. 1215, he made the decree as follows:

"There is one universal church of the faithful, without which none can be saved. In this church the self-same Jesus Christ is both priest and also the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine — the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power and working of God. So that to accomplish this mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he has taken of ours. And none can make or consecrate this sacrament except a lawfully ordained priest, according to the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ has left to his apostles, and to their successors," etc.

And thus the foundation was laid for the building of transubstantiation, and the doctrine then intruded as an article of faith into the church, to be necessarily believed by all men under pain of heresy!

Yet all the while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood, this body was not elevated over the priest's head nor adored by the people till the days of Pope Honorius III. By his council, he commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation, as one idolatry commonly brings forth another.

Again, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, and adored. Yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead; nor for a remedy of the souls in purgatory; nor for a merit *operis operati, sive bono motu utentis*, etc. (a work operated or made good by the movement of the user, meaning the priest), before other popes, coming afterwards, added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus we have the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the mass, which first began with consecration. Then came transubstantiation by Innocent; and afterwards elevation and adoration by Honorius; and last of all came the oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *ex opere operato* (from the work worked, i.e. effectual in and of itself, without regard to the work of the priest)!

Which things being thus constituted by the usurped authority of the church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny, and burning among the Christians. It first began with the Albigenses, and the faithful congregation of Toulouse, about the time of Pope Innocent.

### **The second Article**

The second article debarbs laypeople from one-half of the sacrament, understanding that both parts are fully contained under one kind (the world well knows that this article is but young, being invented, decreed, and concluded no longer ago than the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414. I will not need to dwell long upon the matter, especially as sufficient was said earlier in our discourse on the Bohemian history (p. 289 ff.).

First, let us see the reasons of the adversaries in keeping the laity from the cup of this sacrament.

When they allege the place in St. Luke, where Christ was known in the breaking of the bread, etc. <sup>Luk 24.30-31</sup> and citing many other places of Scripture in which mention is made of the breaking of bread. We answer that although we do not utterly deny that some of these places may be understood about the sacrament, yet that being granted, it does not follow that only one part of the sacrament was ministered to the people without the other, when by the common use of speech, by naming one part the whole action is meant. Nor does it follow that because that *bread* was broken among the brethren, the *cup* was therefore not distributed to them. For we find by the words of St. Paul (1Cor 11.26), that the practice of the Corinthians was to communicate not only in the breaking of bread, but also by participating in the cup.

It can be proved and demonstrated that this new-found custom differs from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. And even though the custom was ancient, no custom may countermand the open and express commandment of God, which says to all men, “Drink you *all* of this,” etc.

Again, seeing that the cup is called the blood of the New Testament, who dares or can alter the testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the testament of a man, once approved or ratified?

Further, concerning those places of Scripture alleged before about the breaking of bread, and upon which they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered in but one kind, we say in reply, *First*, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture refer to the sacrament. *Secondly*, even admitting the same, they cannot infer, just because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is that the breaking of bread generally signifies the whole feast or supper — as in these words of the prophet Isaiah, “Share your bread with the hungry,” <sup>Isa 58.7</sup> signify giving drink as well as bread, etc. And *Thirdly*, however these places may be taken, it does little in their favor, but rather works against them. For if the sacrament were administered “in the breaking of *bread*,” then they must grant that if bread was broken, there was *bread*; because just as the accidents of bread cannot be broken without bread, neither can the

natural body of Christ be subject to any breaking by the Scripture, which says, “a bone of him shall not be broken.” etc. <sup>90</sup>

They object further and say that the church, upon due consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies, and sacraments.

Answer. The institution of this sacrament stands upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. He divided the bread severally from the cup, and afterwards the cup severally from the bread. This he did to give us the example of how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death to the end of the world.

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And besides this example, he added an express commandment, “Do this,” and “Drink you all of this,” etc. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church nor council of men, nor angel in heaven has any power or authority to change or alter — as we are accordingly warned, “If anyone preaches to you any other gospel besides what you have received, let him be accursed,” etc. <sup>Gal 1.9</sup>

Among other objections, they allege certain perils such as spilling, shedding, or shaking the blood out of the cup, or souring, or else sticking on men’s beards, etc. For which they say it is well provided that the half communion will suffice.

To this it is soon answered that as these causes were no hindrance to Christ, to the apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitive church, and that in the public assemblies they received the whole communion, one part as well as the other; so neither are these causes so important now, to annul and make void the necessary commandment of the gospel. If only we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnify our own devices (to strain at gnats; to stumble over straws; and to seek knots in rushes, which are growing in our own fantasies), rather than seek them there.

### **The Third Article.**

Private masses, trental masses, and dirge masses, <sup>91</sup> just as they were never used before the time of Gregory, 600 years after Christ, so they are against our Christian doctrine. The mass is a work or action of the priest, applied to men for meriting grace *ex opere operato*. In this action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up as a sacrifice for remission of sins (*apoena et culpa*), for the quick and the dead. This definition does not agree with the rules of Christian doctrine.

1. The first rule is that sacraments are instituted for some end and use, apart from which they are not sacraments. The sacrament of baptism is a sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of sins for the person baptized. But if it is carried about to be worshipped and shown to others as *meritorious* for their remission and regeneration, then it is no sacrament to them.

2. A sacrament or ceremony profits only those who take and use them.

3. Only the death of Christ and the work of His sacrifice on the cross, is to be applied to every man by faith for the salvation of his soul. Besides this, to apply any action or work of the priest or any other person, as meritorious of itself, and conducive to salvation or to the

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<sup>90</sup> Joh 19.36 re Exo 12.46.

<sup>91</sup> A trental mass refers to a series of thirty masses said for a deceased person in the Roman Catholic Church, typically over thirty consecutive days, to assist the soul in Purgatory. A dirge mass is said at the funeral.

remission of sins, is derogatory to the covenant of God, and prejudicial to the blood of Christ.

4. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, is idolatry.
5. Every good work that a man does, profits only himself, and cannot be applied to other men.
6. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death; but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing.
7. The passion of Christ, once done, is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; by virtue of this passion, the wrath of God is pacified towards mankind forever. Amen.
8. The passion of Christ, once done, is the only object of that faith of ours which justifies us. And therefore whoever sets up any other object beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teaches damnable doctrine, and leads to idolatry.

Private mass is directly opposed to all these rules. For, besides transgressing the order, example, and commandment of Christ (who divided the bread and cup to them all) they also bring the sacrament out of the right use for which it was ordained. For whereas that sacrament is instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christ's death, the private mass transfers it to another purpose, which is either to make a gazing idol of it; or a work of meritorious application; or a propitiatory sacrifice for remission of sins; or a commemoration for souls departed in purgatory.

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in these things:

1. Whereas the communion was given in common, the private mass allows the priest alone to eat and drink it all up, and when he is done, to bless the people with the empty cup.
2. Whereas sacraments properly profit none but those who use them; in the private mass the sacrament is received in behalf not only of the one who receives it, but of also those who are far off, or the dead in purgatory.
3. When nothing is to be applied for remission of sins except the death of Christ, the private mass comes in as a meritorious work done by the priest; which being applied to others, is available *ex opere operato*, both to the one who does it, and to those for whom it is done.
4. Private masses and all other masses now used for the sacrament, make an idol of it. Of commemoration, they make adoration; instead of a receiving, they make a deceiving; in place of showing forth Christ's death, they make new oblations of his death; and of a communion, they make a single supping, etc.
5. Whereas in this general frailty of man's nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the priest in his private mass takes it upon himself to merit both for himself and for many others.
6. It stands against Scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied in any other way to our benefit and justification, than by faith. Therefore it is false that the action of the mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death to us, by the mere act of its being offered.
7. Whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying stands by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; the application of these popish masses stops the freeness of God's grace, and makes out that this benefit first comes through the priest's hands to us.



8. The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this: that where the Scripture says, *Unica oblatione consummavit eos, qui sanctificantur in perpetuum*, "With one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified," the private mass proceeds in a contrary doctrine. It makes of *one* oblation a *daily* oblation; and that which is perfectly done and finished, is now to be done again; and finally, that which was instituted only for eating and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once offered, the popish mass makes an oblation and a new satisfaction to be offered daily for the quick and the dead.

To conclude, both the private and public masses of priests turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ crucified, to the body of Christ in their masses. And where God annexes the promise of justification to our faith alone in the body of Christ crucified, they annex the promise of remission from both the guilt and punishment of sin, to their masses and by their application — besides diverse other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring from their private and public masses.

#### **The Fourth and Fifth Articles.**

Of Vows, and Priests' Marriage. As we discoursed earlier about the antiquity of transubstantiation, of the half-communion, and of private masses; so now coming to the article of vows, and of priests' marriage, the reader will wish to be likewise satisfied in this, and convinced from what time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued. To better establish the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it will be no great labor lost here to briefly recapitulate this matter, either reciting what has been said before, or whatever more is to be added. And so that the world may see that the law and decree of priests' single life is not a doctrine of ancient standing in this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege the words of Henry Huntington, which follow here:

[575] A.D. 1527-1540.

"The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London. In this synod he prohibited priests here in England to have wives, which before they were not prohibited to have. This constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others it seemed very dangerous, lest, while men should seem to take upon themselves a celibacy that was more than they could bear, by that occasion they might fall into horrible filthiness, which would redound to the exceeding slander of the Christian profession."

I do not deny that before the time of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, in the days of king Edgar (A.D. 963), as they were all monks themselves, so they were great opposers of the marriage of priests. Yet the priests who were then married, were not constrained to leave their wives, or their preferments, except at their own choice. Yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriages was never publicly established as a law here in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm (in the days of William Rufus, and king Henry I) who wrote: "Boldly I command by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests who keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," etc., as you may have read more at large earlier (p. 112f). This was about the same time when Hildebrand, at Rome, began the same matter, and also others, up till Calistus II, by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought to its fullest extent, and so it has continued ever since.

It would be tedious to number the names of all those bishops and priests who have been married since that time; but as to the time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, it is to be noted that in the year of our Savior 1076, when pope Hildebrand

occupied the papal chair, this oath first began to be taken by archbishops and bishops, that they would allow no one having a wife to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function; and likewise the clergy was bound to promise the same. This was, as I said, about the year 1076. Thus the prophesy of St. Paul appears truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times (1Tim 4.1-3) where he writes these words:

“Now the Spirit speaks expressly, that in the latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from foods, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth.”

In this prophesy of St. Paul, two things are to be observed; First, the matter which he prophesies about; that is, the forbidding of marriage, and of foods, which God generally has left free to all men. The second thing in this prophesy, is the time when this prophesy will fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurs very well with these years of pope Hildebrand, a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Savior — so that they may well be called *the latter times*.

This prophesy of St. Paul standing firm and certain, as it does — that is, the forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world — it must follow that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than the single life; more ancient than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests. This may quickly be proven true.

1. For, at the Council of Nice, it is notorious that this devilish law for restraining marriage was stopped by Paphnutius.
2. Before this Council of Nice, in the year 197, we read of Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, who dissented from pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easterday, alleging for himself that seven of his progenitors before him, one after another, succeeded in that seat; and he, now the eighth after them, was placed in the game. He uses his descent from his married parents not only as a defense of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.
3. Pope Sericius, about the year of our Lord 390, wrote to the priests of Spain about the matter of putting their wives away from them (if his epistle is not counterfeit). These Spanish priests then had with them a bishop of Tarragona, who answering Sericius, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, etc. To this Sericius responded (if his writing is not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests who were married. And for the defense of his cause, he alleged this statement of St. Paul, “If you live after the flesh, you shall die,” etc. By this it may appear not only how those in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, who showed themselves such great adversaries against priests’ marriages.
4. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer we come to the ancient and primitive times of the church, the less ancient we find the deprivation of lawful matrimony among Christian ministers. This begins even with the apostles, who, although they were not all married, yet many of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives. Witness St. Paul, where he writes about himself; “Do we not have power to lead about a sister, a wife, as also the other apostles have?” <sup>1Cor 9.5</sup> By this it is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did.

It can be sufficiently proved, and indeed it is admitted, that the deprivation of priests’ lawful marriage did not enter into the church, whether Greek or Latin (or at least it did not take full possession), before pope Hildebrand’s time, 1075; and especially pope Calistus’ time,

1120. These were the first open objectors to priests' marriages. Aventinus, a faithful writer of his time, concerning the council of Hildebrand, has these words:

“In those days, priests commonly had wives, as other Christian men had, and also had children; as may appear by ancient instruments and deeds of gift, which were then given to churches, to the clergy, and to religious houses. In these instruments both the priests, and also their wives with them (who were called *Presbyterissae*), I find alleged as witnesses.”

“Moreover, it happened at the same time, that the emperor had the investing of diverse archbishops, bishops, abbays, and nunneries within his dominions. Pope Hildebrand disdaining both these sorts — that is, both those who were invested by the emperor, and also all those priests who had wives — so provided in his council at Rome, that those who were promoted by the emperor to livings of the church, were accounted to come in by simony; the others, who were married priests, were accounted Nicolaitans (fornicators). Whereupon pope Hildebrand wrote to the emperor, to dukes, princes, and other great prelates and potentates, namely, to Berthold Zaringer, to Rudolph of Swabia, to Welfon of Bavaria, to Adalberon, and to their ladies, and to diverse others to whom he thought it good; also to bishops, namely, to Otto, bishop of Constance, with other priests and lay people. He willed them in his letters to refuse to keep company with those simoniacs, and those Nicolaitan priests (for so they were termed then), who either had any ecclesiastical living by the emperor, or who had wives — to avoid their masses; neither to talk; nor to eat or drink with them; nor once to speak to them; nor to salute (greet) them; but to utterly shun them as execrable and wicked men, even as they would eschew the plague or pestilence.

“By this there ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the flock of Christ. For the priests went against their bishops, the people against the priests, the laity against the clergy. Briefly, all fell into confusion. Men and women, as everyone was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, thereby took occasion, upon every light suspicion, to resist their minister and to spoil the goods of the church. The vulgar people despised the priests who had married wives, despised their religion, and all the things that they did; yes, and in many places they would purge the place where they had been, with holy water.

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“Also, such was the mischief that they would take the holy mysteries which those married priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet. For so Hildebrand had taught them, that those were no priests, neither were they sacraments which they consecrated. So that by this occasion, many false prophets arose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and feigned glosses, twisting the Scriptures as best served their own purposes.”

To this testimony of Aventinus, above mentioned, we will also add the record of Gebuilerus, a writer of our latter time, and one also of their own crew, who testifies that in the time of emperor Henry IV (A.D. 1057), twenty-four bishops, both in Germany, Spain, and in France, were married, as well as the clergy of their dioceses.

We also read of these Spanish bishops in Isidore (who died about A.D. 636), in his book, *De Clericorum Vita*, that they should either lead an honest, chaste life; or else keep themselves within the bands of matrimony, etc. By this it is evident that the single life of priests was either voluntary then, or else their marriage was not then restrained by any law.

Thus, if either the voice of Scripture might have weight with these men, or if the examples of the apostles might move them (whom St. Ambrose testifies were all married, except St. Paul and St. John); or else if the multitude of married bishops and priests might prevail with them; it may be stated here:

That Tertullian was a married priest, as Jerome witnesses. Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, had a wife and children. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was also married. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa; Gregory, bishop of Nazianzem; Prosper, bishop of Rhegium; Cheremon, bishop of Nilus. All these were married bishops; and also Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops. Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople in the time of Justinian, was commended more because his father and ancestors had been married priests and bishops.

Jerome says, that in his time many priests were married men. Pope Damasus recites a great number of bishops, or popes of Rome, who were priests' sons, during the first ten centuries after Christ, such as Felix III; Gelasius I; Boniface; Agapetus; Silverius; and Theodorus, whose father was bishop of Jerusalem; Adrian II; John X, and John XV.

And besides these bishops of Rome, many other bishops and priests in other countries might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure would allow making a roll of them all.

Again, the law forbidding priests to marry was never generally received in the church of Rome until the time of Gregory VII (Hildebrand), that is, since A.D. 1073. This pope was, of all others, the chief and principal enemy against the marriage of priests. For whereas all other approved canons and councils only enacted that any clergyman having a wife before entering into his ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his marriage, so long as he did not marry a widow, or a known harlot, or kept a concubine, or those who were twice married. Now in comes pope Hildebrand, making the marriage of priests a heresy, and further enacting that, "Whatever cleric, deacon, or minister had a wife, either before his orders, or after, should utterly put her away from him, or else forsake his ministry," etc.

And thus much for the antiquity and the bringing in of the celibacy of the priests. It first began, about the time of pope Nicholas 1058, and Alexander II, 1061, to be a *custom*; and afterwards it was made into a *law* by pope Hildebrand, and so it spread from Italy into other countries, and at length also into England.

While pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome in introducing that practice, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was likewise engaged in bringing about the same matter in England, though he did not begin altogether so roughly as pope Hildebrand did;. This appears by his council held at Winchester where, though he prohibited those who were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet he permitted in his decree, that those priests who dwelled in towns and villages, and had wives, should retain them, and not be compelled to be separated from them. And he decreed that those who had none, should be prohibited from marrying. Moreover, he enjoined the bishops to take care thereafter, that they not presume to admit into their order any priests or deacons, unless they first made a solemn profession not to marry.

Then after Lanfranc succeeded Anselm in the see of Canterbury. He fiercely and eagerly labored in this matter, utterly abrogating the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the clergy generally. He did not permit (as Lanfranc did) priests who had wives in villages and towns to keep them, but he utterly commanded, under great penalties, that not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also (which is against the Council of Lateran) who were already married, to be separated; and that none should be received into orders thereafter without a profession of perpetual celibacy.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the priests did not give much heed to these unlawful injunctions, but kept their wives for almost two hundred years after, refusing and resisting for a long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep their freedom from such vowing,

professing, and promising. This may well appear by those priests of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of York, speaks, in writing the following to Anselm:

“I much desire the purity of my clergymen. Yet, unless it is in a very few, I find in them the deafness of the adder, and the inconstancy of Proteus. With their stinging tongues they sometimes toss out threats, sometimes taunts and rebukes. But this grieves me less in those who are further off. This grieves me most of all, that those who are of my own church, in my own bosom, and prebendaries of my own see, despise our canons, and argue like sophistical disputers, against the statutes of our council. The prebendaries, who have been irregularly taken into orders up to now, without making a vow or profession, utterly refuse to make a profession to me. And those who are priests or deacons, having openly married wives or concubines before, will not be removed from them by any admonition from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive orders, they obstinately deny to profess celibacy in their ordering,” etc.

Thus, for all this rigorous austerity, Anselm was unable to enforce his decree, made at London, against the marriage of priests; nor did the same monk have greater success, either in his lifetime or after his death. For although sundry priests during his life-time were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many refused to obey him.

Many were content to leave their benefices rather than their wives. A great number were permitted by king Henry I, for money, to enjoy their wives (see p. 123). But this became so chargeable to them (says Edmer, in his fourth book <sup>92</sup>), that at length two hundred priests, in their albes and priestly vestments, came barefoot to the king's palace, crying to him for mercy. And they especially made their suit to the queen. Though moved with compassion towards them, she dared not intercede for them.

It is therefore evident that this violent restraint of the lawful marriage of priests within this realm of England, is of no such antiquity as thought by many who are ignorant of the course of history. A brief summary will enable the reader to comprehend the whole matter.

First, about the year 946, the profession of single life, and the displacing of marriage, began to come into practice in England because of St. Benet's monks, who then began to increase very much about the time of king Edgar; and especially by means of Oswald, bishop of York, Odo and Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester.

[577] A.D. 1527-1540.

So that in diverse cathedral churches and bishops' sees, monks with their professed singleness of life crept in, and married ministers (who were then called secular priests), were dispossessed not only of their wives, but of their church positions also. And yet this did not occur in all churches, but only in those which have been mentioned.

°Not long after that, about the time of pope Nicholas, A.D. 1060, of Alexander II and Hildebrand, there came into the see of Canterbury another monk named Lanfranc. He too, being a promoter of this professed celibacy, made the decree more general, so that all prebendaries of any churches who were married should be displaced. Yet the priests in towns and villages would not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they wished to do so. And last of all followed the monk Anselm, A.D. 1106, who made the laws which we have stated before.

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<sup>92</sup> Eadmer, or Edmer (c. 1060-1126), was an English historian, theologian, and ecclesiastic best known for his works "Vita Anselmi" and "Historia novorum in Anglia," from which Foxe quotes here.

### **Sixth Article**

I will now conclude my observations on these articles with some remarks on the sixth article, regarding *auricular confession*. Of confession, we find three things expressed and approved in the Scriptures.

The *first* is our confession made privately and publicly to God alone; and this confession is necessary for all men at all times. Therefore St. John says, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive," etc. <sup>1Joh 1.9</sup>

The *second* is the confession which is made openly in the face of the congregation. And this confession also has a place when anything is committed which gives public offense and slander to the church of God.

The *third* kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite when we have injured our brother. The gospel speaks of this, saying, "Go and reconcile yourself first to your brother," etc. <sup>Mat 5.24</sup> Also St. James says, "Confess your faults one to another," etc. <sup>Jas 5.16</sup> This confession may also have a place when anything lies on our conscience, in which we need the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But we must use discretion in avoiding the following points of blind superstition. *First*, that we put no necessity in this for remission of our sins, but we use our voluntary discretion, as we see it is expedient to satisfy our troubled mind. The *second* is that we are not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The *third* is that we do not bind ourselves to any one person more than to another, but that we use our free choice as to whom we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

But because there is nothing in the church so good that it may not be perverted through superstition, so too this confession has not lacked abuses. *First*, the secret confession to God alone, even as it has been counted insufficient; so it has been but lightly esteemed by many. *Second*, the public confession to the congregation has been turned into standing in a sheet, or else has been bought off for money. *Third*, the secret opening of a man's mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, disclosing his infirmity or temptations for counsel and godly comfort, has been turned into auricular confession in a priest's ear, for absolving his sins.

### ***The History of Thomas Cromwell***

Now, after having discussed these matters which refer to the six wicked articles, it next follows, in returning to the order of our history, to declare those events which ensued after the publication of these articles. This brings us to the time and history of lord Cromwell, a man whose great fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory. <sup>93</sup>

#### *The History concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.*

Thomas Cromwell, although born of a simple parentage, and of an obscure house, through the singular excellency of wisdom, united with industry of mind and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority. By steps of office and honor, he ascended at length, not only to earl of Essex, but also secret counsellor to King Henry VIII, and vicegerent to his person.

In the simple estate and beginnings of this man, we may learn that the excellency of noble virtues and heroic prowess which advance to fame and honor, stand not merely upon birth and blood, but proceed from the gift of God, who "raises up the poor out of the dust, and

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<sup>93</sup> Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485-1540) served as chief minister to Henry VIII from 1534-1540. He was beheaded by the king, upon false charges. He was the great-great-grand uncle of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658).

lifts the needy out of the dunghill; that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people.” <sup>Psa 113.7-8</sup>

Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was, at the beginning, a great hindrance for virtue to show herself, yet such was the activity and ripeness of nature in him — so full and ready in wit; in judgment, discreet; in tongue, eloquent; in service, faithful; in spirit, courageous; in his pen, active — that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not long be neglected; nor yet be unprovided of the favor and help of friends to set him forward in place and office. Neither was there any place or office for which he was not qualified. Nothing was so hard which he could not compass with wit and industry; neither was his capacity so good, that his memory could not greatly retain whatever he had attained. This well appears in his repeating the whole text of the New Testament, as translated by Erasmus, without any book, on his journey in going and coming from Rome.

Thus in his growing years, as he increased in age and ripeness, he derived a delight in visiting foreign countries so that he might see the world, and to learn experience. In this manner he learned whatever tongues and languages might better serve his use afterward.

He spent his youth at Antwerp (in Belgium), in the situation of secretary (or some such capacity) to the English merchants there.

It happened that the town of Boston (in Lincolnshire, England) thought it good to send to Rome, to renew their two pardons — one was called the greater pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Although this cost them great expenses of money (for the pope’s merchandise is always dear ware), yet they felt such sweetness from it, that like good catholic merchants, and the pope’s good customers, they thought to spare no cost to have their pardons renewed. All this was good religion then; such was the lamentable blindness of that time!

It being thus determined and decreed among my countrymen of Boston,<sup>94</sup> to have their pardons renewed from Rome, one Geoffrey Chambers, along with another, was sent well-supplied with writings and money, and with all other things considered necessary for so chargeable and costly an exploit. Coming in his journey to Antwerp, he conferred with and persuaded Thomas Cromwell to associate himself in that legation, and to assist in contriving of it. Cromwell, having some skill of the Italian language, and not as yet grounded in religion in those youthful days of his, was content to undertake the adventure; and so he took his journey to Rome. Cromwell was loth to spend much of his time, and more loth to spend his money. Perceiving that the pope must be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing business at Rome), he began to think with himself, what to devise that he might best serve the pope’s devotion.

At length learning how the pope greatly delighted in new-fangled delicacies and dainty dishes, it came into his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, in the best English fashion, which was not known nor seen before by those of Rome.

This done, Cromwell observed his time, as the pope had returned to his pavilion from hunting. He approached with his English presents, brought in with a song in the English tongue, and all according to the English fashion. The pope suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they did not come empty-handed, desired them to be called in. Cromwell, showing his obedience there, and offering his junkets — such as kings and princes alone, he said, in the realm of England, used to feed upon — desired them to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and

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<sup>94</sup> John Foxe was born in Boston, Lincolnshire, England, in 1516.

his companions, as poor suitors to his holiness, had brought and presented there, as novelties fit for his recreation, etc.

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Pope Julius II, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, by and by commanded his cardinal to try them. In tasting, he liked it so well, and likewise the pope after him, that knowing what their suits were, and requesting to know how to make that food, he sealed both their pardons without any more ado, the greater as well as the lesser.

And thus the pardons of the town of Boston were obtained. The copy of these pardons (which I have in my hands) comes to this effect:

That all the brethren and sisters of the guild of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston, would have free license to choose for their confessor or spiritual father whomever they would, either secular priest or religious person, to fully acquit them from all their sins,<sup>95</sup> except in cases reserved to the pope.

Also that they would have license to carry about with them an altar-stone, by which they might have a priest say mass or other divine service, wherever they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, even if it was before daylight; yes, even at three past midnight in the summer time.

Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said guild, who would resort to the chapel of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Nativity or Assumption of our Lady, or in their octaves (feast days) — the feast of St. Michael; and the first Sunday in Lent — would have pardon no less than if they themselves had personally visited the stations of Rome.

This was provided that every such person, man or woman, entering into the same guild, upon his first entrance, would give to the support of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood, and a grammar school, six shillings and eight-pence; and twelve-pence for every year after.

These premises being previously granted by pope Innocent, and pope Julius II, pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other hindrance, could not resort personally to the chapel, he would yet be dispensed with for that as well as for all other vows, irregularities, and canonical censures whatever; except for the vow of going to the stations of Rome, and to St. James of Compostella, etc.

He also granted to them power to receive full remission *a pana et culpa* (from penalty and guilt) once in their life; or in their hour of death.

Also, that having their altar-stone, they might have mass said in any place, even if it were unhallowed. And in the time of interdict, to have mass or any sacrament ministered: and also being departed, that they might be buried with a Christian burial, notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreover his grant to all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the chapel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or Assumption of our Lady, and giving support to the chapel, to have full remission of their sins at every such school festival day. Or, if they could not be present at the chapel, yet if they came to their own parish church, and there said one Paternoster, and an Ave Maria, they would enjoy the same remission; or whoever came every Friday to the same

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<sup>95</sup> Originally, "to assoil them plenarily from all their sins..."



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chapel, would have as much remission as if he went to the chapel of our Lady, called “the Ladder of Heaven.”

Furthermore, that whatever Christian people, of whatever estate or condition, either spiritual or temporal, would aid and support the chamberlains or substitutes of the guild, would have five hundred years of pardon.

Also, free liberty was granted to all brothers and sisters of the guild to eat in time of Lent, or other fasting days, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsel of their spiritual father and physician, without any scruple of conscience.

Also, that all partakers of the guild, who once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the chapel in St. Botolph’s church, or in any other chapel, says a Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Creed, or says or causes to be said, masses for souls departed in purgatory, shall not only have the full remission due to those who visit the chapel of “The Ladder of Heaven,” or of St. John Lateran, but also souls in purgatory, shall enjoy full remission, and be released from all their pains.

Also, that all the departed souls of the brothers and sisters of the guild, also the souls of their fathers and mothers, shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffrages, alms, fastings, masses, and matins, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the holy church militant forever, etc.

These indulgences, pardons, grants, and relaxations were given and granted by Nicholas V. Pius II, Sixtus IV, and Julius II. It seems that Cromwell obtained this pardon from Julius II about the year 1510. In 1526 this pardon, through the request of king Henry VIII, was confirmed by pope Clement VII. And thus much concerning the pardon of Boston, renewed by means of Thomas Cromwell.

All this while it appears that Cromwell had yet no sound taste for nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word. He was himself prone to often declare to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (showing what he was in his younger days), how he was in the wars of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome; also what a great doer he was with Geoffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardon of Boston everywhere in churches as he went. And so he continued, till at length by learning the text of the New Testament translated by Erasmus in his going and returning from Rome, he began to be touched and called to a better understanding.

In the meantime, cardinal Thomas Wolsey began to bear a great name in England, and to rule almost all under the king, or rather with the king. In his establishment, Thomas Cromwell was advanced. And there was at about the same time in the household of the cardinal, Thomas More, afterwards knight and chancellor of England; and also Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester. These three were brought up in one household, and all were of the same standing. Their ages were also not greatly discrepant; nor their wits much unequal; so neither was their fortune and advancement greatly different. And though there was more skill of learning in More and in Gardiner, there was in Cromwell a more heavenly light of the mind, and a prompter and more perfect judgment, equal eloquence, and a more heroic and princely disposition.

It happened that Cromwell was solicitor (lawyer) to the cardinal, who then had in hand the building of certain colleges in Oxford, now called Christ’s church. Because of this, certain small monasteries and priories were suppressed, and the lands seized into the cardinal’s hands. The execution of this was committed to Cromwell, who showed himself so very forward and industrious, that he procured for himself much grudge with the superstitious

sort, and also with some of noble calling around the king. Thus Cromwell was first set to work by the cardinal to suppress religious houses; this was about the year 1525.

After the fall of Wolsey, Cromwell was for a time in disgrace with the king. But finding that none could so well serve him against the pope, he sent for Cromwell, willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

Cromwell being informed that the king wished to talk with him, and thereupon preparing for the interview beforehand, he had in readiness a copy of the oath which the bishops used to make to the pope at their consecration. And so being called for, he was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster; this was about A.D. 1530.

Cromwell, after most loyal obeisance to the king, made his declaration in all points. He especially made it manifest to his highness, that his authority was abused in his own kingdom by the pope and his clergy. Though sworn to him, they were afterwards dispensed from their oath, and sworn anew to the pope; so that Henry was but half a king, and they were but half his subjects in his own land. This, Cromwell said, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common laws of his realm. Thereupon he declared in what manner his majesty might accumulate great riches for himself — as much as all the clergy in his realm was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered.

[579] A.D. 1527-1540.

The king giving good ear to this, and right well liking Cromwell's advice, he requested if he could give any evidence for what he spoke. All this, Cromwell said, he could establish. He said that he had the copy of the oath to the pope present there to show the king, and no less also prove what he had said, if his highness would give him leave. He then showed the bishops' oath to the king, and also their oath to the pope.

The king, following the spirit of Cromwell's counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first admitting him to his service, he sent him to the convocation house among the bishops. Cromwell, having the authority of the king, boldly went into the clergy house. And there placing himself among the bishops (William Warham then being archbishop) he began to make his oration. He declared to them the authority of a king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen to the public laws, which were necessary to provide for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. These laws, notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the king's royal estate, and falling under the law of *praemunire*, in that they had not only consented to the power legatine of the cardinal, but also in that they had all sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king. And therefore they had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatever livings they had. The bishops hearing this were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after Cromwell showed them the very copy of the oath which they had made to the pope at their consecration, the matter was so plain that they could not deny it. They then began to shrink and fall to entreaty, and desired time to pause upon the matter. The end of it was that, to be quit of that *praemunire* by act of parliament, they had to pay to the king no less a sum than 118,840 pounds (A.D. 1531). After this, A.D. 1532, Sir Thomas Cromwell growing in great favor with the king, was made knight and master of the king's jewel-house. Shortly after he was also admitted into the king's council, which was about the coming in of queen Anne Boleyn. Within two years after that (A.D. 1534), he was made Master of the Rolls,<sup>96</sup> Dr. Taylor being discharged.

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<sup>96</sup> At the time, the Master of the Rolls was the keeper of the public records.

Cromwell increased in favor and honor. In the year 1537, a little before the birth of king Edward, he was made knight of the garter,<sup>97</sup> and not long after was advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made Great Chamberlain of England (1540).<sup>98</sup> Besides all these honors, in 1535 he had also been constituted vicegerent to the king, representing the king's person. This office, though well established in law, has seldom seen anyone besides Cromwell in it.

Now something should be said of the noble acts, the memorable examples and worthy virtues that were in him. Among his worthy acts and manifold virtues, this one thing above all others rises his commendation for his singular zeal and labor in restoring the church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist — I mean the abbeys, and religious houses of the friars and monks. For it so pleased Almighty God, by means of Lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till at length all the abbeys in England, both great and small, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. These acts of his, as they may give a precedent of singular zeal to all Christian realms (which no prince yet to this day dare follow), so to this realm of England, it has wrought such benefit that the fruit still remains, and will remain in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it.

But here I must answer the complaint of certain of our countrymen. For so I hear from many who speak of the subversion of these monasteries, as evil and wicked. The buildings, they say, might have been converted into schools and houses of learning; the goods and possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use by the poor, and for maintaining hospitality.

Neither do I deny that these things are well spoken, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart — if I did not consider a more secret meaning of God's holy providence, than appears to all men at first blush.

And first, let us not omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all kinds of vice which were found out by the king's visitors, and recorded in their registers. They were so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that it is no marvel if God's vengeance from heaven would not allow any stone or monument of these abominable houses to be left.

Whoever finds himself aggrieved with Cromwell's suppressing of these monasteries of monks and friars, let him wisely consider *First*, the doctrine, laws, and traditions of these men whom we find in rebellion against the religion of Christ; pernicious to our salvation; derogatory to Christ's glory; and full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. *Secondly*, let him well consider the horrible and execrable lives of the cloisterers, as appears in the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in the time of king Henry VIII. These cannot be spoken of here, unless we speak as Matthew Paris speaks of the court of Rome, "Whose filthy stink," he says, "breathed up a most pestiferous fume, even to the clouds of heaven," etc.

Then all things being considered, what marvel is it, if God in his just judgment set up lord Cromwell to destroy these sinful houses, whom their own corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as to the dispersing of their lands and possessions, if it was agreeable to the king to bestow these abbey lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, or to restore them back to

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<sup>97</sup> The Order of the Garter is an English order of knighthood founded by King Edward III in 1348, ranked as the highest British civil and military honor obtainable.

<sup>98</sup> The duties of the Lord Great Chamberlain were originally financial. He was ranked below the Lord Privy Seal, and above the Lord High Constable. In brief, he had charge over the king's Palace.

those from whom they came, or otherwise to gratify his nobility; what was that to Cromwell? But, you say, they might have been much better employed to other more useful purposes. To this I answer that in such a kingdom as this, where laws and parliaments are very much subject to the disposition of the prince; and where it is not always certain what princes may come; the surest way to get rid of monkery and popery was to pack it out of the realm, or at once to do with their houses and possessions as king Henry then did. For otherwise, who cannot see that in queen Mary's time, if either the houses of monks had stood, or their lands had not otherwise been disposed of into the hands of others, that many of them would then have been restored and replenished again with monks and friars? And if dukes, barons, and the nobility were scarcely able to retain the lands and possessions of abbeys which had been distributed to them by king Henry, from the devotion of queen Mary — who sought again to build the walls of Jericho — then let other men conjecture what the meaner sort would have done. Therefore it is not unlikely, but that God's heavenly providence foresaw and disposed these things beforehand, in the destruction of these abbeys. Otherwise we might have had such numerous swarms of friars and monks in their nests again before this day in England, that ten Cromwells afterwards could not have unhoused them.

After the power and authority of the bishop of Rome was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion either to restore it again, or at least to keep upright the things which remained. It happened that after the abolishing of the authority of the pope, that certain tumults began about religion. Then it seemed good to king Henry that an assembly of learned men and bishops should be appointed, who should soberly and modestly consider and determine those things which pertained to religion. All the learned men, but especially the bishops (to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong) having assembled, Cromwell also purposed to be present himself at this convocation. Meeting by chance with Alexander Alesse, a Scotchman, Cromwell brought him with him to the convocation house where all the bishops were assembled together (A.D. 1537). The bishops and prelates, who were waiting for the coming of Cromwell, as he came in, rose up and did obeisance to him as to their vicar-general.<sup>99</sup>

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And in return he honored everyone in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and after him, every bishop in his order, and the doctors. First over against him sat the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York; the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, etc. Cromwell, in the name of the king (whose secret councilor he was, and Lord Privy Seal, and vicar-general of the realm), spoke these words:

“Right reverend fathers in Christ: The king's majesty gives you high thanks that you have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled here according to his commandment. And you are not ignorant that you are called here to determine certain controversies which at this time are moved concerning the Christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the king studies day and night to promote quietness in the church; and he cannot rest until all such controversies are fully debated and ended through the determination of you and his whole parliament. For although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people whose consciences are in doubt about what they may believe, and he himself by his excellent learning knows these controversies well enough. Yet he will suffer no common alteration except by the consent of you and his whole parliament. By this you may perceive his high wisdom, and also his great love towards you. And he desires you, for

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<sup>99</sup> *To do obeisance, is to bow the head or bend the knee as a sign of submission or honor of another.*

Christ's sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, you will friendly and lovingly dispute among yourselves about the controversies moved in the church, and that you will conclude all things by the word of God, without any brawling or scolding. Nor will his majesty suffer the Scriptures to be twisted and defaced by any glosses, any papistical laws, or by any authority of doctors or councils. And much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scriptures, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as you were prone to do. You know well enough that you are bound to show this service to Christ and to his church; and yet his majesty will give you high thanks if you will establish and conclude a godly and perfect unity. This is the only way and means to this: if you will determine all things by the Scriptures, as God commands you in Deuteronomy; which his majesty exhorts and desires you to do."

When Cromwell had finished his speech, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks to the king's majesty, not only for his great zeal towards the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, so worthy of a Christian prince.

Then they immediately commenced the disputation. When Stokesley, bishop of London, the first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees (whom Cromwell a little earlier had checked by name for defending unwritten verities), endeavored out of the old school glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the church, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich, also favored his part. On the contrary part, was the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many others.

After much communication on both sides, and after a long controversy about the testimony of the doctors who, it seemed to them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canterbury at last spoke as follows:

"It does not become men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words is the property of sophisters, and those who mean deceit and subtlety, who delight in debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of those who should seek the glory of Christa, and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There are weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not about ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding and of the right difference between the law and the gospel — of the manner and way by which sins are forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences; by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing that they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them justifies man, or whether we receive our justification by faith; also, which are the good works, and the true service and honor which please God; and whether the choice of foods, the difference in garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions which do not have the word of God to confirm them — whether these, I say, are right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man, or not? Also, whether vain service and false honoring of God, and man's traditions, bind men's consciences or not? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such others (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins) ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or not?

"These are no light matters, but are even the principal points of our Christian religion. Therefore we are not contending about words and terms, but about high and earnest matters. Christ says, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.' <sup>Mat 5.9</sup> And St. Paul, writing to Timothy, commands bishops to avoid brawling and contention about

words, which are profitable to nothing but the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and he admonishes him especially that he should resist with the Scriptures when any man disputes with him about the faith; and he adds a cause where he says, 'Doing this you will save both yourself, and those who hear you.' <sup>1Tim 4.16</sup> Now, if you will follow these counsellors, Christ and St. Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and you must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scriptures. Therefore, in this disputation we must first agree on the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament signifies by the holy Scriptures; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, we must decide what we mean by that. I know right well that St. Ambrose and other authors call the washing of the disciples' feet and other things sacraments, which I am sure you yourselves would not allow to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended his speech, Cromwell commanded Alesse, who stood by, to give his mind and opinion, declaring first to the bishops that he was the king's scholar, and therefore he desired them to hear him.

Alesse, after he had first done his obeisance to lord Cromwell, and to the other prelates of the church, he spoke as follows:

"Right honorable and noble lord; and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church; although I come unprepared to this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, who promises to give both mouth and wisdom to us when we are questioned about our faith, I will utter my judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop has given you a profitable exhortation that you should first agree on the signification of a sacrament, and whether you will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted by Christ in the gospel, or merely to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel and of godliness (as St. Paul names remission of sins to be). Or whether you mean every ceremony generally, which may be merely a token or signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For according to this latter signification, I will not object to grant to you that there are seven sacraments, and more too, if you will. Yet St. Paul seems to describe a sacrament according to the just signification, where he says that, "circumcision is a seal of the righteousness of faith." <sup>Rom 4.11</sup>

[581] A.D. 1527-1540.

"This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to pertain to all sacraments generally; for the Jews had only one sacrament. And he describes baptism in the same manner, in Eph 5.26, 'That Christ might sanctify the church, and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.' For here he also adds the word and promise of God to the ceremony. And Christ also requires faith where he says, 'Whoever believes and is baptized shall be saved.'

"And St. Augustine describes a sacrament thus: — 'The word of God coming into the element makes the sacrament.' And in another place he says, 'A sacrament is a thing in which the power of God, under the form of visible things, works salvation secretly.' And the 'Master of the Sentences' describes a sacrament not otherwise: 'A sacrament,' he says, 'is an invisible grace, and has a visible form; and by this invisible grace I mean remission of sins.' Finally, St. Thomas denies that any man has authority to institute a sacrament. Now if you agree to this definition of a sacrament, then it is an easy thing to judge the number of those sacraments which are manifest in the word of God, and are instituted by Christ, to signify to us the remission of our sins."

When Alesse had concluded, after a learned account of the judgment of St. Augustine, the bishop of London, who could scarcely refrain himself all the while, broke out in this manner: "First of all," he said, "where you allege that all the sacraments which are in the church were instituted by Christ himself, and either have some manifest ground in the

Scriptures, or ought to show some signification of remission of sin, it is false, and not to be allowed.”

Then said Alesse, that he would prove it, not only by manifest authorities of Scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and school-writers.

But the bishop of Hereford (who had recently returned from Germany, where he had been ambassador from the king to the protestants), being provoked with the bishop of London’s frowardness, turning himself first to Alesse, desiring him not to contend with the bishop in such a manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen, because they do not all agree. Nor are they steadfast among themselves in all points, but vary; and in many points they are utterly repugnant. Therefore, if this disputation is to be decided by their minds and verdicts, nothing will be established. Furthermore, we are commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the Scriptures. This he spoke to Alesse. Then turning to the bishops, he likewise admonished them in a grave speech, as follows: —

“Do you think that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man sees? Christ has so enlightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel has put to flight all misty darkness, and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, however much we resist in vain. The lay-people now know the holy Scriptures much better than many of us. And the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that has been up to now. Therefore you must consider earnestly what you will determine in these controversies, so that you do not make yourselves mocked and laughed to scorn by the whole world; and so that you do not bring them to have this opinion of you: to think that you have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus you will lose all your esteem and authority with them, who before took you to be learned men and profitable members to the commonwealth of Christendom. For what you hope for — that there was never a heresy in the church so great that the process of time, with the power and authority of the pope, has not quenched it — is nothing to the purpose. But you must change your opinion, and now think that there is nothing so feeble and weak, that if it is true, it will find its place, and be able to stand against all falsehood. Truth is the daughter of Time, and Time is the mother of Truth. Whoever is besieged by truth cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth stands, that should not be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things do not consist in painted eloquence, strength, or authority. For the truth is of such great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defeated with words, nor be overcome by any strength. But after she has hidden herself for a long time, at length she puts up her head and appears, as it is written in Esdras, ‘A king is strong; wine is strong; women are even stronger; but truth excels all.’” 1Esd 4.14.

The Bishop of Hereford spoke to this effect, and uttered and much more in that convocation, both copiously and discreetly. Being encouraged by his speech, Alesse proceeded further to urge the bishop of London with arguments. When he had spoken, the bishop of London interrupted him, and said,

“Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God. Yet you are deceived if you think that there is no other word of God. And if you think that nothing pertains to the Christian faith, except that which is written in the Bible, then you err plainly with the Lutherans; for St. John says, ‘Jesus did many things which are not written.’ Joh 21.25. And St. Paul commands the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and

ceremonies. Moreover, he himself did not preach the Scriptures only, but also the traditions of the elders. Finally, we have received many things from the doctors and councils, which, although they are not written in the Bible, yet we ought to grant that we received them from the apostles, and that they are of like authority with the Scriptures. And finally, that they may worthily be called the unwritten word of God.”

Now, when lord Cromwell and the archbishop, along with the other bishops who defended the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one to another. They saw him fly off, even in the very beginning of the disputation, to his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Alesse would have proceeded further to confute these sophistries, but lord Cromwell bade him to be content. And so he made an end with this protestation.

“Right reverend bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and religion leans only upon the word of God, which is written in the Bible. If I can prove and declare this, then you will grant me that there are no sacraments but those that have the word of God to confirm them.”

To this the bishop consented, and then immediately the assembly was dissolved for that day. The next day, when the bishops met, the archbishop of Canterbury sent his archdeacon, and commanded Alesse to abstain from any further disputation. Whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterwards showed it to the bishops. Thus, through the industry of Cromwell, the discussions were brought to this end: that although religion could not then be wholly reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation throughout England.

Examples need not be brought to show how desirous and studious this Cromwell was in the cause of Christ’s religion. His whole life was nothing but a continual care for how to advance the right knowledge of the gospel, and to reform the house of God. He caused the people to be instructed in the Lord’s prayer and in the apostles’ creed in English. He also procured the Scriptures to be translated and set forth in the English language, so that they might be read and understood by every Englishman. After that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the major places of pilgrimage to be destroyed. And further, for the benefit of the poorer sort, who get their living by their daily labor and the work of their hands, he provided that various idle holydays should be abolished. He procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat during Lent.

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It was also provided by him, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, to teach and to keep hospitality — as well as many other regulations for the reformation of religion, as may more abundantly appear by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of Christian doctrine, which were set forth by his means, in the king’s name.

It would require a long discourse to add his private benefits in helping good men and women out of troubles and great distresses. His whole life was full of such examples, being a man ordained by God to do many men good; and especially those who were in danger of persecution for religion’s sake.

It would also take a long time to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy counsellor wrought and brought to pass in the realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established; what wickedness he suppressed; what corruptions he reformed; what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings; what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious delusions he detected and abolished out of the church.



What will posterity think of the church of the pope, which for so many years abused the people's eyes with an old rotten stock (called the Rood of Grace) in which there were one hundred wires to make the image goggle with the eyes; to nod with the head; to hang the lip; to move and shake his jaws, according to the value of the gift which was offered? If it was a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip; if it was a piece of gold, then his jaws would go merrily! Thus miserably were the people of Christ abused; their souls seduced; their senses beguiled; and their purses spoiled; until this idolatrous forgery was disclosed by Cromwell's means. The image, with all its machinery, was openly exhibited at St. Paul's cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The same was done with the blood of Hales, which, in the same way, was brought by Cromwell to St. Paul's cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck!

What shall I say about the idols of Darvel Gartheren; of the Rood of Chester; of Thomas Becket; our Lady of Walsingham; with an infinite multitude of the same kind? All of these stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry, Cromwell removed out of the way of the people, so that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

While Lord Cromwell was thus occupied in profiting the commonwealth and purging the church of Christ, it happened to him, as it commonly does to good men, that where any virtue appears, envy creeps in; and where true piety seeks most after Christ, persecution follows.

I say that, as he was laboring in the commonwealth and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, and helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies was continually employed in hunting for matter against him. They never ceased in this till, in the end, by false trains and crafty surmises, they brought him out of the king's favor.

The chief and principal enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester. Ever envying the state and felicity of Lord Cromwell, and taking his occasion by the marriage of Lady Anne of Cleves being a stranger and foreigner, he whispered in the king's ears what a perfect thing it would be for the quiet of the realm and the establishment of the king's succession, to have an English queen, and a purely English prince. So that the king's affection, the more it was diminished from Anne of Cleves, the less favor he bore toward Cromwell.

After this, in April 1540, a parliament was held. After diverse delays, it was postponed till the month of July. In that month, lord Cromwell being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower. Many good men lamented and prayed heartily for him; but there were others, on the contrary, who rejoiced, especially those of the religious sort and of the clergy, who held some dignity before in the church, and now by his means, they were put from it. For such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery or false religion under the garb of hypocrisy. And he could even less abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy which, while professing deep humility, was so elated with pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms because of them. These prelates he could never abide. And so on the other hand, they hated him just as much, which was the cause of the shortening of his days; for he was afterwards attainted by parliament.

In the attainder, many crimes, surmises, and accusations were brought against him. But chiefly and above all others he was charged and accused of heresy, as a supporter of those whom they accounted heretics — such as Barnes, Clark, and others. By his authority and letters written to sheriffs and justices, Cromwell had them discharged from prison; also that he dispersed abroad among the king's subjects a great number of books containing, as they

said, manifest heresy; that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, books comprising matter that was expressly against the sacrament of the altar; and that after the translation, he commended and maintained them as good Christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses who especially charged him with having spoken words against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign (1539). There are three things I have much to marvel at, if true. *First*, if his adversaries had such sure matter against him, then what would move them to make such haste to have him dispatched out of the way, and not allow him to come to his purgation? *Secondly*, if the words had been so heinous against the king as his enemies pretend, why then did those witnesses who heard the words conceal such treason for almost two years? *Thirdly*, if the king had known and believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had indeed been such a traitor to his person, why then did the king so shortly afterwards lament his death, wishing to have Cromwell alive again? What prince wishes the life of one whom he undoubtedly suspects to have been a traitor to his life and person?

It was declared before, that so long as Cromwell went with full sail of fortune, how moderately and how temperately he always bore himself. So now lord Cromwell, being overthrown by the contrary wind of adversity, received the same with no less constancy and patience of a Christian heart; nor was he so unprovided with counsel, that he did not foresee this tempest long before it fell, and prepared for it. For two years before, suspecting the conspiracy of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called his servants, and showed them in what a slippery state he stood. And also perceiving some stormy weather to gather already, he required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest through their fault, any occasion might arise against him. And before the time of his apprehension, he introduced such order among his servants, that many of them, especially the younger, who had little else to take to, had left in their friends' hands the means to relieve them, whatever should befall him. Cromwell was such a loving and kind master to his servants, that he provided beforehand for almost all of them — so far that he gave to twelve children who were his musicians, twenty pounds apiece, and so committed them to their friends.

When he was a prisoner in the Tower, it is worth noting how quietly he bore it; how valiantly he behaved himself; how gravely and discreetly he answered the commissioners sent to him. Whatever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing to him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, in which he was not more ripened and more furnished in every condition than they were themselves.

Among the rest of those commissioners who came to him, there was one whom lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king. When he refused, saying that he would carry no *letter* to the king from a traitor, Lord Cromwell desired him to at least convey from him a *message* to the king. The other was content with this, so that it would not be against his allegiance.

[583] A.D. 1540-1547.

Then Lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other lords of what he had promised, "You will commend me to the king," he said, "and tell him that when he has so well tried, and thoroughly proved you, as I have done, he will find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote a letter from the Tower to the king; and when none dared to carry it, Sir R. Sadler, whom he had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful to him, went to the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the

letter or not. When the king granted this, Sadler presented the letter. Three times the king commanded that it be read to him, so much did he seem to be moved by it.

Notwithstanding, because of the act of parliament passed before, the worthy and noble lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies and condemned in the Tower, and the king not coming to his aid, he was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill, on the 28th of July 1540. There he said these words: —

“I have come here to die, and not to clear myself, as some think perhaps that I will. For if I were to do so, I would be a very wretch. I am by law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God who appointed me this death for my offense. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for which I heartily ask him forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world. Being of but a base degree, I was called to high estate. And since the time I came to it, I have offended my prince, for which I heartily ask him forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. And now I pray you who are here to bear me record, that I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith; no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of those who have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue. But I confess that, just as God by his Holy Spirit instructs us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced. But bear me witness that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church: and I heartily desire you to pray for the king’s grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, prince Edward, that goodly child, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remains in this flesh, I may no waver at all in my faith.”

And so making his prayer, kneeling down, he spoke these words:

“O Lord Jesus, who is the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of those who die in you; I, a wretched sinner, submit myself wholly to your most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed to your mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that you will in a better way restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech you most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that you will by your grace make strong my soul against all temptation, and defend me with the buckler of your mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation; but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in your most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before you. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap. Yet, through your mercy, I trust to be in the number of those to whom you will not impute their sins; but will take and accept me as righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. You, merciful Lord, were born for my sake; you suffered both hunger and thirst for my sake; you taught, prayed, and fasted for my sake; all your holy actions and works you wrought for my sake; you suffered most grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, you gave your most precious body and your blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Savior, let all these things profit me, which you have yourself given for me. Let your blood cleanse and wash away the spots and fulness of my sins. Let your righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of your passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, your grace, that the faith of my salvation in your blood not waver in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of your mercy and life everlasting may never decay in me; that love not grow cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh not be overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Savior, that when death has shut up the eyes of my body, the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon you; and when death has taken away the use of my tongue, may my heart yet cry and say to you. Lord, into your hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.” Amen.

And thus, his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted those who were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God; and so he patiently suffered the stroke of the executioner.

*Of the Bible in English, printed in the large volume; by  
Edmund Bonner, preferred to the bishopric of London,  
by means of Lord Cromwell.*

About the time when Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford and ambassador to France, was first nominated and preferred by means of lord Cromwell to the bishopric of London, it happened in November 1531, that Cromwell procured from the king his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to print the bible in English at the university of Paris, because paper there was better quality and more apt to be had than in the realm of England, and also there were more good workmen for its dispatch. The king wrote to his ambassador in Paris, who then was Edmund Bonner, that he should aid and assist in the work. The bishop outwardly showed great friendship to the printers; and he was so fervent, that he caused the Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and he himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced in the meantime, while the bible was printing, that king Henry VIII preferred Bonner from the bishopric of Hereford to be bishop of London. At that time Bonner, according to the statute law of England, took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the Englishmen who printed the Bible, a man whom he then loved, named Richard Grafton — though afterwards, upon the change of the world, he hated him as much. Bonner said to him when he took his oath, “Master Grafton, so it is, that the king’s most excellent majesty has by his gracious gift presented me to the bishopric of London, for which I am sorry. For if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept my old bishopric of Hereford.” Then Grafton said, “I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the city of London. For though they do not know you, yet they have heard so much goodness of you, that they will be glad.” Then Bonner said,

“I pray God I may content them. And to tell you, Master Grafton, before God, (for that was commonly his oath), the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokesley was that he vexed and troubled poor men, such as Lobeley the bookbinder and others, for having the Scriptures in English. And, God willing, he did not so much hinder it as I will further it. I will have set up in the church of St. Paul’s at least six of the bibles, and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks. But now I have especially called you to witness that upon this translation of the bishops’ sees I must, according to the statute, take an oath to the king’s majesty, acknowledging his supremacy, which before God, I take with my heart, and so I think him to be. And I beseech Almighty God to save him, and to long prosper his grace.”

“Hold the book. Sir, and read the oath,” (he said to one of his chaplains). He laid his hand on the book, and so he took his oath. And after this he showed great friendship to Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

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After the king’s letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the work. And so the printer went forward and printed the book even to the last part, Then a quarrel was picked against the printer; he was sent to the inquisitors, and there charged with articles of heresy. The Englishmen were then sent for who were at the cost and charge, and also the one who had the correction of the same, which was Miles

Coverdale. But having some warning of what would follow, the Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind all 2500 of their Bibles, called the Bibles of the great volume. They never recovered any of them, except that the lieutenant-criminal, having them delivered to him to burn in Paris, sold some of them to a haberdasher to fold caps in, and those were bought back; but the rest were burned, to the great loss of those who bore the charge. But notwithstanding the loss, after they had recovered some of the books, and were comforted and encouraged by lord Cromwell, the Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the printer, and brought them to London. There they became printers themselves (which they never intended before), and printed out the Bible in London. After that, they printed several impressions of them. Yet this was not without great trouble and loss because of the hatred of the bishops, namely, Gardiner and his fellows.

Here by the way, let me request the reader to note and understand that in those days there were two Bibles in English, bearing different titles, and printed in different places. The first was called Thomas Mathews' bible, printed at Hamburgh about A.D. 1532, the corrector of which was then John Rogers. The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch. In the translation of this bible, the greatest helper was William Tyndale who, with the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the books except the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margin, which were added afterward. But as William Tyndale was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to change the name of William Tyndale, because that name was then odious, and to further it by the strange name of Thomas Mathews. John Rogers at the same time was corrector to the press; he then translated the rest of the Apocrypha, and also added certain notes in the margin. Therefore it came to be called Thomas Mathews' Bible. This Bible of Thomas Mathews, after it was printed and presented to lord Cromwell, and lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who both liked it very well. Cromwell presented it to the king; and obtained that it might be read freely by his majesty's subjects. So that, there was printed upon the book one line in red letters, with these words: "Set forth with the King's most gracious License."

After the restraint of this Bible of Mathews, another Bible began to be printed at Paris (A..D. 1540), which was called "The Bible of the large Volume." The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch, who bore the charges. Lord Cromwell was a great helper. The chief overseer was Miles Coverdale, who taking the translation of Tyndale, compared it with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

After this, the bishops bringing their purpose to pass, brought lord Cromwell out of favor, and then shortly to his death. Not long after, great complaint was made to the king against the translation of the Bible and the preface. And then the sale of the Bible was commanded to be stayed, with the bishops promising to amend and correct it. But they never performed their promise. Then Grafton was called, and charged with the printing of Mathews' Bible. But being fearful of trouble, he made excuses for himself in all things. Then he was examined concerning the great Bible, and what notes he was to make. He answered that he knew none, for his purpose was to retain learned men to make the notes. But when he perceived that the king's majesty and his clergy were not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. Despite all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet prison, and there he remained six weeks. Before he came out, he posted a bond of three hundred pounds pledging that he would neither sell, print, nor cause to be printed, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy agreed upon a translation. And thus the Bible was stayed from that time, during the remainder of the reign of King Henry VIII.

But one more thing is yet to be noted, that after the printers lost their Bibles, they continued as suitors to Bonner, to be a means to obtain their books again from the French king. Bonner ever fed them with fair words, promising them much, but doing nothing for them, till at last Bonner was discharged from his embassy, and returned home. There he was welcomed by lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. So long as Cromwell remained in authority, Bonner was at his beck — a friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies. Cromwell was at that time an enemy to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who never favored Cromwell; and therefore Bonner could not favor the bishop; so he and Gardiner were the greatest enemies that could be.

But as soon as Cromwell fell, Bonner and Winchester immediately pretended to be the greatest friends that ever lived; and Bonner could not speak a good word of Cromwell, but used the vilest and bitterest words that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived; and then Bonner could never abide the sight of those he knew to have been in good favor with Cromwell. It went so far, that the very next day after Cromwell was apprehended, Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner, met him suddenly, and said to him that he was sorry to hear of the news that was abroad. “What is that?” he asked. “Of the apprehension of lord Cromwell,” replied Grafton. “Are you sorry for that?” he asked. “It would have been good that he was dispatched long ago.” With that, Grafton did not know what to say; but he came no more to Bonner. However, afterwards, Grafton being charged for printing a ballad made in favor of Cromwell, was called before the council where Bonner was present. And there Bonner charged him with the words that he spoke to him about Cromwell, and gave a long account of the matter. But lord Audley, who was then lord chancellor, discreetly and honorably cut off the matter, and entered into other talk.

***The History of Dr. Robert Barnes, et al.***

*The History of Doctor Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard,  
and William Jerome, Divines.*

As in battles, the chief point of victory consists in the safety of the general or captain; even so, when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell, was taken out of the way, the miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued. For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose and free course to exercise his cruelty, it was shocking to see what troubles he raised in the Lord’s vineyard. And lest by delay he might lose the occasion offered, he straightway made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard, and William Jerome, whom he caused to be executed within two days after Cromwell’s death. First of all we will speak of Dr. Barnes, whose particular history follows:

**Robert Barnes.** After he came from the University of Louvain, he went to Cambridge where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters had scarcely entered into the University. Barnes having a taste for good learning and authors, began to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that shortly, with his industry, pains, and labor, he caused the university to flourish with good letters, and he made a great part of the students learned. After those foundations had been laid, then he openly read St. Paul’s epistles, because he would have Christ and his holy word taught there; and thereby in a short time he made some good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, where he disputed with any man in the common schools. The first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the Scriptures, was Master Stafford, upon being examined for his form to be a bachelor of divinity. This disputation was marvellous in the sight of the doctors, and joyful to the godly in spirit.

[585] A.D. 1540-1547.

Thus Barnes, with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, always preaching against bishops and hypocrites. And yet he did not see his own inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained till that good Master Bilney with others (as related in the life of Master Bilney, p. 509), converted him wholly to Christ.

The first sermon that he ever preached about this truth was on the Sunday before Christmas day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge. For that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly and learned in Christ, both of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter's House, Queen's College, the King's College, Gunwel Hall, and Benet College, showed themselves, and flocked together openly, both in the schools and at sermons in St. Mary's, at the Austins; and at other disputations. And then they conferred together continually.

At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Barnes accused him in the Regent-house before the vice-chancellor; and presented articles against him. He promised to answer these at the next convocation. Then Nottoris, a violent enemy to Christ, moved Barnes to recant; but he refused to do so, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then suddenly a serjeant-at-arms was sent down to Cambridge, who arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid.

But good Dr. Farman, of Queen's College, sent word to the chambers of those thirty persons who were suspected of possessing Luther's books. And God be praised, they were conveyed away by the time the serjeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at every man's chamber. In the morning Dr. Barnes was carried by the serjeant-at-arms to cardinal Wolsey, at Westminster. There, after waiting all day, he could not speak with him till night. Then, because of Doctor Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, and Master Fox, master of the Wards, he spoke with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, on his knees. The cardinal said to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes, your man who is accused of heresy?" "Yes, and please your grace, and we trust you will find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What, Master Doctor," asked the cardinal, "did you not have a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but my golden shoes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses so offended you, that you must make us look ridiculous among the people? We were that day laughed to scorn. Truly it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit." Barnes answered, "I spoke nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." And then he delivered to the cardinal six sheets of paper written to confirm and corroborate his statements.

He received them smiling, saying, "We perceive, then, that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favor." Wolsey replied, "I will ask you a question: Do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or instead to be as simple as you would have us; to sell all these things, and to give it to the poor; and to throw away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked?" Barnes answered; "I think it necessary that it be sold and given to the poor. For this is not seemly for your calling; nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and poll-axes, but by God."

Then the cardinal answered, "Look, master doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of." Then kneeling down, they said, "We desire your grace to be good to him, for he will be reformable."

The cardinal said; "Stand up; for your sakes and the university we will be good to him. How say you, master doctor? Do you not know that I am a legate, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" Barnes said, "I know it to be so." "Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your welfare, and for the welfare of the university?" Barnes answered; "I thank your grace for your good will. I will abide by the holy Scriptures, according to the simple talent that God has lent me." "Well," said the cardinal, "You shall have your learning tried to the utmost, and you shall have the law."

Then Barnes requested that he might have justice with equity. He would have been sent immediately to the Tower, but Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night. And so he returned to Mr. Parnel's house, where he commenced writing again, and did not sleep — Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field, being his writers.<sup>100</sup> In the morning he came to Gardiner and Fox, and was committed to the sergeant-at-arms to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops and the abbot of Westminster.

At the same time when Doctor Barnes was to appear before the cardinal, there were five men to be examined for Luther's book and Lollardy. But after they saw Barnes, they set the other aside, and asked the sergeant-at-arms what was his errand? He said he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined for heresy, and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they swore him, and laid his articles to him. Then they called the master of the Fleet, and Barnes with five others were committed to the Fleet. They called Doctor Barnes back, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or not? He subscribed willingly. Then they committed him and young Master Parnel to the Fleet with the others. There they remained till Saturday morning. The warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with Barnes.

On Saturday he came back into the chapterhouse, and there he remained. After long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or be burned? He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But afterwards he was persuaded to abjure rather than to burn. Upon that, falling upon his knees, he consented to abjure. The abjuration being put into his hand, he abjured as it was written, and subscribed it with his own hand. Yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. They put him to his oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfill all that they commanded him; and he promised so to do.

They then commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from where he came, to be kept close in prison, and in the morning to provide five faggots for Dr. Barnes, and the other men. The fifth man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight provided for him to offer to the rood of Northen in St. Paul's. All these things were to be ready by eight o'clock in the morning; and the warden, with all that he could muster with bills and glaves,<sup>101</sup> and the knight marshal, with all his tipstuffs that he could gather, would

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<sup>100</sup> A poetic way of saying that Dr. Barnes was guided by their writings, perhaps citing them extensively.

<sup>101</sup> *Bills glaves, and tipstuffs*: medieval infantry weapons consisting of a broad, heavy, double-edged, hook-shaped blade, with a short pike at the back and another at the top, attached to the end of a long staff. The tipstaff was a staff with a metal tip, carried as a sign of office by a bailiff or constable



bring them to St. Paul's and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready by the hour appointed, in St. Paul's church. The church was so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with thirty-six abbots, and mitred priors, and bishops. He in his pomp sat there enthroned, with his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple, even like a bloody antichrist. And there a new pulpit was also erected on the top of the stairs, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes.

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Great baskets full of books were standing before them within the rails. These were commanded to be burned there, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen. And these heretics, after the sermon, were to go three times around the fire, and to cast in their faggots.

Now, during the sermon. Dr. Barnes and the others were commanded to kneel down and ask forgiveness of God, the catholic church, and the cardinal. After that, he was commanded at the end of the sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies being so horrible and detestable; and he once again kneeled down, desiring the people to pray for him; and so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of St. Paul's; there he took his mule, and the mitred men came back. These poor men being ordered to come down, the bishops commanded the knight marshal and the warden of the Fleet to carry them around the fire; and after this they were brought to the bishops, and there kneeled down for absolution. Rochester stood up and declared to the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and there he absolved Dr. Barnes with the others.

This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight marshal were commanded to convey them back to the Fleet.

Barnes continued in the Fleet for half a year. At length he was committed as a free prisoner to the Austin friars, in London, who complained of him to the lord cardinal. Upon which he was removed to the Austin friars of Northampton, and there was to be burned. At last, one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and who was his especial friend, having intelligence that a writ would shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign being insane, and that he should write a letter to the cardinal and leave it on his table, to declare that he had gone to drown himself in a certain place; and then to leave his clothes in the place; and another letter to the mayor to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment hung around his neck, closed in wax for the cardinal. Having done this, seven days were spent searching for him; but in the meantime he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel. He took shipping and went to Antwerp, and so to Luther. There he fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had written a book entitled, "*Acta Romanorum Puntificum*," and another book with a supplication to king Henry.

Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favor with both the learned in Christ and with the foreign princes in Germany, and he was intimate with Luther, Melancthon, and others; also with the duke of Saxony, and the king of Denmark, who in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him with the Lubecks as an ambassador to Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would gladly have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And before he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defense of the truth; and so he departed again with the

Lubecks. After going back to Wittenberg to the duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there to forward his works in print which he had begun. From there he returned at the beginning of the reign of queen Anne Boleyn, and continued a faithful preacher in the city, being well entertained and promoted all her time. After that, he was sent as an ambassador by king Henry VIII. to the duke of Cleves, to negotiate a marriage between himself and the lady Anne of Cleves. He was well accepted in the embassy, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France. And after Gardiner came, neither religion, nor the queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers prospered. For after the marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves, Gardiner never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock.

Not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king at Hampton Court, and there examined. Gardiner sought by all subtle means how to entangle and entrap them into further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. They were enjoined to preach three sermons, at which Stephen Gardiner was present, with the mayor — either to bear record of their recantation, or else, like the Pharisees came to Christ, to entrap them in their words. When these three had thus preached their sermons, Barnes, preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner present there, humbly desired him in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand. Gardiner held up his finger. Yet shortly after, they were sent for to Hampton Court; and from there were carried to the Tower, from which they never came out till they came to their death.

And thus up to here concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the history and doings of Thomas Gerrard.

*The History of Thomas Gerrard or Garret,  
as written by Anthony Dalaber.*

“About A.D. 1526, Master Gerrard, curate in Honey Lane, in London, came to Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, addressing the Scriptures, with the first part of ‘*Unio dissidentium*,’ and Tyndale’s first translation of the New Testament in English. He sold these books to the scholars in Oxford.

“After he had been there a while, it was not unknown to cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others, that Master Gerrard had a great number of those books, and that he had gone to Oxford to sell them there, to those whom he knew to be lovers of the gospel. Therefore they determined immediately to make a search throughout Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every one of his books, and himself too if they could. But at that time one of the proctors. Master Cole, of Magdalen College, was well acquainted with him. And therefore he gave secret warning to a friend of Master Gerrard, and advised that he should, as secretly as he could, depart from Oxford. For if he were taken, he would be immediately be sent up to the cardinal, and be committed to the Tower.

“I, Anthony Dalaber, having books of Master Gerrard, had been in my county in Dorsetshire, where I had a brother, parson of the parish, who was very desirous to have a curate from Oxford. It seemed good that Master Gerrard, changing his name, might be sent with my letters into Dorsetshire, to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly convey himself from there to somewhere over the sea. Accordingly, I wrote letters to my brother, for Master Gerrard to be his curate, but not declaring what he was. For my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that I ever had for the gospel’s sake.

“Accordingly, on the Wednesday, Mr. Gerrard departed from Oxford toward Dorsetshire, with his letters. How far he went, and by what occasion he returned, I do not know. But the next Friday, he came back at night-time. And so, after mid-night, in the search which was then

made for him, he was apprehended and taken in his bed by the two proctors. In the morning he was delivered to one Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln college, then a commissary of the university, who kept him as a prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists at his apprehension. I was utterly ignorant of Mr. Gerrard's sudden return, and that he was taken, until he came into my chamber and said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spoke unadvisedly in the presence of a young man who came with him. When the young man had departed, I asked Gerrard what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said he did not know him, but that he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber; and he desired his servant to bring him to me. So he declared how he had returned and was taken that night, and that now, when the commissary and all his company had gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, hearing nobody stirring in the college, he pulled back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so he came away.

[587] A.D. 1540-1547.

“Then said I to him, ‘Alas, Mr. Gerrard, by your uncircumspect coming to me, and speaking in front of this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.’ I asked him why he had not gone to my brother with my letters accordingly. He said that, after he had gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that he returned to Oxford. But now with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help convey him away. And so he cast off his hood and gown in which he came to me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any. He told me that he would go into Wales, and from there convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put a sleeved coat of mine on him. He would also have had another manner of cap from me, but I had none but a priest-like cap, as his own was.

“Then we both kneeled down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, we entreated him with plenty of tears so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if it was His good pleasure and will so to do. Then we embraced and kissed each other, and the tears so abundantly flowed from both our eyes, that our faces were all wet with them, and we could scarcely speak one to another for sorrow. So he departed from me, apparelled in my coat, being committed to the guidance of our Almighty and Merciful Father.

“When he had gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightway shut my chamber-door, and went into my study. I took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salty tear, I read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel with much deliberation. When I had done so, with prayer I committed to God our dearly beloved brother Gerrard, earnestly beseeching Him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, His only begotten Son, our Lord, that he would grant not only to safely conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also that he would endue his tender and recently born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by his Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby to valiantly withstand to His glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid upon their young and weak backs, unable to bear so great a burden, without the help of his Holy Spirit.

“This done, I laid aside my book, folded up Master Gerrard's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among my apparel. And so, having put on my short gown, I shut up my study and chamber-doors, and went toward Frideswides, to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare to them what had happened. But I purposely went by St. Mary's church, to go first to Corpus Christi college, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. By chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of Magdalene College, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful

countenance, saying that we were all undone, for Master Gerrard had returned to Oxford, and was taken the previous night, and was in prison with the commissary. I said it was not so. He replied it was so. I told him it could not be so; for I was sure he was gone. He answered, "I know he went with your letters, but he came back yesterday evening, and was taken in his bed at Radleis this night. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was gone, for I spoke with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did. And then I declared the whole matter to him, how and when he came to me; and how he went his way, desiring him to declare the same to our brethren whom he might meet with; and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance, and to beseech Him also that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies. And I told him that I was going to Master Clark of Frideswides, to declare to him this matter; for I knew and thought truly that he and others there were in great sorrow about this matter.

"Then I went straight to Frideswides. Even-song had begun, and the dean and the other canons were there. As I stood there, in comes Dr. Cottisford the commissary, as fast as he could, bareheaded, and as pale as ashes, and he goes to the dean where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully. I went aside from the choir-door, to hear and see more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir greatly troubled. About the middle of the church Dr. London met them, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed for keeping his prisoner so negligently, so that he wept for sorrow. And it was known abroad that Master Gerrard had escaped; but to where, no man could tell. The doctors departed, and sent their servants and spies every where. Master Clark, about the middle of *Compline*,<sup>102</sup> came out of the choir. I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened. He was glad, and sent for one Master Sumner, and Master Belts, fellows and canons there. Meanwhile, he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, 'the prudence of the serpent, and harmlessness of the dove,' for he thought we would shortly have much need of it.

"When we ended our supper, and committed our whole cause with fervent sighs and hearty prayers to God our heavenly Father, I went to Alborn Hall, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early. As soon as I could get out the door I went straight towards Gloucester College, to my chamber. It had rained that morning, and my hose and shoes were sprinkled with mire. When I had come to Gloucester College, which was about six o'clock, I found the gates fast shut, at which I much marvelled; for they were usually opened daily long before that time. Then I walked up and down for a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the meanwhile my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I were by chance taken and examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare anything further than I perceived was manifestly known already. And so when the gate was opened, thinking to change myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber. Going up the stairs, I would have opened my door, but I could not do it; by this I perceived that my lock had been meddled with; and yet at last, with much ado, I opened the lock. But when I came in, I saw my bed all tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study-door open. I was much amazed, and thought truly that some search had been made there that night for Master Gerrard, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man who brought him to my chamber.

"Now, a monk was lying in the chamber next to me, who as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told me how Master Gerrard was sought in my chamber that night, and what ado was made by the commissary and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust

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<sup>102</sup> *Compline*: last of the seven canonical hours just before retiring.

through my straw bed, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Master Gerrard. And although his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, they did not perceive them. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, to the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to clean my hose and shoes, and to put on another gown. Therefore, all dirty as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him to the prior's chamber, where I found the prior standing and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night: I told him I lay at Alborn Hall with my old fellow Fitzjames, but he would not believe me.

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“He asked me if Master Gerrard was with me yesterday? I told him, ‘Yes.’ Then he would know where he was, and why he came to me. I told him ‘I did not know where he was, unless he was at Woodstock. For so,’ I continued, ‘he had shown me that he would go there, because one of the keepers there was his friend, and had promised him a piece of venison to make merry with at the Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes from me, but I had none to lend him.’ Then he observed on my finger a big ring of silver very well double gilt, with two letters A.D. engraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it to him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for in it was his name: an A. for Anthony, and a D. for Dunstan. When I heard him say that, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring forever.

“Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Gerrard came to me, and where he had gone. I had scarcely written three words, when the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men came to the prior, requiring him to bring me away to Lincoln College to the commissary, and to Dr. London. When I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary, Dr. Higdon, then dean of the Cardinal's College, and Dr. London, warden of the New College, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought to them, after greetings given and taken between them, they called for chairs and sat down, and then called for me to come to them. First they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been a student in the university? I told them almost three years. They asked me what I studied. I told them I had read sophistry and logic in Alborn Hall, and now was removed to Gloucester College to study the civil law. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Gerrard, and how long I had known him? I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost twelve months. They asked me when he was with me? I told them yesterday afternoon.

“Now by this time, while they had me in this talk, one came to them, with pen, ink, and paper; I think it was the clerk of the University. As soon as he had come, there was a board with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a great mass-book laid before me. I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I would truly answer whatever interrogatories I might be examined upon by them. I hesitated at first; but afterwards, being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me do. But in my heart I meant not to do so. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath; and that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then they made great courtesy between those who would examine me, and put interrogatories to me. At last, the greatest papistical Pharisee of them all, Doctor London, took it upon himself to do it.

“He asked me by my oath, where Master Gerrard was, and to where I had conveyed him. I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet knew where he was; nor where he had gone, unless he had gone to Woodstock, as I had said before, as he told me he would. Then he asked me again when he came to me, how he came to me; what and how long he talked with me; and to where he went from me. I told him he came to me about the time of even-song, and that someone

brought him to my chamber-door, whom I did not know; and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry with this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat, and a pair of high shoes from me; but I had none to lend him; and then he straight went his way from me, but to where I did not know. All these statements of mine, the scribe wrote in a book.

“Then they earnestly required me to tell them to where I had conveyed him. For surely, they said, I brought him somewhere this morning, as they might perceive by my foul shoes and hose, that I had travelled with him for most of this night. I answered plainly that I lay at Alborn Hall, and that I had a good witness of it there. They asked me where I was at even-song. I told them at Frideswides, and that I saw first Master Commissary; and then Dr. London come there at that time to the dean of Frideswides; and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had taken him, or to where he had gone, I would surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be put to the torture. But Master Commissary entreated me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might secure him again, and that he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble. I told him I could not tell where he was. Thus they occupied and tossed me for almost two hours in the chapel — sometimes with threatenings and foul words; and then with fair words and fair promises. Then the one who brought Mr. Gerrard to my chamber was brought before me, and made to declare what Mr. Gerrard said to me at his coming to my chamber. But I said plainly that I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my *no* to be as good as his *yes*, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother of trouble and peril of his life.

“At last, when they could get nothing from me to hurt or accuse any man, or know anything about what they sought, all three together brought me up into a great chamber over the commissary’s chamber, in which stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle; took away my money and my knives, and then put both my legs into the stocks, and locked me fast in them. I sat in them, with my feet being almost as high as my head; and so, leaving me alone, after locking the chamber-door, they departed (I think to their abominable mass). When they had all gone, it came to my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clark, my father in Christ, who nearly two years before that, when I earnestly desired him to permit me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wherever he might teach or preach, said to me much of this sort:

‘Dalaber, you desire you know not what, and which, I fear, you are unable to take upon yourself. For though now my preaching is sweet and pleasant to you, because there is yet no persecution laid upon you for it, yet the time will come, and that perhaps shortly, if we continue to live godly in this, that God will lay upon you the cross of persecution to test you, whether you can abide the fire as pure gold, or be consumed as stubble and dross. For the Holy Spirit plainly affirms by St. Paul, ‘If any man would live godly, he shall suffer persecution.’ 2Tim 3.12. Indeed, you will be called and judged a heretic; you will be abhorred by the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you and also hate you; and you will be cast into prison; and no man will dare to help or comfort you; and you will be accused and brought before the bishops to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful friends and kinsfolk. Then you will wish that you had never known this doctrine; then you will curse Clark, and wish that you had never known him; because he had brought you into all these troubles.’

“I was so grieved at these words, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with an abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God shown to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me,

but receive me into his company, as I desired, saying that I trusted truly that He who had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue in it to the end. When he heard me say this, he came to me and took me up in his arms and kissed me — the tears trickling down from his eyes. And he said to me, ‘The Lord Almighty grant you to do so; and from then on forever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.’

“Now at this time in Oxford there were several graduates and scholars at the colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, who all resorted to Mr. Clark’s disputations and lectures in divinity.

[589] A.D. 1540-1547.

“And when they might not come conveniently, I was appointed by Mr. Clark to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of them. This exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

“This forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martyr of God, Mr. Clark, coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighs to cry to God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able to patiently and quietly bear and suffer whatever it might please him of his Fatherly love to lay upon me, to His glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I be an accuser of them all. For they were all well known to me, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be praised, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatever should happen to me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, and earnestly requested me to tell him where Master Gerrard was, and if I would do so, he promised me straightway to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was; for indeed I could not. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I could eat any food; I told him, yes, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he had gone, his servants asked me many questions, which I do not remember now; and some of them spoke fair words to me, and some threatened me, calling me heretic; and so they departed, locking the door securely upon me.”

Thus far Anthony Dalaber has prosecuted this history. He died in 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury, before finishing it.

After this, Gerrard was apprehended and taken by Master Cole, the proctor, as his men were going westward, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford. And so being brought back, he was committed to a ward of the prison. He was brought before the commissary. Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswides (now called Christ’s College), in St. Mary’s church. There, sitting in judgment, they convicted him according to their law as a heretic, and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary’s church to Frideswides, and Dalaber likewise with him — Gerrard having his red hood on his shoulders like a master of arts. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further orders were received.

Besides these, there were a great number also suspected to be infected with heresy (as they called it), for having such books of God’s truth as Master Gerrard had sold to them. Many were forced to forsake their colleges and return to their friends. Against the procession time, they made a great fire, into which all those who were in the procession, who had been convicted or suspected of heresy, were each commanded to cast a book as they passed by, in token of repentance and renouncing their errors.

After this, Master Gerrard, fled from place to place to escape their tyranny, till this present time, when he was again apprehended and burned in Smithfield, with Doctor Barnes and

William Jerome, vicar of Stepney.<sup>103</sup> Thus, these three godly men endured martyrdom in the fire with great constancy. More about this William Jerome now follows.

*The Life and History of William Jerome,  
Vicar of Stepney, and Martyr of Christ.*

The third who suffered with Barnes and Gerrard, was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. This Jerome being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached many sermons in which he labored to weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing he could not otherwise but provoke much hatred against him among the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened, that on preaching one Sunday at St. Paul's, he gave a sermon in which he recited and mentioned Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified. He showed how Sarah and her child Isaac and all those who were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified: and those who were born of Hagar, the bondwoman, were bound and under the law, and could not be freely justified. In these words, what was there said, but what St. Paul himself expounds in his epistle to the Galatians (fourth chapter), or what could be gathered there, but what was consonant to sound doctrine? The point was this: he was accused of preaching erroneously at St. Paul's cross, teaching the people that all who were born of Sarah were freely justified; speaking there absolutely without any condition, either of baptism or of penance, etc. Who doubts that if St. Paul himself had been at St. Paul's cross, and had preached the same words to Englishmen, which he wrote to the Galatians, he would have been apprehended as a heretic for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance?

And thus much concerning the several histories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, being committed to the Tower after Easter, remained there till the 30th of July, which was two days after the death of Lord Cromwell. Then process was issued against them by the king's council in parliament. Gardiner confessed that he was privy to this process. Thereupon these three good saints of God, on the 30th of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield. There at the stake, while preparing themselves for the fire, they gave many and various exhortations. Among them, Dr. Barnes first began with the following protestation:

“I have come here to be burned as a heretic, and you will hear my belief, whereby you will perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. I take God to record that I never, to my knowledge, taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me to; and in my sermons I never maintained any error, nor moved, nor gave any occasion for insurrection. Although I have been slandered for preaching that our Lady was but a saffron-bag — which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it — but all my study and diligence has been to utterly confound and confute all men of that doctrine, such as the anabaptists, who deny that our Savior Christ took any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary; I detest and abhor that sect. And in this place some of them have been burned, whom I never favored nor maintained. But always with all diligence I studied to set forth the glory of God; the

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<sup>103</sup> Stepney (including Stepney Green) is an area in London's East End. Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, Charles Spurgeon, and A.W. Brown would later preach there.



obedience to our sovereign lord the king; and the true and sincere religion of Christ. And now hearken to my faith:

“I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons in one Godhead, that created and made all the world; and that this blessed Trinity sent down this second Person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here bear me record, that I utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the anabaptists, who say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe that without man’s will or power he was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and took her flesh, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Paul, ‘He was made in all things like his brethren,’ except sin. And I believe that his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell, and that there is no other satisfaction to the Father, except his death and passion alone; and that no work of man deserved anything from God, except his passion, as regards our justification. For I know the best work that I ever did is impure and imperfect.”

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And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses.

“For though perhaps you know nothing by me, yet I confess that my thoughts and cogitations are innumerable. Therefore I beseech you, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, ‘Enter not into judgment with your servant, O Lord.’ And in another place, ‘If You, Lord, were to mark iniquity, O Lord, who shall stand?’ Therefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt to inherit the kingdom of heaven through Him. Do not take me here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and truly those who do not do them shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded of us by God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is the death of Christ alone.

“I believe that there is a holy church; and a company of all those who profess Christ; and that all who have suffered and confessed his name are saints, and that they all praise and bless God in heaven, more than I or any man’s tongue can express; and that I have always spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled; and that she is the purest virgin that God ever created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born.”

Then Mr. Sheriff said, “You have said well of her before.” And being afraid that Mr. Sheriff had been or would be aggrieved with anything that he might say, he said, ‘Mr. Sheriff, if I speak anything that you will me not to speak, do no more than beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace. For I will not be disobedient in anything, but will obey.’ Then there was one who asked him his opinion about praying to saints. Dr. Barnes said,

“Now you shall hear my opinion about saints. I have said something about them before, I think, how I believe they are in heaven with God; and that they are worthy of all the honor that Scripture wills them to have. But I say, throughout Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed to; for then I would preach to you a doctrine of my own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or not, I refer that to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Mr. Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in that faith as a saint. Therefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.”

“Well have you anything more to say?” Then he spoke to Mr. Sheriff, and said, “Have you any articles against me for which I am condemned?” And the sheriff answered “No.” “Then,” he said, “is there anyone else here who knows why I must die, or that has been led into error

by my preaching? Let them speak now, and I will give them an answer." No man answered. Then he said,

"Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and I understand it is by an act of Parliament. I cannot tell why, but probably heresy, for which we are likely to burn. But those who have been the occasion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Stephen, who is now bishop of Winchester. if he has sought or worked my death either by word or deed, I pray God to forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave those who put him to death. And if any of the council, or any others have sought or worked it through malice or ignorance, I pray God to forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes, so that they may see and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king, as I have done ever since I was in prison; and now pray that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father has begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience to the king's majesty. But here I say to you that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart; indeed, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient to him, and that is not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience' sake before God."

Then he spoke to the sheriff, and said, "Mr. Sheriff, I require you on God's behalf to have me commended to the king, and to show him that I request from his grace these five requests: *First*, that where his grace has received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbeyes..." When the sheriff desired him to stop there, he answered,

"Mr. Sheriff, I warrant to you that I will speak no harm. For I know it is well done that all such superstition has been clean taken away; and the king has done well in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and is obeyed in his whole realm as a king (which neither his father nor grandfather, nor his ancestors who reigned before him, ever had), and that through our preaching, and that of other wretches like us, who have always applied our whole studies, and given ourselves to proclaim the same, this is now our reward. Well, it makes no matter. Now he reigns among you. I pray God that he may long live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them. The second thing that I desire of his grace, is that he will see that matrimony is held in more reverence than it is; and that men do not cast off their wives for every light cause invented, and live in adultery and fornication. The *Third*, that abominable swearers may be punished; for the vengeance of God will come upon them for their mischievous oaths. The *Fourth*, that his grace would proclaim Christ's true religion. And seeing that he has begun, go forward and make an end. For many things have been done, but there is much more to do; and that it would please his grace to look at God's word himself, for it has been obscured with many traditions invented out of our own brains."

"Now," he asked, "how many petitions have I spoken of?" And the people said, "Four."

"Well," he said, "even these four are sufficient which I desire of you, so that the king's grace may be certified, and say that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he not be deceived by false preachers and teachers and evil counsel. For Christ says that such false prophets will come in sheep's clothing."

Then he desired all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man; or given any occasion for evil, that they would forgive him of it, and amend that evil they took from him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God; and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he did not doubt to be saved. And with these words he

desired them all to pray for him. And then he turned around and put off his clothes, making ready for the fire, there patiently to take his death.

Jerome and Gerrard also made a similar confession, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith. They protested that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue among them, with his most dear son, Prince Edward. This done, Jerome added this exhortation in the few words which follow:

“I say to you, good brethren, that God has bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver or other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Therefore, do not be unthankful to him; but do as much as belongs to Christian men, to fulfill his commandments, that is, ‘Love your brethren.’ Love hurts no man, love fulfills all things. If God has sent you plenty, help your neighbor that has need. Give him good counsel. If he lacks, consider that if you were in necessity, you would gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered from his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things.

[591] A.D. 1540-1547.

“Consider that all that Christ did was of his own goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam’s breaking of God’s precepts, we would all have been lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so if we break God’s commandments, we shall have damnation if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust or confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may depart in the true faith of Christ.”

In a similar manner Gerrard protested, and exhorted the people; and ended his protestation as follows:

“I also detest, abhor, and refuse all heresies and errors; and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask mercy of God. Or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, by which any person has taken any offense, error, or evil opinion, I desire his forgiveness, and all other persons whom I have in any way offended,. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance I never wittingly or willingly preached anything against God’s holy word, or contrary to the true faith, nor to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living. But I have always, for my little learning, set forth the honor of God, and the right obedience to his laws; and also the king’s. And if I could have done better, I would. Therefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire your pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God to send the king’s grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king’s honor, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus I now yield up my soul to Almighty God, trusting and believing that of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Savior, Jesus Christ, he will take it and pardon me of all my sins by which I have from my youth most grievously offended his majesty. Therefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die steadfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity.”

And so, after they had engaged in prayer, in which they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith,

constancy, and patience through the Holy Spirit, taking each other by the hands, and kissing one another, they quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors. And so they took their death both Christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and the quiet of their conscience.

In this it is to be noted how mightily the Lord works with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in those who suffer with a guiltless conscience for religion's sake, above others who suffer for their deserts. For whereas those who suffer as malefactors, are commonly heavy and pensive in their death, so the others with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, abide whatever it pleases the Lord to lay upon them.

*A note of three Papists executed at the same time  
with Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard.*

At the same time, and in the same place, three others were also executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary: namely, for denying the king's supremacy. Their names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel. This spectacle happening on the same day, brought the people into a marvellous doubt about their religion, which part to follow, as might well happen among ignorant people, seeing two contrary parties suffering — the one for popery, the other against popery — both at one time. This circumstance happened because of a certain division among the king's council, who were so equally divided among themselves, that the one half seemed to hold with the one religion, and the other half with the contrary.

We have thought it good to annex here their names, even though it is not necessary to express them, yet for setting forth the truth:

PROTESTANTS.	PAPISTS
Canterbury.	Winchester.
Suffolk.	Durham.
Beauchamp.	Norfolk.
Lisle.	Southampton.
Russel, treasurer.	Anthony Brown.
Paget.	William Paulet.
Sadler.	John Baker.
Audley.	Richard, chancellor of the Augmentation.
	Wingfield, vice-chancellor.

This division and separation of the council among themselves, caused both these parties above mentioned to suffer, the one for one religion, and the other for another. For as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, so the other part likewise called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel.

***Persecution in London for the Six Articles***

Thus, having discussed the Six Articles, with other matters in the parliament concerning the condemnation of Lord Cromwell, and of Dr. Barnes and his companions, let us now consider what great vexations ensued after the proclamation of these articles through the whole realm of England. First to be mentioned is the severe commissions sent out by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices, mayors, and bailiffs, in every shire, and other commissioners; and especially to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and

to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, to inquire diligently for all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire for all such persons whatever, who were culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the act of the Six Articles.

Upon this commission being given to Edmund Bonner, he came to the Guildhall with other commissioners, to sit upon the statute of the Six Articles. He began soon to put his authority in execution. First he charged certain juries to take their oath upon the statute. Being sworn, they had a day appointed to give their verdict. On that day they indicted sundry persons who were shortly apprehended. And after remaining there a while, they were discharged at the Star Chamber by the king and his council, without any further punishment.

Not long after this, Sir William Roch being mayor, Bonner, with other commissioners, sat at the Guildhall. When the juries were sworn, Bonner took it upon himself to give the charge. He began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of whatever degree they were. At the end of his charge, he brought to the bar a boy whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes. He produced to the court two witnesses who were there sworn in the face of the court. So a day was assigned upon which the juries would give their verdict. At that day both the commissioners and the juries met at Guildhall. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then the foreman of the jury, whose name was William Robins, said, "My lord, we have found nothing." At these words Bonner raged as someone in agony, and said, "Nothing! have you found nothing? What, *nothing*? By the faith I owe to God, I would trust you on your obligation; but by your oath, I will not trust you at all." Then some of the commissioners said, "My lord, give them a longer time." "No," he said, "in London they ever find nothing; I pray you, what do you say to Mekins?" (the accused boy)

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"My lord," replied the foreman, "we can say nothing to him, for we find the witnesses to disagree. One affirms that he said the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification." "Why," said Bonner, "did he not say that Barnes died holy?" Then pausing a while, he bade them call the other jury. "Put in your verdict," he said. "My lord," said one, "we have found nothing." "Jesus!" he said, "is this not a strange case?"

Then one of the jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, said, "My lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the parsons and curates of every parish give us instructions, and it was denied us." Then the recorder stood up and said, "It was true, indeed, what he had spoken." And with that he said, "This last year two juries were charged, who did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as it lay in them to make an uproar among the king's people. And therefore it was thought not fit that they should give information to you." "No, no," said Bonner, "*this* was the cause: if the parson or curate were to give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to a knave-priest, and he will by and by go and reveal it." "What," said my lord mayor, "there is no man, I know, who will say so." "Yes, by my vow," answered Bonner, "knave priest, knave priest." Then my lord mayor said, somewhat smiling, "There are some of them slippery fellows; and as men find them, so will they oft-times report." Bonner, not well contented with those words, said to the jury, "My masters, what do you say to Mekins?" They answered, "The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them." "Why," said Bonner, "this court has allowed them." Then one of the jury said to the recorder, "Is it

sufficient for our discharge, if this court allows them?" "Yes," said the recorder, "it is sufficient;" and he said, "Go aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict." After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which was friendly received at Bonner's hand. So both they and the other jury were discharged. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after, they sat for life and death. Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him; "Mekins, confess the truth, and submit yourself to the king's law, that your death maybe an example to all others."

This Richard Mekins being but a child, who had not passed the age of fifteen years, as he had heard some other folks talk, so he chanced to speak against the sacrament of the altar. This coming to Bonner's ears, he never left Mekins before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother dared aid him with any relief, by which he endured great misery. When he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good about the bishop of London, and of the great charity he showed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, but especially Doctor Barnes, to whom he imputed the learning of that heresy which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would for his life have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it to him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But many spoke and said, "It was a great shame for the bishop, whose part and duty it was to labor to save the boy's life, rather than procure that terrible execution — seeing the boy was such an ignorant soul, that he did not know what affirming the heresy was."

*Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hewet,  
who suffered at Salisbury.*

About the same time also, a certain priest was burned at Salisbury. Leaving his papistry, he had married a wife, and became a player (actor), with one Ramsey and Hewet. These three were all condemned and burned. Against them, and especially against Spencer, matter was laid concerning the sacrament of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this inquisition was meant especially concerning the Six Articles, yet it so fell out that doubts began to arise, and to be moved, whether they might as well inquire about all other opinions, articles, and causes; or for speaking against the holy bread, and holy water; or for favoring the causes of Barnes, Friar, Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, etc. Whereupon great perturbation followed in almost all parishes throughout London, in the year 1541.

*A brief account of the Troubles at London  
in the time of the Six Articles; and a list of the Names  
of some of the Persons who were persecuted for speaking against them.*

John Dixe, was never observed to confess in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a sacramentary (Zwinglian).

Richard Chepeman, for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy-days, and not coming to the church.

Mistress Cicely Marshall, for not bearing her palm, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Haunkes, for not coming to the church, and for receiving young men of the new learning.

John Browne, for bearing with Barnes.

Mistress Annes Bedikes, for despising our Lady, and not praying to saints.

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Andrew Kempe, William Pahen, Richard Manerd, for disturbing the service of the church with babbling out of the New Testament.

William Wyders, , two years before, denied that the sacrament is Christ's body, and said that it was only a sign.

William Stokesley, for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy, for speaking against the worshipping of saints.

Master Blage, for not coming to his parish church, nor confessing, or receiving.

William Clinch, for saying, when he saw a priest preparing for the mass, "You will see a priest now go to masking." Also, for calling the bishop of Winchester, "a false flattering knave." Also, for burying his wife without a dirge.

William Plaine, seeing a priest going to mass, said, "Now you will see one in masking (*i.e.*, masquerading)." Also, when he came to the church, he disturbed the divine service by reading aloud the English Bible.

Herman Johnson, Jerome Akon, Giles Hosterman. Richard Bonfeld, Thomas Couper, Humphrey Skinner, John Sneudnam, Richard Phillips, and John Celos. — These nine persons were presented, because they had not confessed in Lent, nor received at Easter.

John Jones, William Wright, Peter Butcher, and Roger Butcher. — These four were presented for not keeping the divine service in the holy-days.

Mistress Brisley, for reasoning on the new learning, and not attending the church.

Mistress Castle, for being a meddler and a reader of the Scriptures in the church.

Master Galias of Bernard's Inn, for withstanding the curate in censuring the altars on *Corpus Christi Even*, and saying openly that the curate did wrong.

Master Pates, of David's Inn, and Master Galias, for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the king's injunctions, and reading the bishop's book; so that he had much ado to make an end of it.

William Beckes and his wife, were suspected to be sacramentaries, and for not kneeling to the cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham, William Thomas, Richard Beckes, and William Beckes. — These four were presented for interrupting the divine service.

Ralph Symonds, for not keeping our Lady's mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith, an apprentice, for saying that, "he would rather hear the crying of dogs, than priests singing matins or even-song.

Thomas Bele, John Sturgeon, John Wilshire, Thomas Simon, Ralph Clervis, and his wife, James Banaster, Nicholas Barker, John Sterky, Christopher Smith, and Thomas Net.— These eleven persons of St. Magnus parish, were presented and accused for maintaining certain preachers (as it was called) of the new learning.

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Nicholas Philips, for maintaining heresies and Scripture books, and for neither using fasting nor prayer.

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Richard Bigges, for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a dog, and for not adoring at the elevation.

Mistress Elizabeth Statham, for maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Gerrard, Jerome, and others.

John Duffet, for marrying a woman who was thought to be a nun.

Milliard and Duffet, for maintaining Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, with others.

Grafton and Whitchurch, suspected of not being confessed.

John Greene, Mother Palmer, Christopher Coots, William Selly, Alexander Frere, William Bredi, John Bush, William Somerton, George Durant, and Davids, an apprentice. — All of these being of the parish of St. Martin's, were presented for despising the ceremonies of the church. Also some for walking during the time of consecrating the mass, with their caps on. Some for turning their heads away; some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church, etc.

Robert Andrew, for receiving heretics into his house, and holding a disputation about heresy there.

John Williamson, Thomas Buge, Thomas Gilbert, William Hickson, Robert Daniel, and Robert Smitton. — These six were suspected of being sacramentaries and rank heretics, and procurers of heretics to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

John Mayler, for being a sacramentary, and a railer against the mass.

Richard Bilby, draper, was presented for saying these words: "That Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament!"

Henry Patinson, and Anthony Barber. — These two were detected for permitting their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar. Also Patinson did not come to confession.

Robert Norman also refused to come to confession, saying that, "none of his servants should be absolved by a knave priest."

John Humfrey, for speaking against the sacraments and ceremonies of the church.

William Smith and his wife, and John Cooke and his wife. — These two couples were presented for not coming to service in their parish church; and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

William Gate or Cote, William Aston, John Humfrey, and John Cooke. — These four were presented, for saying that, "the mass was made of pieces and patches." Also for despising matins, mass, and even-song.

John Miles and his wife, John Millen, John Robinson, Richard Millar, John Green and his wife, and Arnold Chest. — All these were put up for railing against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Crosdall, John Gierke, and John Owel. — These three laboring men were presented for not coming to divine service on holy-days, and for laboring on those days.

Thomas Grangier, and John Dietier; noted as common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Sutton and his wife, and John Segar. — These three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.



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John Rawlins, John Shiler, William Chalinger, John Edmonds, and John Richmond and his wife, for despising holy bread and holy water, and not attending divine service.

Margaret Smith, for dressing flesh meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham, for reasoning against the sacrament of the altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not very God.

Robert Granger, William Petingale, William May and his wife, John Harrison and his wife, Robert Welch, John Benglosse, John Pitley, Henry Foster, Robert Cansy, and William Pinchbeck and his wife. — All these thirteen were put up by the inquisition, for not observing proper reverence at the celebration of the mass.

The wife of Martyn Bishop was presented by her curate, for not going to confession in Lent, or receiving at Easter. Also, she slighted the curate when he told her of it.

Robert Plat and his wife. — These were great reasoners in Scripture, saying that confession avails nothing; and that he, though not able to read, would not use beads to say his prayers.

Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke. The charge laid to these three persons, was for reasoning about the Scriptures and the sacraments. The register says that they denied all the sacraments. But this popish hyperbole will find little credit, where experience that is acquainted with popish practices, sits as the judge.

John Cockes. — This man was noted for a great searcher for new preachers, and a maintainer of Barnes's opinions.

John Boultes, for forbidding his wife to use beads in saying her prayers.

Thomas Kelde. — He refused to take penance and absolution; and ate flesh on a Friday before Lent.

Nicholas Newell, a Frenchman, presented as a man far gone in the new sect; and that he was a great jester at the saints and at our Lady.

John Hawkins and his servant, Thomas Chamberlaine and his wife, John Curteys, Mr. Dissel, his wife, and his servant. — These eight were great reasoners, and despisers of ceremonies.

The curate of St. Katherine Coleman. — He was noted for calling suspected persons to his sermons by a beadle, without ringing any bell; and when he preached he left his matters doubtful; also, for preaching without the commandment of his parson; also, because he was a Scottish friar, driven out of his country for heresy.

Tulle Bustre, his wife, and his son-in-law. — These were noted for seldom attending the church, and many times were seen to labor on the holy-days.

William Ettis and his wife. — Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certain preachers; and for causing one Taverner, a priest, to preach against the king's injunctions.

Merifield and his son-in-law; Nicholas Russel, of the Saracen's Head in Friday-street, William Callaway, and Thomas Gardiner, with three apprentices. — Against this company presentation was made for assembling together in the evening; and for bringing evil preachers, that is to say, good preachers, among the people.

Thomas Plummer was presented for saying that "the sacrament was blessed to the one who takes it; and not blessed to the one who does not."

Shermons, of the Carpenter's-hall in Christ's parish, was presented for procuring an interlude to be openly played, in which priests were railed at, and called knaves.

Lewis Morall, a servant, and James Ogule and his wife. — Noted not to have confessed in certain years before.

Thomas Babam was accused of not having confessed in his parish church.

The parson and curate of St. Antholin's, for not using the ceremonies in making holy water; nor keeping their processions on Saturdays.

Lewis Bromfield, for not taking the sacrament; and for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

John Sempe, and John Goffe, for dispraising a certain anthem of our Lady, beginning *Te matrem*, etc., saying that there is heresy in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey, for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Thomas Cappes, for saying these words, "The sacrament of the altar is but a memory and a remembrance of the Lord's death."

John Mailer, grocer, for calling the sacrament of the altar the baked God; and for saying that the mass was called beyond the sea, *missa*, for all is amiss in it.

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John Hardyman, a parson of St. Martin's in Ironmonger-lane, presented for preaching openly that confession is confusion and deformation; and that the ceremonies of the church were to be abhorred. Also for saying that it was a mischief to esteem the sacraments to be of such virtue, for in so doing they take the glory of God from Him; and for saying that faith in Christ is sufficient to justify, without any other sacraments.

Christopher Dray, plumber, for saying about the sacrament of the altar, that it was not offered for remission of sins; and that the body of Christ was not there, except by representation and signification.

Robert Ward, shoemaker, presented by three witnesses for speaking against the sacrament of the altar: he died in prison in Bread-street.

Nicholas Otes, for not coming to the sacrament at Easter; he was sent to Newgate.

Herman Peterson, and James Gosson, for not coming to absolution and the sacrament at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bread-street.

Richard White, haberdasher, for saying that he did not think that Christ was in the sacrament of the altar within the sepulcher, but in heaven above.

Giles Harrison being in a place outside Aldgate, and merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbors, where some of them said, "Let us go to mass." He replied, "I say, tarry." and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, he lifted it up over his head; and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing his head, he made a cross over the cup, and so taking the cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head; saying these words, "Have you not heard mass now?" For which he was presented to Bonner, then bishop of London.

Richard Bostock, priest, for saying that auricular confession killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters had done since King Henry was king of England, etc. Also for saying that the water in the Thames has as much virtue as the water that the priests hallow.

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Margaret Ambsworth, for having no reverence for the sacrament; and for instructing maids; and being a great doctress.

John Leicester, William Raynold, Christopher Townesend, Thomas David Skinner, Thomas Mabs, Thomas Starkey, Christopher Holybread, Martyn Donam, and William Derby. — All these were noted and presented for supporting Barnes and such other preachers; and many of their wives for not taking holy bread; nor going in procession on Sundays.

Lawrence Maxwel, bricklayer, for speaking and reasoning against auricular confession.

John Coygues, or Livelonde, for holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

Gerard Frise was presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached is better than the sacrament of the altar; and that he would rather go to hear a sermon than to hear a mass.

Dominic Williams, a Frenchman, for not receiving the sacrament of the altar at Easter.

Thomas Lancaster, priest. — He lay in the Compter in the Poultry,<sup>104</sup> for compiling and bringing over prohibited books. Also, Gough, a stationer, was troubled for resorting to him.

Friar Ward was put in the Compter in Bread-street, for marrying after his vow of celibacy.

Friar Wilcock, a Scotch friar, was imprisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against confession and holy water; against praying to saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory; and for holding that priests might have wives, etc.

John Taylor, doctor in divinity, was presented for preaching at St. Bride's in Fleet-street, that it is as profitable for a man to hear mass and see the sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, which kissed Christ our Savior, etc.

W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholin's, was presented and examined before Edmund Bonner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his church, having no license; and also for allowing the said Alexander Seton, in his sermons, to preach against Dr. Smith. It was also objected that he used to make holy water, leaving out the general exorcism. Against this objection Tolwine defended himself, saying that, "he took occasion to do so by the king's injunctions which say that, 'ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.'" In the end, Tolwine was forced to stand at St. Paul's Cross to recant.

At the same time, Robert Wisdom, parish priest of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, and also Thomas Becon, were brought to St. Paul's Cross, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burn their books.

Sir George Parker, parson of St. Pancras, and curate of Little Allhallows, was noted, suspected, and brought before the Ordinary, for having certain books.

Sir John Byrch, priest of St. Botolph's-lane, was complained about for being a busy reasoner in certain opinions which did not agree with the pope's church.

Alexander Seton, a Scotchman, was denounced, detected, and presented by three priests, of whom one was fellow of Whittington College, called Richard Taylor; another was John Smith; the third was John Huntingdon, who afterwards was converted to the same doctrine himself. This Seton was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk; and his adversaries raised fifteen objections (or rather cavils) against him from his sermons, which I will exhibit here to the

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<sup>104</sup> *Compter*: a small prison or detention room within a larger building; here it was the Poultry house.

reader, so that men may see how consonant the doctrine Seton then preached was with the Scriptures.

*Certain Places or Articles gathered out of  
Seton's Sermons by his Adversaries.*

- “There is nothing in heaven or earth, creature or other, that can be any means towards our justification; nor can any man satisfy God the Father for our sins, but only Christ and the shedding of his blood.
- “Whoever preaches that works have merit, or are any means to our salvation; or are any part of our justification, preaches a doctrine of the devil.
- “If anything else, except Christ, is a means towards our justification, then Christ alone does not justify us.
- “I say that neither your good works, nor anything that you can do, can be one jot or tittle towards your justification. For if they are, then Christ is not a full justifier; and I will prove that by a familiar example:
  - “Those who preach that works have merit, make works the tree; works are only the fruits of justification wrought by the one who is justified. I would ask a question, whether he that works is a good man, or bad? For he must be one or the other. If he is a good man, then he cannot help but bring forth good fruits; if he is a bad man, he can bring forth only bad fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit.
- “Whoever says that works merit anything towards our salvation, makes works a helpmate with Christ, and plucks from Christ what is his, and gives it to works. Some will ask, why then should I do good works? I answer, good works are to be done for no other cause but the glory of God, and not to merit anything at all. And whoever that says that good works are to be done for any other cause than for the glory of God alone; and would have them merit or be any means towards our justification, I say he lies, and I do not believe him.
- “Whoever can show me from any part of Scripture, that works merit, or are any means to our justification, for the first Scripture I will lose both my ears; for the second, my tongue; and for the third, my neck.
- “Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie about us. We deny nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer. And whoever preaches that works merit, or that fasting merits, or that prayer merits, preaches a popish doctrine.
- “If you ask, if good works will be rewarded, I say yes, and with no less than eternal glory; but it is for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but it is only because God has promised, not for the merit of the work, but for His promise alone, and He will not break his promise.”

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To these and other objections he answered in writing. First he denied many things that were presented, taking it upon his conscience, that he never spoke some of those words; and again, he never meant many of the things for such an end or purpose. But notwithstanding all this, the Ordinary proceeded in his judgment, ministering to him certain interrogatories (following the Popish course) numbering ten articles. The greatest matter laid against him was for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesus, against false confidence in good works, and man's free will. Also for affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers did not profit the souls departed. So that in the end, he was caused to recant at St. Paul's cross, 1541.

Add to these people, Doctor Tailor, parson of St. Peter's, Cornhill; South, parish priest of Allhallows, Lombard street; Some, a priest; Giles, the king's brewer; Thomas Lancaster, priest. All of them were likewise imprisoned for the Six Articles.

To be short, such a number in London and Calais, and other quarters, were then apprehended through the inquisition, that all the prisons in London were too small to hold them; so that they were obliged to lay them in the halls. At last, by means of the good lord Audley, such pardons were obtained of the king, that they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the star-chamber the next day after All-souls, there to answer if they were called upon.

*An Account of John Porter,  
cruelly martyred for reading the Bible.*

John Porter, in the year 1541, was cruelly handled for reading the Bible in St. Paul's church. It was stated already that Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, being the ambassador at Paris, was a great actor in setting forward the printing of the Bible (pp. 583-584). He promised that he would have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which he performed at his coming home.

The Bibles thus standing in St. Paul's church by the command of the king, and the appointment of Bonner, many well-disposed people used to resort there, especially when they could get anyone who had an audible voice to read to them. After Cromwell was dead, it happened, among several godly persons who frequented the reading of the Bible there, that John Porter sometimes used to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others. This Porter was a handsome young man, and of high stature. By diligently reading the Scriptures, and hearing such sermons as were then preached by those who set forth God's truth, he became very expert. The Bible then being set up by Bonner's command upon several pillars in St. Paul's church, fixed to them with chains for all men who wished to read them, great multitudes would resort to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and he had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains were grieved (and the world then began to frown upon the gospellers). He sent for Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law; nor contrary to the notices which he had ordered to be fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid to his charge that he had made expositions upon the text, and had gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered that he trusted this could not be proved. But Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was cruelly fettered with irons about his legs and arms; and with a collar of iron about his neck, fastened to the wall in the dungeon. He was so inhumanly handled there, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose name was also Porter. Seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, he entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons. And so through friendship, and money, he had him moved up among other prisoners who lay there for felony and murder. Being among them there, and hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, Porter exhorted them to amendment of life. He gave them such instructions as he had learned from the Scriptures. For this, he was complained against. And so he was carried down and laid in the lowest dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where within six or eight days after, he was found dead.

*Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel.*

Among these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also a note about a merchant called Thomas Sommers, who died in the Tower of London for the gospel. Being a

very honest and wealthy merchant, he was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the Tower because he had Luther's books. And the cardinal's judgment was that he should ride from the Tower to Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and with books hung round about him, with three or four other merchants. And when Master Sommers was to be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow-prisoners were, a friend of his brought him a very good horse, with bridle and saddle. When the bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment to thrust the strings of the books in, "No," said Sommers, "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel," and taking the books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar. And being on horseback, he rode foremost through the streets, till they came around the standard in Cheapside, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons.

When they came to the fire, every one of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Master Sommers saw that his New Testament would be burned, he threw it over the fire. This was seen by some of God's enemies. And so it was brought back to him, commanding him to cast it into the fire. This he would not do, but he cast it through the fire. This was done three times. At last a bystander took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, Master Sommers was again cast into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents, and soon after he died in the prison for the testimony of his faith.

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We have thus concisely detailed what trouble and vexation happened among the godly brethren in London for the Six Articles. But this rigorous inquisition was not confined to this city only, but extended to Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln, and through all the shires and quarters of the realm.

About the same time, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two men in one day; the one was named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton — one for teaching the Lord's prayer in English, and the other for possessing the epistle of St. James in English.

In Oxford also, at about the same time, one Master Barber recanted. He was a master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned. Being called up to Lambeth before archbishop Thomas Cranmer, he was so firm in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself, that neither Cranmer himself, nor any other could answer his objections taken out of Augustine. He was so prompt in these, that the archbishop with the rest of his company greatly admired him. However, at last he relented; and returning to Oxford, he was there caused to recant.

*A merry and pleasant Narration, regarding a false report of Fire raised among the Doctors and Masters of Oxford in St. Mary's Church, at the Recantation of Master Malarj, Master of Arts of Cambridge.*

This recantation of Master Barber in the University of Oxford, brings to remembrance another recantation happening not long before, which I thought I should not pass over. It was a merry and ridiculous spectacle, not unworthy to be remembered. It is inserted here to recreate and refresh by the way, the weary mind of the reader, after so many bloody and lamentable stories, executions, recantations, and tragedies. The story is this:

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There was one Master Malary, a Master of Arts of Cambridge, and scholar of Christ's College. For holding opinions contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome (that is, for the right truth of Christ's Gospel), he was brought before the bishops, and in the end was sent to Oxford. There he was to openly recant and bear his faggot, to the terror of the students of that University. The time and place was appointed when he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church on a Sunday, where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university, were assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens, who came to behold the sight. In order that such solemnity might not pass without some effectual sermon for the mother church of Rome, doctor Smith, then reader of the divinity lecture, was appointed to preach the sermon at this recantation. A mighty audience was assembled of all sorts of degrees, of students as well as others. Few were absent who loved to hear or see any news; so that there was no place in the whole church which was not filled with the concourse of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, Malary came forth with his faggot on his shoulder. Not long after, the doctor proceeded into the pulpit to deliver his sermon, the argument of which was wholly upon the sacrament. The doctor, to further confirm his words, had provided that the holy wafer and the sacrament of the altar should hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor commenced his sermon. He had scarcely proceeded into it, with the people giving great reverence to his doctrine, when suddenly in the church the voice of someone in the street was heard crying "Fire! fire!" The occasion was this: a man coming from Allhallows parish, saw a chimney on fire; and so, passing by in the street outside St. Mary's church, he cried "Fire! fire!"

This sound of "fire!" being heard in the church, it went from one to another, until it came to the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself. As soon as they heard it, being startled with sudden fear and marvelling what the matter meant, they began to look up to the top of the church, and to the walls. The others seeing them look up, looked up also. Then they began to cry out with a loud voice, "Fire! fire." "Where?!" asks one. "Where?!" says another. "In the church!" says a third. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when in a moment there was a common cry among them, "The church is on fire! The church is on fire by heretics!" etc. And although no man saw any fire at all, yet because all the men cried out, every man thought it true. Then there was such fear and tumult throughout the church, that it cannot be described in words.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, and nothing moving them to think the church was not on fire, everything they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them. The first and chief occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the heretic bearing his faggot there. This led them to imagine that all the other heretics had conspired with him to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it seemed like smoke. This, together with the outcry of the people, made them so afraid, that leaving the sermon, they all began to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running together, that the more they labored, the less they could get out. For while they all ran headlong to the doors, every man striving to get out first, they shoved one another, and stuck so fast, that those who were outside, could not get into the church, and those who were within could not get out. The one door being stopped, they ran to another on the north side. But there again was a like or greater throng. So the people clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many to their end, by bruising of their bones

or sides. There was still another door to the west, which could not be opened for the press of people.

At last, when they were past all hope of getting out, they were exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out at the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church. I think some were howling and weeping, some were running up and down, and playing the madman, now here, now there, being tossed to and fro with waves and tempests, trembling and quaking, raging and fearing, without any manifest cause. The doctors — laden with so many badges of wisdom — were seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and almost beside themselves for horror. One said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire; another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes; and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination once it is grafted in men's hearts through fear. In the whole company, there was none who behaved more modestly than the heretic who was there to do penance. Casting his faggot from his shoulders, he kept himself quiet.

All the others never made an end of their running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor who preached, and who first of all cried out in the pulpit, "These are the trains and subtleties of the heretics against me! Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!" In all this there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now, in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason, none acted more ridiculously than those who seemed the greatest and wisest men, except that in one or two, a somewhat quieter mind appeared. Among them was one Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College (whom I name here for reverence and learning's sake) and a few other aged persons with him, who for their age and weakness dared not thrust themselves into the throng among the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives to the sacrament. The others who were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press of people, marvelling at the incivility of men, and angry with the unmannerly multitude who would not give way to the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates and regent masters. But as the terror and fear was common to all, so there was no difference made between persons or degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown, did not avail the doctor; nor was the master's hood or monk's cowl respected.

Indeed, if the king or queen had been present there and in that perplexity, they would have been no better than a common person. After they had long strived and assayed all manner of ways and saw no remedy, to prevail either by force or authority, they fell to entreating and offering rewards, one offering twenty pounds, another his scarlet gown, if any man would pull him out.

Some stood close to the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead. Others, being without money, did not know which way to turn. One, a president of a college pulling a board from the pews, covered his head and shoulders with it against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the church. Another, who had a grand paunch, a monk, seeing the doors stopped and every way closed up, thought to get out through a glass window, but the iron grates prevented him. However, he would make the attempt. When he had broken the glass, and had come to the space between the grates, he thrust in his head with one shoulder, and it went through easy enough. Then he labored to get the other shoulder after it. But there was a great labor about that, for he was stuck long by the shoulders; at last he succeeded. For what does labor not overcome?



Thus far he had now gotten. I am not going to say by what part of his body he stuck fast afterwards, but this is most certain: that he stuck fast between the grates, and could neither get out nor back in.

[597] A.D. 1540-1547.

After some time, a way was at last found for the crowd, so that some going over the heads of others got out. Here also another incident happened to one of the monks. There was a young lad who, seeing that the doors were fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had no way to get out, climbed up on the door, and staying there, he was forced to remain quiet. For he dared not come down into the church again for fear of the fire, and he could not leap down cowardly into the street without danger. By chance, among those who got out over men's heads, he saw a monk who had a great wide cowl hanging at his back. The boy thought this was a good occasion for him to escape. When the monk came near him, the boy who was on top of the door, slipped down into the monk's cowl, thinking that if the monk escaped, he might also get out with him. At last the monk got out, and feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and hearing the voice of one speaking behind him, he was more afraid than before, thinking that the evil spirit which had set the church on fire had gotten into his cowl, so he began to play the exorcist; "In the name of God," he said, "and all saints, I command you to declare what you are, that are behind me at my back." The boy answered, "I am Bertram's boy." "But I," said the monk, "adjure you in the name of the inseparable Trinity, that you wicked spirit tell me who you are, and that you get away from here." With that his cowl began to crack upon his shoulders, and the boy took to his legs and ran away as fast as he could.

At length, after much delay, all had gotten out of the church, and discovered the folly of their false alarm.

#### ***The 4th and 5th Marriages of King Henry VIII.***

In the same year, and immediately after the apprehension of Lord Cromwell, the king was divorced from Lady Anne of Cleves (July 1540). The cause of this separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the convocation, it was defined, concluded, and granted by them, that the king being freed from that pretended matrimony (as they called it) he might marry whom he would, and so might she likewise. She, consenting to the divorce herself, by her letters, was no longer called queen, but only Anne of Cleves. The king, in the same month, was married to his fifth wife, who was the lady Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to Lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother. But this marriage, likewise, did not continue long.

In the month of August, and in the same year, I find in some records, six others who were also brought to Tyburn and there executed on the like charge of rebellion. These were besides the chapter-house monks recounted above, whom Cope sanctifies as holy martyrs for suffering in the denial of the king's supremacy. The first of the six was the prior of Doncaster; the second, a monk of the Charterhouse of London, called Giles Horn (some call him William Horn); the third, one Thomas Ipsam, a monk of Westminster who had his monk's garment plucked from his back, being the last monk in King Henry's days that wore the monkish dress; the fourth, one Philpot; the fifth, one Carew; and the sixth was a friar.

Now, as to the marriage between the king and the Lady Howard, it did not endure long. For the following year the Lady Howard was accused to the king for violating her marriage vows, and was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 12th of February 1542.

After the death of this lady, the king calling to remembrance the words of Lord Cromwell (now missing his old councillor more and more), and also somewhat suspecting the ways of Winchester, he began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. He ever bore a special favor to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Yet now, the more he missed Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined toward the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. Therefore, in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king understood that some abuses still remained unreformed — namely, pilgrimages, idolatry, and other things. He directed his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy reformation of these things.

*The King's Letters to the Archbishop,  
for abolishing Idolatry.*

“Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you know that whereas, up to now, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bound duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we not only caused the images and bones of those who resorted and offered to them, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles with which they were deceived, to be taken away in all places of the realm; but also by our injunctions, we commanded that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be allowed in any church, except to the blessed sacraments of the altar. It has lately come to our knowledge that, notwithstanding our good intent and purpose, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monuments of those things, yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God. They are means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition, and also our injunctions are not being kept. For the due and speedy reformation of this, we thought it fitting, by these our letters, to expressly will and command you, that immediately upon the receipt of them, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things — and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, continue there, to cause it to be so taken away, that there may remain no memory of it — but also that you shall take order with all the curates, and others having charge within your diocese, to do the same, and to see that our injunctions are duly kept without failing, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

“Given under our signet, at our town of Hull, the 4th of October, in the 34th year of our reign (1542).”

Another proclamation was given out, the following year, by the king's authority, in which the pope's law forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed.

*A Proclamation concerning the eating of White Meats,  
made the 9th of February, in the 34th year of the  
Reign of the King's most Royal Majesty.*

“By diverse and sundry occasions, herrings, lings, saltfish, salmon, stockfish, as well as other kinds of fish have been scant this year, and also raised in price above the old rate and common estimation of their value. So that, if the king's loving subjects were forced only to buy and provide herring and other salt store of fish for the necessary and sufficient sustenance and maintenance of their household and families all this holy time of Lent, according to what they have usually done in times past, and were not by some other convenient means relieved in this, the same might and should undoubtedly redound to their insupportable charge and detriment. And his highness considers how this kind and manner of fasting — that is to say, to abstain from milk, butter, eggs, cheese, and other white meats — is but a mere positive law of

the church, and is used by custom within this realm, and has no other force or necessity. Thus the same may upon considerations and grounds, be altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the public authority of kings and princes, whenever they perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people.

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“The king's highness therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commodity of his people, has thought it good for the considerations above recited, to release and dispense with the said law and custom of abstaining from white meats in this holy time of Lent. And of his special grace and mere motion, he gives and grants to all and singular of his subjects within this realm of his, and in all his grace's dominions, free liberty, faculty, and license, to eat all manner of white meats, such as milk, eggs, butter, cheese, and such like foods, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience, any law, constitution, use, or custom to the contrary, notwithstanding.

“In this, nevertheless, his highness exhorts, and in the name of God requires, all those of his faithful subjects, who may, will, or shall enjoy his grant or faculty, that they in no way be suspicious or doubtful of it, nor abuse or turn it into a fleshly or carnal liberty; but rather endeavor to their possible powers, with this liberty of eating white meats, to also observe that fast which God most especially requires of them, that is to say, to renounce the world and the devil, with all their pomps and works; and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their vow and profession made at the font-stone. For in these points especially consists the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian man. This is to endure and continue from year to year, till the king's highness' pleasure shall, by his majesty's proclamation, be published to the contrary.”

***Persecution in Windsor for the Six Articles.***

*The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor-men,  
Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Pearson, and John Marbeck,  
persecuted for Righteousness' sake, and for the Gospel.*

We come now to the history of the four Windsormen, persecuted for the true testimony of God's word. Three were martyred and sacrificed in the fire; the fourth (named Marbeck) had his pardon. First. I have to show the origin of their troubles; secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was in A.D. 1543.

*The Origin of Testwood's Trouble.*

In A.D. 1533 there was one Robert Testwood, in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name that the musicians in Windsor college thought him a worthy man to have a place among them. Whereupon they informed their dean, Dr. Sampson. But as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, that he “smelled of the new learning,” as they called it, it would not be consented to at first. Notwithstanding, on some entreaty on the part of the musicians, Testwood was sent for to be heard. Being there four or five days among the choirmen, he was so well liked both for his voice and skill, that he was admitted, and settled in Windsor, and was held in good esteem with the dean and canons a great while. But when they perceived (for he could not well dissemble his religion) that he leaned toward Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. It was his chance one day to be at dinner with one of the canons named Dr. Rawson. At this dinner, among others, was one of King Edward's four chantry priests, named Ely. This Ely began to rail against laymen who took it upon themselves to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned than those who had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their

lives. Then Testwood, perceiving that he meant him, said, "Master Ely, I think it no hurt for a layman, as I am, to read and to know the scriptures."

"Which of you," said Ely, "who are unlearned knows them or understands them? St. Paul says, 'If your enemy hungers, feed him; if he thirsts, give him drink, for in so doing you will heap coals of fire on his head.' Now, Sir, what does St. Paul mean by those coals of fire?" "Goodness,<sup>105</sup> Sir," said Testwood, "he means nothing, as I have learned, but burning love and kindness; that by doing good to our enemies we should thereby win them." "Ah, sir," he said, "you are an old scholar, indeed."

After this they fell into further communication about the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the Parliament house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be head of their church, or not? Against this, Testwood dared not say his full mind, but reasoned within bounds for a great while. But when Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say that every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ, Ely was so chafed, that he rose from the table in great fume, calling him "heretic," and all that was bad. He went away brawling and scolding, to the great disquieting of the company.

Testwood was very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously. Whereupon after dinner he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to talk with him charitably, and so to be friends again. But as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come near him, but spit at him, saying to others who walked by, "Beware of this fellow, for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic who ever came into Windsor."

After Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy, and others of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing at the dean's coming home to punish Testwood. But it was not ten days later that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament-house, upon which the dean (Dr. Sampson) came home suddenly in the night, and sent his verger<sup>106</sup> to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the charter-house by eight o'clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons overnight, and thought the next day to put Testwood to a great plunge. "But he who lays a snare for another man," says Solomon, "will be taken in it himself." And so was Ely. For when the dean and every man had come and placed themselves in the chapterhouse, and the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in attending the choir, he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confuting it by manifest Scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear. At length he declared openly that by the consent of the whole parliament-house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England forever. And so he commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no longer, but the bishop of Rome. And whatever he was, who would not do so, or from that day forward maintained or favored the pope's cause by any means, he would not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God, and to the king. The canons hearing this, were all struck dumb. Yet Ely's heart was so full, that he uttered his spite against Testwood. The dean called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was glad to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons which hung

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<sup>105</sup> Orig. "Marry, Sir." An archaic exclamation of surprise, akin to "Goodness!" "My Word!" or "Wow!"

<sup>106</sup> *Verger*: a church officer who takes care of the interior of the building and acts as an attendant (carries the verge, which is an emblematic staff) during ceremonies.

about the church to be brought into the chapterhouse, and cast into the fire, and burnt before their faces; and so he departed.

Testwood was one day walking in the church, and beheld the pilgrims, especially from Devonshire and Cornwall, how they came in with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Windsor, as they called him. It grieved him to see such great idolatry committed, and how vainly the people had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads, so that he could not refrain. But seeing a company who had made their offerings stand gazing about the church, he went to them, and with all gentleness he began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright, putting them in remembrance of what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his people for running to worship such stocks and stones, and would plague them and their posterity if they would not leave it.

[599] A.D. 1540-1547.

In this way he admonished them till at last his words took such place in some of them, that they said they would never go on a pilgrimage any more. Then he went further, and found another set licking and kissing a white lady made of alabaster. This image was carved in a wall behind the high altar, and enclosed with a pretty border made like branches, with hanging apples and flowers. When he saw them use the image so superstitiously as to wipe their hands on it, and then to stroke themselves over their head and faces as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he raised his hand, in which he had a key. He struck a piece of the border around the image, and with the glance of the stroke he chanced to break off the image's nose. "Lo, good people," he cried, "you see that it is nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no longer deceived." And so he got himself home to his house, for the uproar was so great, that many came to see how the image was defaced. And among others was one William Simons, a lawyer. Seeing the image without a nose, he took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he spied the nose where it lay, which he took up and put into his purse, saying it would be a dear nose to Testwood.

Many were offended with Testwood — the canons for speaking against their profit, the wax sellers for hindering their market, and Simons for the image's nose. Some of the canons threatened to kill him. So Testwood kept to his house, and dared not come out, but sent the whole matter in writing by his wife, to Cromwell, the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons hearing that Testwood was about to send to Cromwell, sent the verger to him to come to the church. He sent word back to them that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then they sent two of the eldest minor canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man would do him harm. He gave them a plain answer, that he had no trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then they did not know what to so, for of all men they feared Cromwell. But they sent in post-haste for old Master Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off. Having come, and hearing the matter, he was very loth to meddle in it. Notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to Testwood, and after much persuasion and faithfully promising him, by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harm, Testwood was content to go with him. When Master Ward and Testwood had come to the church, and were going toward the chapter-house, one of the canons drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted him, and got Testwood into the chapter-house. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter-house, with the canons and

Master Ward, was gently treated. And the matter was so pacified, that Testwood was allowed quietly to come and go to the church, and to do his duty as he had done before.

On a relic Sunday, as they called it, when every minister, in their old custom, would have borne a relic in his hand in a procession, one was brought to Testwood. This relic, they said, was a rochet of Bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it away from him, and so the rochet was given to another.

In the days of Master Franklen, who succeeded Doctor Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, a foolish printed paper was set up at the choir door, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing to her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, etc., to the great derogation of Christ. This paper was set up by one of the canons named Magnus, to spite Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day another was set up in the same place. Then Testwood came into the church. Seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, he made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean stayed to take holy water. Reaching up his hand as he went, he plucked away the paper with him. The dean having come to his stall, called Testwood to him and said that he marvelled greatly how he dared be so bold as to take down the paper in his presence.' Testwood replied that he marvelled much more, that his mastership would allow such a blasphemous paper to be set up, beseeching him not to be offended by what he had done, for he would stand to it. So the dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this no more papers were set up, but poor Testwood was abused among them at every meal, and denounced as a heretic, and told he would carry a faggot one day, etc.

A story is told of a prank by one Robert Philips, a gentleman of the king's chapel, played upon Testwood. Though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, it grieved his adversary remarkably. The matter was this: Robert Philips was so notable a singing man, that wherever he went, the best and longest song, with the most counter-verses in it, was set up at his coming. And so, chancing to be at Windsor, a long song was set up, called *Lauda Vivi*. In this song there was one counterverse toward the end that began with "*redemptrix et salvatrix*." Robert Philips would sing this verse, above all others, because he knew that Testwood could not abide it. Now, Testwood knowing his mind well enough, joined with him on the other part; and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with, "*redemptrix et salvatrix*," Testwood was as quick to answer with "*Non redemptrix, nee salvatrix*;" and so striving with "*o*" and "*Non*," as to who would have the mastery, they made an end of the verse. For some, there was good laughing in the sleeves at this. But Robert Philips, with others of Testwood's enemies, were much offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as their yearly custom is), came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which the duke of Norfolk was president. The dean and canons made a grievous complaint to him. Testwood being called before the duke, he took him up, and reviled him, as though he would have him sent to be hanged. Yet Testwood so behaved himself toward the duke, that in the end he let him go, to the great discomfort of the dean and canons.

These are the causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction.

*The Origin of Henry Filmer's Troubles.*

About A.D. 1540, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed, it happened that one Sir Thomas Melster, who had been a friar, and changed his friar's coat but not his friar's heart, was appointed vicar of Windsor. This priest gave a sermon to his

parishioners, in which he declared many old friars' tales, such as that our Lady held out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spouted her milk into his eyes, with other like tales. Many honest men were offended, and especially this Henry Filmer, who was one of the churchwardens. He was so zealous for God's word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. So he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content to reform himself without any more ado, and they parted friends.

Now, there was one in the town called William Simons, a lawyer. Hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and reprov'd him for his sermon, he got himself to the vicar, and so excited him, that he slipped away from the promise he had made to Filmer. Then Simons meeting with Filmer, reviled him, saying that he would bring him before the bishop. Filmer hearing the matter renewed, which he thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said that the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine, and he would say as much to the bishop whenever he came before him.

Then Simons went to the mayor, and procured a letter in the priest's favor, and departed to go to the bishop (whose name was Doctor Capon), and took the priest with them.

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Filmer consulted with his friends as to what was best to do. He drew out certain notes of the vicar's sermon, and prepared themselves to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons, or before him. Thus, both parties being in readiness, it chanced that they set out from Windsor all in one day. But as the priest, being an infirm man, could not ride very fast, Filmer and his company got to the town before Simons, and went to the bishop, and delivered up their bill to him. When the bishop had seen and perused this bill well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying that the priest had preached heresy, and should be punished.

Then Filmer declared to the bishop the form of the talk he had with the priest, and the end of it, and how the matter, being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his lordship with it. "Well," said the bishop, "you have done like honest men. Come to me soon again, and you will know more;" and so they departed from the bishop to their inn. While they were there reposing themselves, Simons, with his company, came to the town, and (not knowing the other had come), got themselves up to the bishop in all haste, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing from more Windsor men, demanded to know who they were, and being informed that it was the vicar of the town, with others, he had the vicar brought in. He said to him, "Are you the vicar of Windsor?" "Yes, my lord," he said. "How does it happen," asked the bishop, "that you are complained about? For certain honest men of your town have been with me, who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you. If it is so, I must punish you;" and opening the bill, he read it to him. "What do you say?" asked the bishop. "Is this true or not?" The vicar could not deny it; but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then his company was called in, and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well. He said, "Why do you come, Master Simons?" "Please your lordship," he said, "we have come to speak in our vicar's cause, who is a man of good conversation and honesty, and does his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a fellow we have in our town, called Filmer. He is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country. And truly, my lord, there is no man who can preach or teach anything that is good and godly, that he is not ready to control it. Therefore we beseech your

lordship that he may be punished as an example to others, so that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he has done before this busy fellow troubled him. And that your lordship may the better credit my words, I have brought with me these honest men of the town; and a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same." And so he held the writing out in his hand.

Then the bishop said, "So God help me. Master Simons, you are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, who would so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, who has preached heresy, and has confessed it. Therefore I may not, and will not, let it go unpunished. As for that honest man, Filmer, of whom you have complained, I tell you plainly that he has in this point shown himself to be a great deal more honest than you. But in hope that you will no longer bear out your vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things this time, except that next Sunday he will recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church." And so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, who waited outside, and delivered the priest's recantation to them, with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop, and departed, disappointed of his purpose, and sorely ashamed. For this reason, Simons could never brook Filmer; but when he met him any time afterward, he would hold up his finger and say, "I will get even with you one day; trust me!"

*The Origin of Anthony Pearson's Troubles.*

There was a priest, named Anthony Pearson, who much frequented Windsor, about the year 1540. Using the talent that God had given him in preaching, he was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were greatly offended. So that Simons, at last, began to gather his sermons, and to mark his auditors. From this followed the death of several, and the troubles of many honest men. For about a year later, a minister of Satan, named Doctor London, warden of the New College in Oxford, was admitted as one of the prebendaries of Windsor. At his first residence dinner which he gave to the clerics, his whole talk to two gentlemen strangers at his board, was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm to, if they were allowed. "And by St. Mary, masters," he said at last, "I cannot tell, but there a strange report goes abroad of this house." Some answered, "It was undeserved." "I pray God it is so," he said. "I am but a stranger, and have little experience among you; but I have heard it said before I came here, that there are some in this house, who will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Then Testwood spoke. "By my truth, sir," he said, "I think that was spoken out of malice. For prayer, as your mastership knows better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yes indeed, sir," he replied. "But the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers allow." "What the old fathers allow," said Testwood, "I cannot tell; but Christ appoints us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name." "Then you will have no mediator between you and God," said Doctor London. "Yes, sir," replied Testwood; "our mediator is Christ. As St. Paul says, 'There is one mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ.' <sup>1Tim 2.5</sup> Upon this Doctor London said grace, and turned the conversation.

When Doctor London had been at Windsor a while, and learned what Testwood was, and also what heretics were in the town, and how they increased daily because of a priest named Anthony Pearson, he was so bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the devil to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with Simons and others, how they might compass the matter — first, to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in



Windsor, indicted for heresy. They had a good ground to work upon, they thought, which was the Six Articles. So they began to build and practice this way: First, they drew out certain notes from Anthony Pearson's sermons which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar and their popish mass. That done, they put in Sir William Hobby, with the good lady his wife; Sir Thomas Cardine; Mr. Edmund Harman; Mr. Thomas Weldon; with Snowbal and his wife, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Pearson. They also notified Doctor Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a receiver of all suspected persons. They also wrote the names of all those who commonly attended Anthony Pearson's sermons, and all those who had the Testament, and favored the gospel.

Then they had spies walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not worship the sacrament at the elevation. Some of these spies were chantry priests. When they had gathered as much as they could. Doctor London, with two of his brethren, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics who were in Windsor, declaring how the town was disquieted through their doctrine and evil example. Therefore they sought his lordship's help in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop, hearing their complaint, praised their doings, and bade them go forward, and they would not lack his help. Then they plied the matter, sparing neither money nor pains.

Bishop Gardiner, seizing a convenient time, went to the king, complaining what heretics his grace had in his realm, and how they had not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber, therefore beseeching his majesty that his laws might be prosecuted.

[601] A.D. 1540-1547.

The king, giving credit to these words, was content that his laws should be executed on those who were offenders. Then the bishop immediately procured a commission for a private search to be had in Windsor for books and letters. The king granted this commission to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

At this time, the canons of Exeter had accused Doctor Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread, and holy water; and for saying in one of his sermons, that marriage and hanging were destiny. Upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester had also informed the council of Master Hobby, how he was a great maintainer of heretics. Whereupon both he and Doctor Haynes were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, that by the mediation of friends, they were both delivered.

Now, as to the commission searching for books, Mr. Ward and one Fachel of Reading, were appointed commissioners. They came to Windsor the Sunday before Palm Sunday, 1543, and began their search at night. In this search were apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses, against the Six Articles. They were kept in ward till the Monday after, and then brought up to the council — all except Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay ill of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison; Filmer and Benet to the bishop of London's jail; and Marbeck to

the Marshalsea.<sup>107</sup> His examination is set out below, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

*Examination of John Marbeck.*

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called the Concordance of the Bible. This book, not half finished, was among his other books taken to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the work lay before the bishop of Winchester. Beholding the poor man a while, he asked, "Marbeck, do you know why you were sent for?" "No, my lord," he said. "No?" asked the bishop. "That is a marvellous thing." Truly, my lord," he said, "unless it is for a certain search made recently in Windsor, I cannot tell why it should be." "Then you know the matter well enough," said the bishop. Taking up a quire (a handful of pages) from the Concordance in his hand, he asked, "Do you understand the Latin tongue?" "No, my lord," he said, "but simply." "No!" said the bishop. And with that, Master Wrisley spoke (then secretary to the king). "He says, but simply." "I cannot tell," said the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance," and so he began to declare to the rest of the council, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of learned men for the ease of preachers. He concluded with this reasoning: that if such a book were published in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the book of Isaiah the prophet, and turning to the last chapter, he gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other looking at it, said, "Truly, my lord, I wrote it." "Read it," said the bishop. Then he read it thus, "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." "No," said the bishop, "read it as you have written it." "Then I will read it wrong," he said, "for I had written it incorrectly." "How had you written it?" asked the bishop. "I had written it thus," he said, "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is not my footstool." "Yes," said the bishop, "that was your meaning." "No, my lord, it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your lordship sees, this word 'not' is blotted out." At this time other matters came into the council, so that Marbeck was led out to the next chamber.

On the next day, one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen brought two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such commandment," he said, "for the messenger who brought him from the council said, "It was their pleasure he should be gently treated." And so he called for a room, to which he carried the prisoner, and said, "Marbeck, my lord favors you well for certain good qualities that you have, and he has sent me to admonish you to beware, lest you willfully cast yourself away. If you will be plain, you will do yourself much good; if not, you will do yourself much harm. I assure you, my lord laments your case, for he has always heard good reports of you. Now, see to yourself, and play the wise man. You are acquainted with a great many heretics, such as Hobby and Haines, with others, and you know much about their secrets. If you will now tell about them, he will procure your deliverance out of hand, and prefer you to a better living."

"Alas, sir," he said, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be conversant either with Master Hobby or Master Haines, to know their minds." "Well," said the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my lord knows well enough in what estimation they held both you and Anthony Pearson." "For Anthony Pearson," Marbeck said, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them. And as for myself, I cannot deny

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<sup>107</sup> *The Marshalsea: a notorious debtors' prison on the south bank of the River Thames.*

that they have always taken me for an honest poor man, and shown me much kindness. But as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to anyone such as I am.”

“Perhaps,” said the gentleman, “You fear to utter anything about them, because they were your friends, lest hearing of it, they might hereafter withdraw their friendship from you. You need not fear this, I warrant you, for they are sure enough, and never likely to pleasure you any more, nor anyone else.”

With that the water stood in Marbeck’s eyes. “Why do you weep?” asked the gentleman. “Oh, sir,” he said, “I pray you pardon me. These men have done me good; therefore I beseech the living God, to comfort them as I would be comforted myself.”

“Well,” said the gentleman, “I perceive you will play the fool.” And then he opened one of the books, and asked him if he understood any Latin. “A little, sir,” he said. “How is it then,” asked the gentleman, “that you have translated your book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet do not understand the tongue?” “I will tell you,” he said. “In my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, by which I have some understanding, though it is very small.” Then the gentleman began to test him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought. And when he was satisfied, he departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber.

About two hours later, the gentleman came back with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and set himself down on the bed’s side, as before. He said. “By my pledge, Marbeck, my lord sees so much willfulness in you, that he says it is pity to do you good.” “Sir,” he said, “there is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his lordship’s pleasure.” “What, are you telling me,” asked the gentleman, “of your conscience? You may with a safe conscience, reveal those who are heretics, and you can do God and the king no greater service.” “If I knew, sir,” Marbeck said, “who was a heretic indeed, it would be well. But if I were to accuse someone of being a heretic who is none, what a worm that would be in my conscience so long as I lived. Yes, it would be a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment.” “In faith,” said the gentleman, “You know as well who are heretics of your fellows at home, and who are not, as I know this to be paper in my hand. Perhaps your wits are troubled, so that you cannot call things to remembrance. I have brought you ink and paper, so that you may write such things as come to your mind.” And so he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

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Now Marbeck was so full of heaviness and woe, that he did not know what to do, nor how to set a pen to the book to satisfy the bishop’s mind, unless he accused men to the wounding of his own soul. And thus being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, and fell down on his knees, with tears, and said, —

“O most merciful Father of heaven, you who know the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon your poor prisoner, who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with your special grace, that to save this frail and vile body, which will turn to corruption in its time, I may have no power to say or to write anything that may be casting away my Christian brother. But rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at Your will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for your dear Son Jesus Christ’s sake.”

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed these words:

“Whereas your lordship would have me write such things as I know about my fellows at home; please it your lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing by which I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it is that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, is an offence. More than this I do not know.”

Now the gentleman, about the hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. “How now,” he said, “have you written nothing?” “Yes, sir,” he said, “as much as I know.” “Well said,” observed the gentleman; and took up the paper. When he had read it, he cast it away from him in a great rage, swearing by our Lord’s body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. “Therefore,” he said, “go to it again, and advise yourself better, or else you will set my lord against you, and then you are utterly undone.” “By my pledge, sir,” said Marbeck, “if his lordship keeps me here these next seven years, I can say no more than I have said.” “Then you will regret it,” said the gentleman; and so he departed.

The next day, the bishop sent for Marbeck to come to his house. As he was entering into the bishop’s hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door at the upper end, with a roll in his hand. Going towards the great window, he called the poor man to him, and said, “Marbeck, will you cast yourself away?” “No, my lord,” he said, “I trust not.” “Yes,” said the bishop, “You go about it, for you will utter nothing. What tempted you to meddle with the Scriptures?” And with that he went away from the window, out of the hall, with the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery. When there, the bishop began: “Ah, sir, your nest is broken.” And unfolding his roll, he said, “Behold, here are your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with the whole pack of your sect around Windsor! And yet you will tell about none of them.” “Alas, my lord, how should I accuse those of whom I know nothing?” “Well,” said the bishop, “if you will cast yourself away, who can prevent you?”

And in speaking these words, one of his chaplains came up (called Master Medow), to whom the bishop said, “Here is a marvellous thing; this fellow has taken it upon himself to set out the Concordance in English. This book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men, at least; and yet he asserts that he has done it alone. But say what you will,” said the bishop, “unless God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it.” And so going forth to a window where two great bibles lay on a cushion, the one in Latin and the other in English, he called Marbeck to him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, “Can you English this sentence?” “No, my lord,” he said, “but I can fetch out the English in an English Bible.” Then Marbeck turning over the English Bible, found the place, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

When the bishop returned from mass, he said, “This is a marvellous sect, for nothing can make one of them betray another.” Then there was nothing said among the bishop’s gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, except “Crucify him,” upon the poor man. When the bishop’s white rochet was on him, he said, “Well Marbeck, I am now going to the court, and I had purposed, if I found you tractable, to have spoken to the king’s majesty for you, and to have given you your food, drink, and lodging here in my house. But seeing that you are so willful and so stubborn, you shall go to the devil.”

It was not half an hour later, when the bishop sent one of his gentlemen to the under-keeper, commanding him to put irons on Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut up in a

chamber alone. And when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, he was to see that he spoke to no man, and no man spoke to him.

About three weeks before Whitsunday,<sup>108</sup> Marbeck was sent for to come to the bishop of London's house, where Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, sat in commission, having before them all of Marbeck's books. Then the bishop of Salisbury said, "Marbeck, we are here in commission, sent from the king's majesty to examine you about certain things, of which you must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." Then the bishop of Salisbury laid out before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. Marbeck answered, they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works, six years ago. "For what cause," asked the bishop of Salisbury, "did you gather them?" — "For no other cause, my lord, than to come by knowledge. For being unlearned, and desirous to understand some parts of Scripture, I thought by reading from learned men's works to come by it sooner. And where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, I noted that, as you see, with a letter of his name in the margin, who was the author of the work." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, and asked, "Whose help did you have in setting forth this book?" — "My lord," he said, "no help at all." — "How could you," asked the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?" — He answered, "When Thomas Mathews' Bible came out in print, I was desirous to have one of them. And being a poor man, and not able to buy one, I determined to borrow one, and to write it out. And when I had written out the five books of Moses on fair great paper, and had entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Master Turner chanced to see me writing out the Bible, and asked me what I meant to do? And when I told him the reason, he said, 'Tush, you go about a vain and tedious labor. But this would be a profitable work for you, to set out a Concordance in English.' — 'A Concordance,' I said, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, and that there was such a one in Latin already. And this, my lord, is all the instruction that I ever had before or after." — "A good wit with diligence," said the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass." — "It is a great pity," said the bishop of Ely, "he did not have the Latin tongue." — "I cannot believe," said the bishop of Salisbury, "that he has done any more in this work, than written it out after some other person who is learned."

"My lords," said Marbeck, "I beseech you all to pardon me for what I will say, and to grant my request if it seems good to you. I marvel greatly why I should be so examined for this book, and in what I have committed offense in doing it? If I have offended, then I would be sorry that any other should be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore to clear all men in this matter, this is my request; that you will try me in the rest of the book that is undone, You see that I am yet but at the letter L, beginning now at M, and take out whatever word you will of that letter, and so in every letter following.

[603] A.D. 1540-1547.

Give me the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone wherever it pleases you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I do not bring you these words written in the same order and form that the rest is before, then it was not I who did it, but some other."

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<sup>108</sup> *Whitsunday: the seventh Sunday after Easter (Pentecost).*

“By my truth, Marbeck,” replied the bishop of Ely, “that is honestly spoken; and then you shall bring many men out of suspicion.”

When dinner was done, the bishop of Salisbury came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck. And now being in his prison-chamber, Marbeck fell to his business so expertly, that by the next day when the bishop sent for him, he had written so much, in the same order and form as he had done the rest before, as to fill three sheets of paper and more. When he had delivered this to the bishop of Salisbury, he marvelled, and said, “Well, Marbeck, you have now put me out of all doubt.”

On Whitsunday Marbeck was sent for once again, where he found Dr. Oking with another gentleman, with a chain of gold about his neck, sitting together in one of the stalls, looking at an epistle of John Calvin’s, which Marbeck had written out. When they saw the prisoner, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church. Now, as soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman, he saw it was the same person who first examined him in the Marshalsea, but never knew his name till he now heard Dr. Oking call him Master Knight. This Master Knight held the paper to Marbeck, and said, “Look at this, and tell me whose hand it is.” When Marbeck had taken the paper, and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, except the first leaf and the notes in the margin.

Here they wanted him to prove that it was the handwriting of Meines, and they threatened him with the torture to compel him. “By my truth, sir,” said Marbeck, “if you tear my whole body in pieces, I trust in God you will never make me accuse any man wrongfully.” — “If you are so stubborn,” said Dr. Oking, “You will die for it.” — “Die, Master Oking?” he said; “Why should I die? You told me the last day I was before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of the Concordance, I would be delivered; and will I now die? But whenever you put me to death, I do not doubt that I will die God’s true man and the king’s.” — “How so?” said Knight. “How can you die a true man to the king, when you have offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and most of the notes you have written, directly against the Six Articles?” — “No, sir,” said Marbeck, “I have not offended the laws of the king. For since the first time I began with the Concordance, which is almost six years ago, I have been occupied in nothing else. So that both this epistle, and also the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the Six Articles came out; and are clearly remitted by the king’s general pardon.” — “Do not trust to that,” said Knight, “for it will not help you.” And so they committed him to his keeper, who conveyed him back to prison.

*The Manner of their Condemnations, and how they died.*

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bore such great sway around the king as he did. The saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. But in the meantime three or four of the poor were caught: namely, Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, who were sent to Windsor, and imprisoned in the town jail. Testwood (who had kept his bed) was brought out of his house on crutches, and placed with them. But as for Benet (who should have been the fifth man) he happened to be sick of the pestilence, and was left behind, whereby he escaped the fire.

Now these men being brought to Windsor, a sessions <sup>109</sup> was specially procured to be held. Against these sessions all the farmers belonging to the college of Windsor were warned to

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<sup>109</sup> Session: an official meeting of a council or court.

appear, because they could not select enough papists in the town to be on the jury when the trial came up.

The prisoners were separately indicted and convicted. Now being condemned, they prepared to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their Master, Christ, who had led the way before them. They trusted that the same Lord who had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength, but give them steadfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments; and would receive their souls of His free mercy and goodness (without their deserts) for his promise's sake. Thus they lay all the night, till sleep overpowered them, calling upon God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors — that God of his merciful goodness would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word. Indeed, there was such heavenly talk was among them that night, that the hearers who were watching the prison outside, of which the sheriff himself was one, with other gentlemen, were constrained to shed tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought to them that they would not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Salisbury, and others among the commissioners, had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, called Mr. Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the Court then being at Oking) in favor of Marbeck. At the sight of this letter, the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained Marbeck's pardon. This being granted, he had a warrant made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivering it to the messenger, who returned with speed and great joy (for the love he bore for the party), bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon.

On the Saturday morning, when the prisoners were to go to execution, they took their leave of Marbeck (their fellow-prisoner), and praised God for his deliverance; wishing him the increase of godliness and virtue. And last of all, they besought him to help them heartily with his prayer to God, to make them strong in their afflictions. And so kissing him one after another, they departed.

Now as the prisoners passed through the throng in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And whenever Doctor Blithe and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) endeavored to persuade them to turn to their mother church, "Away," Pearson would cry out, "away with your Romish doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will have no more of it." When Filmer came to his brother's door, he stayed and called for his brother; but he could not be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of sight. When he had called three or four times, and saw that he did not come, he said, "Will he not come? then God forgive him, and make him a good man." And so going forward, they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Pearson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now, welcome my own sweet wife; for this day you and I shall be married together in the love and peace of God."

When these three godly martyrs were bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him some drink, asking him if he would drink; "Ysa," said Filmer, "I thank you. And now, my brother," he said, "I desire you in the name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received." Then he asked his brother Anthony, if he would drink. "Yes, brother Filmer," he said, "I pledge you in the Lord." And when he had drunk, he gave it to Anthony, and he likewise gave it to Testwood. their adversaries made a jesting-stock of this drinking, and reported abroad that they were

all drunk, and did not know what they said — when they were no more drunk than the apostles were when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared.

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For when Anthony and Testwood had both drunk, Filmer rejoicing in the Lord, said, “Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hands to God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we will have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer.” At these words, Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit. And Anthony Pearson, pulling the straw to himself, laid a good deal of it on the top of his head, saying, “Now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits alone I trust this day to enter into his joy.” And so they yielded up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and steadfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found it in their hearts to have died with them.

Soon after these martyrdoms, the whole conspiracy between Dr. London and Simons, for putting these good men to death, was found out and exposed, for they also conspired to indict some of the council.

After this, the king withdrew his favor from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed about the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, he commanded certain of his council to search out the basis of it. Whereupon, Dr. London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined upon their oath of allegiance. For denying their mischievous and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in brief, they were adjudged as perjured persons, to wear papers in Windsor; and one named Ockham was to stand upon the pillory in Newbury where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horses’ tails, and to stand upon the pillory in each of these towns, for their false accusation of the forenamed martyrs, and for perjury.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good saints of Windsor, according to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive.

### ***Persecution in Calais for the Six Articles***

#### *The Martyrdom of Adam Damlip and others.*

In the year 1539, one George Bucker came to Calais, alias Adam Damlip. In times past he had been a great papist, and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester. After the death of the bishop, he travelled through France and Italy; and as he went, he conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion. And so proceeding in his journey to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion, he found there in the end (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ’s true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that his heart and conscience abhorred to remain there any longer. Though he was greatly requested by Cardinal Pole to continue, and to read three lectures a week in his house, for which he offered Adam great entertainment, he refused. And so returning homeward, having a piece of money given him by the cardinal at his departure, he came to Calais. As he was waiting there for passage to England, he was perceived by William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, to be a learned man, and having recently been a zealous papist, he had now turned to a more



perfect knowledge of true religion. They heartily entreated him to stay at Calais for some time, and to read there a day or two, with the intent that he might do some good to the people after his painful travel. Adam gladly consented to this request. Stevens brought him to lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches of Calais,<sup>110</sup> and thoroughly declared what conference and talk he had with Adam Damlip. The lord deputy desired Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying that he would have both his license and the commissary's also.

After he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked, both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but also the lord deputy and a great part of the council, gave him great praise and thanks for it. And the lord deputy offered him a chamber in his own house; to dine and sup every meal at his own mess; to have a man or two of his servants wait upon him; and to have whatever he wanted, if it might be had for money. Yes, and whatever he might desire in his purse to buy books or otherwise; so long as he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it might seem good to himself. Refusing his lordship's great offer, Adam most heartily thanked him, and entreated him to be only so good to him, as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the town, where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his book. In return, he would daily, once in the forenoon, and again by one o'clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according to that talent which God had given him. The lord deputy greatly rejoiced at this answer, and thereupon sent for William Stevens, whom he earnestly requested to receive and lodge Damlip in his house, promising to see him fully paid, whatever he would demand.

This godly man, for twenty days or more, once every day, at seven o'clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, mightily inveighing against all popery, and confuting it — but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass. He did so by the true conference of the Scriptures, and applying the ancient doctors. He earnestly exhorted the people to turn from popery, declaring how popish he himself had been; and how, by the detestable wickedness that he saw universally in Rome, he had returned so far homewards, and now had become an enemy, through God's grace, to all popery. He showed that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained by Cardinal Pole. But for conscience' sake, he joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word. He now utterly abhorred all popery, and wished them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued for some time to read in the chapter-house of the White friars. But the place not being large enough, he was asked to read in the pulpit. And so, proceeding in his lectures (in which he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation), he came at length to speak against the pageant or picture of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas church, declaring it to be mere idolatry.

Upon this sermon, or lecture, a commission came from the king to the lord deputy — Master Greenfield; Sir John Butler, commissary; the king's mason and smith; with others. They would search whether there were three hosts lying on a marble stone sprinkled with blood, as was set forth in the papal bull of indulgences to that altar; and if they did not find it so, that it should be plucked down immediately. In searching, as they broke up a stone in a

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<sup>110</sup> The "marches" of Calais was a strategic part of Calais when it was under English rule from 1347 to 1558.

corner of the tomb, instead of three hosts, they found soldered on the cross of marble lying under the sepulcher, three plain white counters, which they had painted like hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheep's tail! Damlip chewed on all of this trumpery to the people the next day, which was Sunday, out of the pulpit; afterwards the commission was sent by the lord deputy to the king.

Envy soon stirred up the prior of the White friars, to bark against Adam. Yet, after he had confuted the friar's erroneous doctrines of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the friar outwardly seemed to give way, ceasing to openly inveigh against him; but he secretly acted to impeach Adam by letters sent to the clergy in England. So that, within eight or ten days, Damlip was sent for to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury. With the archbishop was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Sampson, bishop of Chichester, and others; before whom Damlip most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, answering, confuting, and solving the objections of his adversaries.

[605] A.D. 1540-1547.

Then the bishops began to threaten to confute him with their accustomed arguments — fire and faggot — if he would still stand to the defense of what he had spoken. Damlip answered that on the next day he would deliver fully in writing what he had said. On the morrow they intended to apprehend him, but he had a secret intimation from the archbishop of Canterbury, that if he personally appeared, he would be committed, and not likely then to escape death. He therefore sent four sheets of paper learnedly written in the Latin tongue, containing his faith and his arguments; proofs from the Scriptures; and allegations from the doctors. This done, he went into the west country, and kept there all the time, while great trouble kindled against God's people in Calais.

In the meantime, William Smith, a curate at Calais, continued to preach the gospel against popery, as did Champion and Garret, whom the king sent there to instruct the people. But at the last, God's enemies wrote to some in England, making grievous complaints to the lords of the privy council, against some in the town of Calais, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions.

A great persecution against many persons followed this. And so that this may better appear, we will give a brief account of Ralph Hare, a man so unlearned that he could scarcely read. Yet through God's grace, he was very zealous; and with this he led so godly and temperate a life, that not one of his enemies could accuse or blame his sober life and conversation. He was charged as one who had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread and holy water; and that he was one who would not lightly swear an oath; nor engage in any manner of pastime; but was always in a corner by himself, looking at his book. This poor simple man being charged by the commissioners, that he was a naughty and erroneous man, was told to take good heed to himself, lest through obstinacy he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresy; for an error defended is heresy.

“My good lords,” said the poor man, “I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy. Therefore I beseech you, let my accusers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will not deny it. Moreover, if it is truth, I will stand to it; and otherwise, if it is an error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it — I mean if it is against God's holy word. For the Lord is my witness; I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors. And I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them.”

“Aha!” said the bishop of Winchester, “Do you not hear what he says, my lord? I perceive now that you are a naughty fellow.” “Alas, my lord,” said Ralph Hare, “what evil have I said?” “Goodness sir, you said ‘the Lord, the Lord,’ and that is a sign of a heretic,” replied Winchester. “What is that, my lord? For God’s sake tell me,” said Hare. “You are naught, you are naught,” said the bishop.<sup>111</sup> At these words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayed and driven into a great agony and fear. Winchester perceiving this, said to him,

“Ralph Hare, Ralph Hare, by my pledge, I pity you much. For in good faith, I think you to be a good simple man, but you have had shrewd and subtle schoolmasters, who have seduced you, good poor simple soul; and therefore I pity you. And it would indeed be a pity if you were burnt; for you are a good fellow, a tall man, and have served the king right well in his wars. I have heard you well commended, and you are still able to do the king as good service as you ever were. And we all will be a means to his grace to be a good gracious lord to you, if you will take pity on yourself, and leave your errors. For I dare say for us all who are commissioners, that we would be loath that you should be cast away. For, alas poor simple man, we perceive you have been seduced by others.”

“What do you say, therefore? You know my lord of Canterbury is a good gentle lord, and would be loath that you should be cast away? Tell me, can you be content to submit yourself to him, and to stand to such order as he and we shall take in this matter? What do you say, man? speak.”

The poor man falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to the archbishop of Canterbury in this way, “My good lord, for Christ’s sake be good to me; and I refer myself to your grace’s order, to do with me what you please.”

The archbishop of Canterbury, considering what danger he was ready to fall into, and pitying the man (though his simplicity was so great that he did not perceive it) said, “No, Ralph Hares, stand up and advise yourself, and do not commit yourself to me, for I am but one man, and in commission just as the others are; so that it lies in me to do nothing. But if you commit yourself to all, then you commit yourself to the laws; and the law is ordained to do every man right.” “Go to, Ralph Hare,” said Winchester, “submit yourself to my lord and us: it is best for you to do so.” Whereupon Hare fell upon his knees again, and said, “My lords and masters all, I submit myself wholly to you.” And with that, a book was held up to him, and an oath given to him to be obedient to them and to all ecclesiastical laws. And straightway he was enjoined to abjure, and to bear a faggot on three separate days. Moreover, the poor man lost his whole living that he had at Calais.

This simple man, upon hearing his penance, at the first earnestly refused to stand to it, and with piteous exclamation, said, “O my lord of Winchester! my lord of Winchester! Have you made me a log ready to be laid upon the fire, whenever any wicked man of malice, by provocation of the devil, falsely lays any small trifle to my charge? Or shall I thus be handled, with nothing proved to my face against me? Alas, I have always hated errors and heresies.” “Content yourself, Hare: there is now no remedy. You must either do your penance, or be burnt,” said the commissioners.

*The History of William Smith.*

William Smith, curate of Our Lady parish, in Calais, was called before them and charged with the same errors and opinions that were objected against Ralph Hare. It was added that

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<sup>111</sup> Either being nothing, he has no right to call on the Lord himself, or else he is “naughty” (wicked) to do it.

he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady; against praying to saints; against doing good works; and many other such things. One Richard Long, a man-at-arms at Calais, proved against Smith, and Brooke, by an oath taken upon a book, that Smith and Brooke ate flesh together during Lent in Brooke's house. "For a miller's boy," he said, "came into Brooke's kitchen and saw half a lamb lying roasting at the fire." Whereas the truth was that William Smith, during all the time of Lent, never came once into Brooke's house.

After all these things had taken place, the minds of the adversaries were not yet satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the king's ears against the town of Calais. They made the king believe that through new opinions, the town was so divided that it was in great danger. Whereupon, shortly after, commissioners were sent over by the king to Calais, with special instructions signed by the king's majesty's own hand. Upon their arrival, Doctor Curain preached a notable sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but charity, charity. But as it seemed afterwards, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the commissioners, that if God had not pitied his innocent servants, there would have been a hundred burnt or hanged shortly after.

On the morrow, after the sermon, all the commissioners solemnly received the sacrament. At afternoon, the council assembled with the commissioners; and after their consultation, tipstuffs summoned over eighty persons to appear on the morrow at eight o'clock before the council. At their appearance, the council were commanded upon their allegiance to present all such heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons as they knew of, and in no way to doubt or dread to do so — for they would have great advantage thereby; indeed. They would either have these people's livings or their goods; and besides that, they would have great thanks at the king's majesty's hand, and his honorable council.

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These things were not so secretly done that they were not betrayed, and came to honest men's knowledge. Whereupon such fear and distrust overtook all men, that neighbor distrusted neighbor, the master the servant, the servant the master, the husband the wife, the wife the husband, and almost every one the other. It was lamentable to see how mournful men and women went about in the streets, hanging down their heads, showing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

On the Wednesday, in Easter week, sundry inquests were charged on their oaths to make inquisition for all manner of heretics, erroneous opinions, and seditions — such as, an inquest of aldermen; another of men-at-arms, and another of constables and vintners; another of common soldiers, and another of commoners. Shortly after their presentments, on Good Friday, the following were brought before the commissioners, and sent straight to close prison: Anthony Pickering, gent., Henry Turner, gent., Sir George Darby, priest, John Sheppard, William Pellam, William Keeverdale, John Whitwood, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Coppen de Hane, and Matthew de Hound. There were sundry reports concerning them. Some said they would be hanged; some said burnt; some said hanged, drawn and quartered; some said nailed to the pillory. It was pitiful to see the lamentation that their wives, children, servants, and friends, made secretly where they dared. For everywhere they found words of discomfort, and nowhere words of comfort.

William Stevens. after his return from London, besides forty other articles laid to him for religion, was charged by the lord deputy, that he had supported Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and had given him food, drink, and lodging; and then Brooke was brought before the commissioners, and committed to close prison in the mayor's jail.

This kind of handling of Brooke made all his friends, but especially his wife, greatly afraid of the malice of his enemies. Moreover, all his goods and lands were seized, and his wife thrust into the meanest place in his house, with her children and family; also the keys to all the doors and chests were taken from her. She was rigorously treated at Sir Edward Kingley's hand, controller of the town. He said to her that if she did not like the room, he would throw her quite out of doors. "Well, sir," she said, "well, the king's slaughter-house was wronged when you were made a gentleman." With all speed she wrote a letter to lord Cromwell, discoursing about how harshly those poor men were handled, who were committed to ward and close prison. And that all men feared (through the malice of their papistic enemies, and the great rigor and ignorant zeal of those who were in authority) that they would shortly be put to death for their faith and consciences — but chiefly her husband, who was more extremely handled than any other: So that unless his honor granted to be a means to the king's majesty, asking that they with their causes might be sent over to England, they were but dead men.

Lord Cromwell immediately wrote to the commissioners, declaring that the king's majesty's pleasure and commandment was that the traitor and heretic Brooke, with a dozen or twenty accomplices, should with their accusers be immediately sent over, so that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there at Calais, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits.

Now by the time that the said commissioners received these letters, they had made out precepts for 160-180 more honest men to be cast into prison. But these letters so appalled them, that they stayed and afterwards sent no more to prison; making, however, as diligent inquisition as was possible, to find some matter against them. They sent the thirteen prisoners through the market, Brooke going before them with irons on his legs, as the chief captain; the rest following him two by two without irons, till on shipboard, and then they were all coupled in rows two by two together.

When in the ship, because they were loath to go under the hatches. Sir John Gage with a staff struck some of them cruelly; whereupon Anthony Pickering said to him, "Sir, I beseech you, be as good to us as you would be to your horses or dogs; let us have a little air that we may not be smothered." Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put down close, and they were guarded and kept with a great company of men. And so, sailing forward, by God's merciful providence, within twenty-four hours they were at anchor before the Tower of London.

When the lord Cromwell understood that they had come, he commanded their irons be struck off at the Tower wharf, and the prisoners be brought to him. When he saw them, he smiled upon them, steadfastly beholding each of them, and then said, "Sirs, you must take pains for a time, and go your way to the Fleet, and submit yourselves as prisoners there, and shortly you will know more." So indeed they did. That evening he sent them word to be of good cheer, for if God continued him life, they would shortly go home with as much honor as they came with shame.

While these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, namely, on the 19th of July A.D. 1541, the lord Cromwell, for the charge of treason laid against him, was beheaded at Tower-hill, as specified earlier. Then the poor Calais men had great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But in the midst of these troubles and miseries, God so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise their consolation and joy abounded. Matthew de Hound, one of these

thirteen, was in trouble only because he heard Copen de Hall read a chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and country, as the rest. He got such instruction in a short time, that having his mind fraught with godly zeal for God's glory, and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance from the Fleet, he was cruelly burned in Flanders, in most constant faith and patience, for inveighing constantly against the wicked honoring of images, and praying to departed saints.

Now when all hope in man was past, the right honorable Lord Audley, lord chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged the thirteen who were in the Fleet, and at length, two years later, he released William Stevens also, by the king's own motion, out of the Tower, saying the following at the discharging of those thirteen:

"Sirs, pray for the king's majesty; his pleasure is that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings are taken from you, do not despair, God will not see you lack. But for God's sake, sirs, beware how you deal with popish priests; for, God save my soul, some of them are knaves. Sirs, I am commanded by the council to tell you that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepts and forbids all sacramentaries, and most or all of you are called sacramentaries. Therefore I cannot see how that pardon does you any good. But pray for the king's highness, for his grace's pleasure is that I should dismiss you, and so I do, and pity you all. Farewell, Sirs."

So giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed.

*The Second Apprehension and Martyrdom of Adam Damlip.*

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, you heard before how he was called before the bishops, and being secretly warned not to appear again before the bishops, he departed into the west country. There he continued teaching a school for about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the inquisition of the Six Articles, and brought up to London, where he was sent to the Marshalsea by Stephen Gardiner. And there he lay for two years or thereabouts.

[607] A.D. 1540-1547.

During the imprisonment of this Adam in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck also was committed to the same prison. The custom of that time required that at Easter every person must come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was forced to come on Easter day to Adam Damlip, who was then confessor to the whole house, to be confessed. By this occasion, Marbeck (who had never seen Damlip before), upon entering into conference with him, perceived who he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, and how long he had lain there in prison. This Damlip, for his honest and godly behavior, was beloved by the whole house; but especially by the keeper. And being allowed to go at liberty within the house, he did much good among the common sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin. He kept them in such good order that the keeper thought himself to have a great treasure of him.

Now when he had drawn out an epistle to the bishop, earnestly desiring to be brought to his examination, he delivered it to the keeper, asking him to deliver it at the court to the bishop of Winchester; and he did so.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners, who had waited supper for his coming, saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the

keeper, casting up his eyes upon George (that is, Adam Damlip), said, "O George! I can tell you tidings." "What is that, Master?" he asked. "On Monday next you and I must go to Calais." "To Calais, master! To do what?" "I do not know," replied the keeper, and pulled out of his pocket a piece of wax with a little parchment hanging at it, which seemed to be a precept. When George saw it, he said, "Well, well, now I know what the matter is." "What?" said the keeper. "Truly I shall die in Calais." "No," said the keeper, "I trust it is not so." "Yes, yes, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness in this." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for George, as they called him, who notwithstanding, was merry himself, and ate his food as well as he ever did in all his life. So that some said to him, that they marvelled how he could eat his food so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters," he said, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I have no doubt that God will strengthen me in this."

And so on Monday, early in the morning, before daylight, the keeper, with three of the knight marshal's servants, conveyed Adam Damlip to Calais, and there they committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon that day John Butler, the commissary, and Daniel the curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison. The command was given for no man to speak with Butler.

Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The crime which they first laid to his charge was heresy. But because by an act of parliament all such offenses done before a certain day were pardoned, yet for receiving the money from Cardinal Pole, as you heard before, he was condemned for treason, and cruelly put to death in Calais, being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The day before his execution, Master Mote came to him, then parson of Our Lady church in Calais, saying, "Your four quarters will be hung at four parts of the town." "And where will my head be?" asked Damlip. "Upon the lantern gate," said Mote. Damlip answered, "Then I will not need to provide for my burial." At his death, Sir R. Ellerker, knight, then knight-marshal, would not allow the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, "Dispatch the knave; have done."

*Dod, a Scotchman, burned in Calais.*

About this time there was a Scotchman, named Dod, who, coming out of Germany, was taken with certain German books about him, and being examined, and standing constantly to the truth that he had learned, was condemned to death, and burned in Calais, within a year, or thereabouts, after the other godly martyr mentioned above.

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During the time of these Six Articles, which brought many good men to their death, it happened by another act for the king's supremacy, that the contrary sect of the papists was not undisturbed. For besides the death of More, and the bishop of Rochester, and the Charterhouse monks, friars, and priests specified above, about this year there were also condemned and executed two others. One of them was a priest of Chelsea, named Lark, who was put to death at London for defending the bishop of Rome's supremacy above the king's authority. The other was Germaine Gardiner (near kinsman to Stephen Gardiner, and yet nearer to his secret counsel, it is supposed), who likewise was taken and brought to the gallows for intriguing for the pope against the king's jurisdiction.

Upon the detection of Germaine Gardiner, secretary to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and it was so insinuated to the king, that Germaine neither

would nor dared attempt any such matter of popery, without some instigation or consent by the bishop, he being so near to him and all his secrets. The king began to somewhat doubt the bishop. Yet Gardiner so managed matters, that he kept in favor with the king, to the great troubling of the realm, and especially of Christ's church.

In the dreadful law of the Six Articles, a penalty of treason and felony was appointed for the breach of it, so that no recantation would serve. This severity was mitigated a little by another parliament, A.D. 1544, by which it was decreed that those offenders who were convicted for the first time might recant and renounce their opinions; and if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid down by his ordinary, or after his recantation if he soon offended again, then for the second time he might abjure and bear a faggot. If he refused to do this, or else, being abjured, if he offended a third time, then he was to sustain punishment according to the law, etc. Although the straitness and rigor of the former act was somewhat tempered, yet the venom and poison of the errors of those articles remained. Moreover, by the last-mentioned parliament, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the color of religion; so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tyndale, or any others having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words or sentences, contrary to the Six Articles, were prohibited. In like manner all songs, plays and interludes, with all other books in English containing matters of religion, tending in any way against the Six Articles, were prohibited.

It was moreover provided that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and laborers, was yet permitted to noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse, to their edifying, provided they did it quietly without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the Scripture.

Besides this, where before, the offender or defendant might not be allowed to bring in any witnesses to clear himself; in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected, or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many or more in number as the others who deposed against him, etc.

By these and other qualifications of the Six Articles, it may appear that the king began to disfavor Gardiner, and to discountenance his doings by which he was more forward to further the desolate cause of religion. This may appear by other provisions of the parliament, A.D. 1545, in which it was decreed by an act, that the king should have full power and authority to appoint thirty-two persons, namely, sixteen of the clergy and sixteen of the temporality, to peruse, oversee, and examine the canons, constitutions, and ordinances of the canon law, provincial as well as synodal.

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And so, according to their discretions, they might set and establish an order of the ecclesiastical laws, such that it would be thought by the king and them, convenient to be received and used within this realm. This statute, as it is most needful for the government of the church of England, so would to God it had been brought to perfection!

*Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, Martyrs.*

Coming now to the year 1546, we first notice the priest whose name was Saxy. He was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, was not without the consent of the bishop and the secret conspiracy of that



bloody generation; also one Henry with his servant, burned at Colchester. I will proceed to the history of Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Mendelsham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A.D. 1546, and brought before lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed to sit upon their examinations there.

In the meantime, Kerby and Clarke being in the jailer's house, Master Robert Wingfield came in with Master Bruess of Wenneham. Having conference with Kerby, Master Wingfield said to Kerby, "Remember, the fire is hot; take heed of your enterprise, that you take no more upon you than you will be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. It would be better to stick to mercy while there is hope of life, than to rashly begin, and then to shrink back," with similar words of persuasion. Kerby replied, "Ah, Master Wingfield, be at my burning and you will say, there stands a Christian soldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God. And he will allow no more to be laid upon us than He will give strength to bear." — "Ah, Kerby." said Master Wingfield, "if you are at that point, I will bid you farewell. For I promise you that I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and departed.

When Kerby and Clarke came to the judgment-seat, lord Wentworth with the rest of the justices were already there; the commissary also, by virtue of the statute, *ex-officio*, sitting next to lord Wentworth. Kerby and Clarke lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion, making their prayers secretly to God.

That done, their articles were declared to them with all circumstances of the law. And then it was demanded and required of them, whether they believed that after the words spoken by a priest (as Christ spoke them to his apostles) there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread afterward.

To these words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus instituted at his last supper, was to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins, and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine — and yet more than bread and wine, for it is consecrated to a holy use. Then with many persuasions, both with fair means and threats beside, these two poor men were harshly treated. But they continued both faithful and constant, choosing to die rather than live, and so they continued to the end.

Then sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the town on the next Saturday, and Clarke to be burned at Bury the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence, holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, "Praised be Almighty God!" and so he stood still without any more words.

The next day, about ten o'clock, Kerby was brought to the marketplace, where a stake was ready, with wood, broom, and straw. He put off his clothes to his shirt, having a night-cap on his head. And so he was fastened to the stake with irons. In the gallery were the lord Wentworth. with most of the justices of those parts, where they might see his execution, how everything should be done, and might hear what Kerby would say. There were also a great number of people, about two thousand. There was also standing in the gallery by lord Wentworth, Doctor Rugham, who was once a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, wearing a surplice and a stole about his neck.

All this while that Kerby was being compassed with irons and faggots, broom and straw, nothing changed in his countenance, but with a most meek spirit he was glorifying God. Then Doctor Rugham preached on the sixth chapter of St. John. In handling his text, as often as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and he bade the people to believe him. But when he did otherwise, Kerby said, "What you say is not true; do not believe him, good people." Upon which the voice of the people judged Doctor Rugham to be a false prophet. So when he ended, he said to Kerby, "You good man, do you not believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and not bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby answered boldly, saying, "I do not so believe." "How do you believe?" asked the Doctor. Kerby said, "I believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, is his death, and passion, and blood-shedding for the redemption of the world, so to be remembered, and (as I said before) is yet bread, and more than bread, for it is consecrated to a holy use."

Then the undersheriff said to Kerby, "Do you have anything more to say?" "Yes, Sir," he said, "if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night-cap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it would have done him service again. But remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn, "We praise you, O God," etc., and the creed, with other prayers in the English tongue. The lord Wentworth, while Kerby was doing this, concealed himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then Kerby said, "I am done: you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve. And so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy.

On Monday, about ten o'clock, Roger Clarke was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate in Bury, called Southgate. Along the way, the procession of the host met them. But he went on, and would not bow cap or knee, but with most vehement words, he rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. Outside the gate, where the place of execution was, the stake was ready, and the wood was lying by. Clarke came and kneeled down, and said, "My soul does magnify the Lord," etc., in English, making a paraphrase of it, as it were, in which he declared how the blessed Virgin Mary, who might rejoice in pureness as well as any other, yet humbled herself to our Savior. "And what do you say, John Baptist," he said, "the greatest of all men's children? Behold the Lamb of God which takes away the sin of the world." And thus with a loud voice he cried to the people, while he was being fastened to the stake. Then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choked with smoke. And moreover, being set in a pitch barrel, he was sorely pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. At length, someone standing by, took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, happened to hit him upon the head, so that he sunk down into the fire, and so he was dispatched.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English procession should be used

throughout England, as it was set forth by his council, and none other, to be used throughout the whole realm.<sup>112</sup>

[609] A.D. 1540-1547.

About the latter end of this year, November 1545, after the king had subdued the Scots, and joining together with the emperor, had invaded France, and got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. There it was granted to him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure. Whereupon in December, the king, in his usual manner, came into the parliament-house to give his royal assent to such acts as were passed. After an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he did not reply by the lord chancellor (as the custom was) but by himself. In his oration, he first eloquently and lovingly declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and supplies offered to him. In the second part, with no less vehemency, he exhorted them to concord, peace, and unity. If he had also joined a third part to it, so that just as in words he exhorted them to unity, if he had first begun to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects — that is, if he had removed the stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ — then he would not only have spoken, but he would also have acted like a worthy prince.

These chantries and colleges were thus given into the king's hands by act of parliament in December 1545. The following Lent, Doctor Crome, preaching in the Mercer's chapel, to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, among other reasons and persuasions, argued thus: that if trentals and chantry masses could avail souls in purgatory, then the parliament did not act well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which principally served that purpose. But if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then it is plain that such chantries and private masses do nothing to relieve those in purgatory. This dilemma of Doctor Crome, no doubt, was unanswerable. But still the "charitable" prelates, notwithstanding the king's exhortation to charity, were so charitable to him, that on Easter they so handled him that they made him recant. If he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity — just as they did to Anne Askew and her companions in July 1546.<sup>113</sup> You shall now hear her tragic history and cruel handling, the Lord willing.

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<sup>112</sup> *The English procession: Cranmer's Exhortation and Litany*, the first official vernacular service, was published in June 1544; the King's Primer became the only authorised English prayer book in May 1545. These were compulsory for all services from 1545. The new litany required a procession *inside* the church. In the parish of Milton in Kent, the new litany was met with resistance. The sexton, churchwardens, and most of the choir refused to say it in the church, preferring to form a procession around the *outside* of the church, as they had done since before the Reformation.

<sup>113</sup> Anne Askew (c. 1521-1546) had been relatively well educated, and so she read the Bible. What she read turned her mind to the teachings of the reformers. She shared her views with her neighbors and her husband, Master Kyme. Her ideas and rebellious spirit were too much for him; he threw her out. Anne responded by demanding a divorce. She went to the Court of Chancery in London, where she caught the attention of the Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner. He interrogated her. She claimed the proper catholic church was that of the reformers. Anne was a well-connected noblewoman. Her father, William Askew, was a knight; her brother Edward was cup-bearer to the king and served Archbishop Cranmer; her half-brother Christopher had been a gentleman of the privy chamber; Anne's sister Jane was married to George St Poll, a lawyer in the service of the duke and of the duchess of Suffolk, a member of the Queen's household. She was released from Bonner through her family connections. In June 1545 Anne was arraigned again before a jury for denying the mass; but no witness came forward, and so the jury released her. However, the Catholics on the king's Council were determined to bring down Queen Catherine (Parr), who supported religious reform at court.

***Inquisition of Anne Askew.***

*The first examination of Mrs. Anne Askew,  
before the Inquisitors, A.D. 1545.*

“To satisfy your expectation, good people,” she said, “this was my first examination in the year of our Lord, 1545, and in the month of March.

“1. Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler’s Hall, and asked if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really. Then I asked this question of him in return: ‘Why was St. Stephen stoned to death?’ and he said, ‘He could not tell.’ Then I answered, ‘That no more; would I answer his question.’

“2. He said that there was a woman who testified that I read how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I showed him the seventh and seventeenth (chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what St. Stephen and St. Paul had said there. Upon which he asked me how I understood those sentences? I answered; ‘I would not throw pearls among swine, for acorns were good enough.’

“3. He asked me why I said I would rather read five lines in the Bible, than hear five masses in the temple? I confessed that I said so; not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the gospel, but because the one greatly edified me, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul says in the fourteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians: ‘If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself for the battle?’

“4. He laid to my charge, that I said, ‘If a bad priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God.’ My answer was that I never spoke any such thing. But this was my saying; ‘That whoever he was that ministered to me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I nevertheless received the body and blood of Christ.’

“5. He asked me what I said concerning confession. I answered him that my meaning was as St. James says, ‘That every man ought to acknowledge his faults to others, and pray one for the other.’

“6. He asked me what I said about the king’s book? And I answered him that I could say nothing about it, because I never saw it.

“7. He asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me? I answered, I did not. I was but a reprobate or castaway. Then he said he had sent for a priest to examine me, who was here at hand.

“The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know my meaning. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: I would make him no other answer, because I perceived him to be a papist.

“8. He asked me, if I did not think that private masses helped the souls departed? I said, ‘It was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death that Christ died for us.’

“Then they brought me to my lord mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things as I answered before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken by me, but by them; and that was, whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or not? This question I never asked, but they asked it of me; and I made them no answer, but smiled.

“Then the bishop’s chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. ‘For St. Paul,’ he said, ‘forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God.’ I

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With Anne’s connections to the Queen’s household, she might be used to incriminate the Queen. Perhaps this was a motive for her capture and inquisition. — adapted from [David Crowther, \*History of England\*](#).

answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is in 1Corinthians 14., that a woman should not speak in the congregation in the way of teaching. And then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, unless they had offended the law.

"Then the lord mayor commanded me to prison. I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he gave me a short answer, that he would take none. Then I was taken to the Compter, and remained there eleven days, no friend being admitted to speak with me. But in the meantime there was a priest sent to me, who said that he was commanded by the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel.

"1. He first asked me for what cause I was put in the Compter, and I told him I could not tell. Then he said, it was a great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for me.

"2. He said it was told him that I denied the sacrament of the altar. And I replied, 'That which I have said, I have said'

"3. He asked me if I were content to be confessed and absolved. I told him, that if I might have one of these three — Doctor Crome, William Whitehead, or Huntington — I was content, because I knew them to be men of wisdom.

"4. He asked, if the host should fall, and a beast ate it, whether the beast received God or not? I answered; 'Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you to answer it yourself; for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me.' And he said it was against the order of schools, that the one who asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew nothing of the order of schools.

"5. He asked me if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or not? I answered that otherwise I would not be a Christian woman; and I rejoiced that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed with many fair words.

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"The 23rd of March, my cousin Britain came to me in the Compter, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or not? Then he went immediately to my lord mayor, desiring ;of him that I might be bailed. My lord answered him, and said that he would be glad to do the best that lay in him. However he could not bail me without the consent of a spiritual officer, requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For he said that, as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

"So he went to the chancellor, who answered him that the matter was so heinous, that he dared not do it of himself unless my lord of London were made privy to it. But he said he would speak to my lord in it, and bade him repair to him on the morrow, and he would then know my lord's pleasure. Upon the morrow he came there, and spoke with both the chancellor, and with the bishop of London. The bishop declared to him that he was very well contented that I should come out to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon. Moreover, he said to him that he wished there would be at the examination such learned men as I was partial to, so that they might see, and report that I was handled with no rigor. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to than to another. Then the bishop said, 'Yes, as I understand it, she is partial to Crome, Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she knew them to be learned, and of a godly judgment.' Also, he requested of my Cousin Britain, that he should persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart. And he swore by his fidelity, that no

man would take any advantage of my words, nor would he lay anything to my charge for anything that I might speak there.

“On the morrow, the bishop of London sent for me at one o’clock, his hour being appointed at three. And as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatever I said in his house, no man would hurt me for it. I answered, ‘As your lordship appointed three o’clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me from giving an answer till they come.’ Then he said that he thought it fit to send for those men. I desired him not to put them to trouble, because the two gentlemen who were my friends, were able enough to testify as to what I should say. He commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said to me, ‘Mistress, why are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?’ I answered: ‘Sir, ask, I pray you, my accusers, for I do not know as yet.’ Then he took my book out of my hand, and said, ‘Such books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. ‘Beware,’ he said; ‘beware, for the one who wrote this book was a heretic, I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield.’ And then I asked him if he were certain and sure that what he had spoken was true. And he said he knew well the book was by John Frith. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge the book before he saw it. I also said, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token of a very slender knowledge. Then I opened the book and showed it to him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault in it. Then I desired him to no longer be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth; and so he departed from me. Immediately after, my Cousin Britain came with others, such as Master Hall of Gray’s Inn, and others. Then my lord bishop of London said to me, that he wished I would take the counsel of those who were my friends and well-wishers, which was that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience. For he assured me that I need not fear to say anything. For, as he had promised then, he promised me now, and would perform it — which was that neither he, nor any man for him would take advantage of me for any word that I should speak; and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him that I had nothing to say, for my conscience, I thanked God, was burdened with nothing.

“Then he brought forth this unsavory similitude: that if a man had a wound, no surgeon would cure it before he had seen it. ‘In like manner,’ he says, ‘I can give you no good counsel, unless I know with what your conscience is burdened.’ I answered that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster to the whole skin appeared to be much folly.

“‘Then you drive me,’ he says, ‘to lay to your charge your own report, which is this: you said that whoever receives the sacrament by the hands of a wicked priest, or a sinner, receives the devil, and not God.’ To that I answered that, ‘I never spoke such words. But as I said before, both to the inquest and to my lord mayor, so I now say again, that the wickedness of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ.’ Then the bishop said to me, ‘What is this *in spirit*? I will not take advantage of you.’ Then I answered: ‘My lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive Him worthily.’

“Then he told me, that I had said that the sacrament remaining in the pix (plate), was but bread. I answered, that I never said so, but that indeed the inquest asked me such a question, and I would not answer it, I said, till such a time as they had answered me this question of mine: why was Stephen stoned to death? They said they did not know. Then I replied, no more would I tell them what it was.

“Then said my lord to me, that I alleged a certain text of the Scriptures, and I answered that I alleged none other than St. Paul’s own saying to the Athenians, in the eighteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, ‘That God does not dwell in temples made with hands.’ Then he asked

me what my faith and belief was in that matter.” I answered him, ‘I believe as the Scripture teaches me.’

“Then he inquired of me, ‘What if the Scripture says that it is the body of Christ? ‘I believe,’ I said, ‘as the Scripture teaches me.’ Then he asked again, ‘What if the Scripture says that it is not the body of Christ?’ My answer was still, ‘I believe as the Scripture informs me.’ And upon this he tarried a great while, to drive me to give him an answer to his own mind. However, I would not, but concluded with him, that I believed in this and in all other things, as Christ and his apostles left them.

“Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, ‘God has given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon says, a woman of few words is the gift of God.’

“Fifthly, my lord laid to my charge, that I said that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, ‘No, I did not say so. However, I said the inquest asked me whether private mass relieved departed souls or not? To whom I answered, ‘O Lord, what idolatry this is, that we should believe in private masses rather than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God!’ Then my lord said again, ‘What an answer that is!’ “Though it is but mean,’ I said, ‘it is good enough for the question.’

“Then I told my lord, that there was a priest who heard what I said there before my lord mayor and them. With that the chancellor asked, ‘Who was this priest?’ ‘So she spoke it in very deed,’ said the priest, ‘before my lord mayor and me.’

“Then there were certain priests, such as Dr. Standish and others, who tempted me much to know my mind. And I always answered them thus; ‘What I said to my lord of London, I have said.’ Then Dr. Standish desired my lord to bid me say my mind concerning the text of St. Paul, that I, being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures, especially where there were so many wise and learned men.

“Then my lord of London said he was informed that someone asked of me, if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and that I made a mock of it.

[611] A.D. 1540-1547.

“Then I desired that my accuser might come forth, which my lord would not. But he said again to me, ‘I sent someone to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him papist.’ That I did not deny, for I perceived he was no less.

“Then he rebuked me, and said that I reported that there were sixty priests against me at Lincoln. ‘Indeed,’ I replied, ‘I said so. For my friends told me, if I came to Lincoln, the priests would assault me and put me to great trouble. And when I heard it, I went there indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my cause to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said to me. And as I was in the minster reading the Bible, they resorted to me two by two, by five by six, to have spoken to me; yet they went their ways again without speaking.’

“Then my lord asked if there were not one who spoke to me. I told him ‘Yes, that there was one of them at last who did speak to me.’ And my lord then asked me what he said. I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then my lord said, ‘There are many who read and know the Scripture, and yet do not follow it.’ I replied, ‘My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure, myself, this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.’ Then my lord went away, and said he would write something of my meaning, and so he wrote a great deal. But what it was I do not have in my memory: for he would not allow me to have the copy. Only I remember this small portion of it:

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“Be it known by all men, that I, Anne Askew, confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made to the contrary. I believe that those who receive the sacrament at the hands of a priest, whether his conduct is good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also, I believe that after the consecration, whether it is received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I believe in this and in all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness of this, I the said Anne have subscribed my name.’

“There was something more in it which, because I did not have the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I agreed to it. And I said again, ‘I believe so much of it, as the holy Scripture agrees to. Therefore I desire you, that you will add that to it.’ Then he answered that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went into his great chamber and read it before the audience, who wished me to set my hand to it, saying that I had favor shown to me. Then the bishop said, ‘I might thank others, and not myself, for the favor that I found at his hand. For he considered, that I had good friends, and also that I came from a worshipful stock.’

“Then one Christopher, a servant to Master Denny answered, ‘My lord, you should have done it for God’s sake rather than for man’s.’ Then my lord sat down, and I wrote in this manner: ‘I Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church.’

“Then, because I added to it ‘the catholic church,’ he ran into his chamber in a great fury. With that, my cousin Britain followed, desiring him for God’s sake to be a good lord to me. He answered that I was a woman, and that he was not at all deceived by me. Then my cousin Britain desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman’s wit against his lordship’s great wisdom.

“Then Dr. Weston went in to him and said that the reason why I wrote there ‘the catholic church,’ was that I did not understand ‘the church’ written before. So with much ado they persuaded my lord to come back out, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Britain and Master Spilman of Gray’s Inn.

“This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law. However, he would not allow it, but committed me from there to prison again until the morrow. And then he desired me to appear in the guild hall; and so I did. Notwithstanding, they would not put me to bail there either, but read the bishop’s writing to me, as before, and so commanded me back to prison. Then my sureties were appointed to come before them on the morrow, in St. Paul’s church, who did so. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not also be bound for another woman at their pleasure, whom they did not know, nor what matter was laid to her charge. Notwithstanding, at last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond from them, recognizing my cooperation. And thus I was at last delivered.

“Written by me, Anne Askew.”

*The second Apprehension and Examination of  
the worthy Martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, A.D. 1546.*

“I perceive (dear friend in the Lord) that you are not yet persuaded thoroughly in the truth concerning the Lord’s supper, because Christ said to his apostles; ‘Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.’

“In giving the bread as an outward sign or token received with the mouth, he wishes them in perfect belief to receive that body which would die for the people, and to think the death of it to be the only health and salvation of their souls. The bread and wine were left us for a



sacramental communion, or a mutual participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and blood-shedding, and so that we would be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our redemption. For he said, 'This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me,' Luk 22.19. Again, 'As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he comes.' 1Cor 11.26. Otherwise we might have been forgetful of what we should keep in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it. Therefore it is fitting that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our hearts the true meaning of the Holy Spirit concerning this communion. For St. Paul says, 'The letter kills; but the spirit gives life.' 2Cor 3.6. Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied to faith. Note also the fourth chapter of St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end you shall find that the things which are seen are temporal, but those that are not seen are eternal. Indeed, look in the third chapter to the Hebrews, and you will find that Christ as a Son (and not as a servant) rules over his house, whose house we are, and not the dead temple, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of our hope to the end. Therefore, as the Holy Spirit said, 'Today, if you will hear his voice, do not harden your hearts,' etc., Psa 95.

"Your request concerning my fellow-prisoners, I am not able to satisfy, because I did not hear their examinations. But the effect of mine was this: being asked before the council concerning [my husband] Master Kyme, I answered that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They were not content with that answer, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should reveal the matter to them. I answered them plainly, I would not do so; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said it was not appropriate for the king to be troubled with me. I answered that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king who ever lived, yet he did not refuse to hear two poor common women; much more his grace should hear a simple woman and his faithful subject. So in conclusion, I made them no other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor asked me my opinion of the sacrament. My answer was this: 'I believe that as often as I, in a Christian congregation, receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I received with it the fruits also of his most glorious passion.' The bishop of Winchester bade me give a direct answer.

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"I said I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said I spoke in parables. I answered, 'It is best for you, for if I show you the open truth, you will not accept it.' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that might follow besides, yes, and all things gladly.

"Then I had rebukes from the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me do it. But they were not, in the meantime, unanswered for all that, which it would be too much to recite now, for I was there with them about five hours.

"The next day I was brought again before the council. Then they would know from me what I said to the sacrament. I answered that I had already said what I could say. Then after many words they bade me go aside. Then my lord Lisle, my lord of Essex, and the bishop of Winchester came, earnestly requiring that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then I said to my lord Parr, and my lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to give counsel contrary to their knowledge.

"Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, so did Judas when he betrayed Christ. The bishop desired to speak with me alone; but I refused that. He asked me why? I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should be established, according to Christ's and Paul's doctrine, Mat 18.16, 2Cor 13.1.

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“Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again about the sacrament. I asked him how long he would stay on both sides. Then he went his way. The bishop said I would be burnt. I answered that I had searched all the Scriptures, and yet I never found that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. ‘Well, well,’ I said, ‘God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.’ Then was I commanded to stand aside. Dr. Cox and Dr. Robinson came to me. In conclusion, we could not agree.

“Then they made me a bill about the sacrament, desiring me to set my hand to it; but I would not. Then on the Sunday I was sick, thinking no less than to die. Then I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it was not allowed. I was sent to Newgate in the extremity of sickness; for in all my life before I was never in such pain. Thus may the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray!

*The Confession of me, Anne Askew,  
for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my Belief.*

“I find in Scripture that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, ‘Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you,’ meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being the sign or sacrament of it. For in like manner of speaking he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying by the temple his own body, as St. John declares, Joh 2.21, and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it. Thereby we are knit to him by a communion of Christian love, although there are many who cannot perceive the true meaning of it, for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, so that they would not see the clearness of it (Exo 34.33, and 2Cor 3.13); I perceive the same veil remains to this day. But when God takes it away, then these blind men shall see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel in the bible, that God dwells in nothing material. ‘O king,’ says Daniel, ‘do not be deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men.’<sup>Dan 14.4 DRA</sup> ‘You stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit; as your fathers did, so do you.’ Act 7.51.

“Written by me, Anne Askew, who neither wishes death, nor fears his might, and as joyful as one who is bound towards heaven.”

“Truth is laid in prison, Luk 21.12. <sup>114</sup> The law is turned to wormwood, Amo 6.12. And from there no right judgment can go forth, Isa. 59.

“‘Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves (sacrifices) of our lips. Neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, You are our gods: for in you the fatherless finds mercy. Oh if they will do this, says the Lord, I will heal their backsliding; I will love them freely.’ Hos 14.2-4.

“And ‘Ephraim will say, What have I to do any more with idols? I have heard him and observed him: I am like a green fir-tree; from me your fruit found is. Who is wise, and will understand these things? prudent, and he will know them? For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall in them.’” Hos 14.8-9.

“‘Solomon,’ says St. Stephen, ‘built a house for the God of Jacob. However, the Most High does not dwell in temples made with hands; as the prophet says, Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will you build me? says the Lord: or what is the place of my rest? Has not my hand made all these things?’” Act 7.48-50.

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<sup>114</sup> The apostles, truth-tellers, would be imprisoned, and by a synecdoche, truth would be imprisoned.

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“Woman believe me,’ says Christ to the Samaritan, “the hour comes, when you will neither on this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. You worship what you do not know: we know what we worship: for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour comes, and now is, when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeks such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.’ Joh 4.21-24. “Do not labor,’ says Christ, ‘for the food that perishes, but for that food which endures unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man will give to you: for God the Father has sealed him.’ Joh 6.27.”

*The sum of the Condemnation of me,  
Anne Askew, at the Guildhall.*

“They said that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, and demanded if I would stand in my opinion? I answered, ‘That I was not a heretic; nor yet did I deserve any death by the law of God. But concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not deny it,’ I said, ‘because I knew it to be true.’ Then they would know if I denied the sacrament to be Christ’s body and blood. I said ‘Yes. For the same Son of God who was born of the Virgin Mary is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from there at the latter day in the same manner as he ascended, (Act 1.11.) And as for what you call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a proof of it, mark it when you choose, let it lie in the box three months, and it will be moldy and so turn to nothing that is good; so that I am persuaded it cannot be God.’

“After that, they wished me to have a priest. And then I smiled. Then they asked me if it was not good? I said I would confess my faults to God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favor. And so we were condemned.

“My belief which I wrote to the council was this: That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ’s death, the only remedy of our souls’ recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then they would know whether the bread in the box was God or not. I said, ‘God is a Spirit, and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth,’ (Joh 4.24) Then they demanded, ‘Will you plainly deny that Christ is in the sacrament?’ I answered that, ‘I believe faithfully that the eternal Son of God does not dwell there;’ in proof of which I recited again the history of Bel, and the 19th chapter of Daniel, the 7th and 17th of the Acts, and the 24th of Matthew: concluding thus: ‘I neither wish death, nor fear His might; God have the praise with thanksgiving.’”

*My Letter sent to the Lord Chancellor.*

“The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their beginning, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

[613] A.D. 1540—1547.

“My duty to your lordship remembered, etc. It might please’ you to accept this, my bold suit, as the suit of one who upon due consideration is moved to the same, and hopes to obtain it. My request to your lordship is only that it may please you to be a mediator for me to the king’s majesty, that his grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief which, when it is truly compared with the hard judgment given against me for the same, I think his grace will well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judges all secrets. And thus I commend your lordship to the governance of Him, and the fellowship of all saints. Amen.

“By your handmaid, Anne Askew.”

*My Faith briefly written to the King’s grace.*

“I Anne Askew, of good memory, although God has given me the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to your grace, that because I am condemned by the law as an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record that I will die in my innocency. And according to what I have said first and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ has said, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as his catholic church teaches. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God has charged me with by his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly, for lack of learning.

“Anne Askew.”

*The effect of my Examination and handling  
since my Departure from Newgate.*

“Then Nicholas Shaxton came to me, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him that it would have been good for him never to have been born.

“Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o’clock.

“Then came Master Rich as one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to show if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was that I knew none. Then they asked me about my lady of Suffolk, my lady of Sussex, my lady of Hertford, my lady Denny, and my lady Fitzwilliams. I answered, ‘If I pronounce anything against them, I am not able to prove it.’

“Then they said that there were gentlewomen who gave me money. I said I did not know their names.

“Then they put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen were of my opinion. There they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nearly dead.

“Then the lieutenant had me loosed from the rack. Immediately I swooned away, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor on the bare floor. But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

“Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with weary and painful bones, I thank my Lord God for it. Then my lord chancellor sent me word if I would leave my opinion, I should lack nothing; but if I would not, I would immediately be sent to Newgate, and so be burnt. I sent him word again, that I would rather die than break my faith.

“Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!”

The manner of her racking in the Tower was thus: first, she was led down into a dungeon, where the lieutenant commanded the jailor to pinch her with the rack. This being done so much as he thought sufficient, he went to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley the chancellor, not content that she was loosed so soon and had confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again. Because he refused to do this, pitying the weakness of the woman, he was threatened by Wriothesley, saying that he would signify his disobedience to the king. And so he and Master Rich, throwing off their gowns, played the tormentors themselves; first asking her if she were with child. She answered, “You will not need to spare me for that, but do your will upon me;” and so quietly and patiently praying to the Lord, she bore their tyranny, till her bones and joints

were almost pulled asunder, so that she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was over, Wriothesley and his fellow took to their horses, and rode towards the court.

In the meantime, while they were making their way by land, the lieutenant taking a boat, went to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the others, and did so. There making his humble suit to the king, he desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter, and of the racking of Mrs. Askew, and that he was threatened by the lord chancellor because, at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her. This, for compassion, he could not find it in his heart to do, and therefore he humbly desired his highness's pardon. When the king had understood this, he did not seem to like very well their extreme handling of the woman. And so he granted his pardon to the lieutenant, desiring him to return and see to his charge.

In the mean time there was great expectation among the warders and officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. When they saw him come so cheerfully, declaring how he had succeeded with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God.

*Anne Askew's Answer to John Lacel's Letter.*

“O friend, most dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what would move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire you not to believe such weakness of me. For I do not doubt that God will perform his work in me as he has begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now that what they did there was but to frighten me. Thereby I perceive they are ashamed of their unseemly doings, and greatly fear lest the king's majesty should have information about it, which is why they would have no man publish it. Well, for their cruelty, God forgive them!

“Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell, and pray.”

*The Purgation or Answer of Anne Askew,  
against the false surmises of her Recantation.*

“I have read the process which is reported by those who do not know the truth, to be my Recantation. But as the Lord lives, I never meant to recant. Notwithstanding this, I confess that in my first troubles I was examined by the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet they had no confession from my mouth but this: That I believed in this as the word of God bound me to believe. They never had more from me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set my hand to it; but I refused it. Then my two sureties wished me not to hesitate, for they said it was no great matter.

“Then, with much ado, at last I wrote this: ‘I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word agrees to the same, and the true catholic church.’ Then the bishop being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison; but afterwards, by means of friends, I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And concerning the thing that you covet most to know, resort to the sixth chapter of John, and always be ruled by it. Thus fare you well.

“Anne Askew.”

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*The Confession of the Faith which Anne Askew  
made in Newgate before she suffered.*

“I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father has given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved — do confess

myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And since I am unrighteously condemned by the law as an evil-doer concerning my opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who has made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to His most holy word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed truth. For I take him to witness that I have, and will to my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

“But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest has spoken the words of consecration, there still remains bread. They both say, and also teach it as a necessary article of faith, that once these words are spoken, there remains no bread after, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs I say *no*. For then our common creed would be false, which says that he sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from there he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Behold! this is the heresy that I hold, and for it I must suffer death. But regarding the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of His glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much in this as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ wills I should believe.

“Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he has confirmed with his most precious blood. Yes, and as St. Paul says, Those Scriptures that Christ has left here with us are sufficient for our learning and salvation; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore, look at what he has said to me with his own mouth, in his holy gospel, that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart; and my full trust is, as David says, “That it shall be a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.”

“There are some who say that I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were administered as Christ instituted it and left it, it would be a most singular comfort to us all. But concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I say and believe it to be the most abominable idol is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, nor yet does he die again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, I will suffer death.

“O Lord, I have more enemies now than there are hairs on my head. Yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but you fight in my stead, Lord; for on you I cast my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am your poor creature. Yet sweet Lord, let me not sit by those who are against me; for in you is my whole delight. And Lord, I heartily desire of you, that you will of your most merciful goodness forgive them of that violence which they do and have done to me. Also, open their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in your sight, which alone is acceptable before you, and to set forth your truth aright, without any vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it.

“By me, Anne Askew.”

A few words remain to be said concerning her end and martyrdom. Born as she was of such kindred, she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity if she would rather have followed the world than Christ. But she had now been so tormented, that she could neither live very long in such great distress, nor be allowed to die in secret. The day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not walk on her feet, on account of her great torments. When she was brought to the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared, Doctor Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew hearing him, she answered him. Where he spoke rightly, she confirmed it; where he said amiss she said, “There he misses, and speaks outside the book.”

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing there, tied at three separate stakes, began their prayers. The concourse of the people was very great, and so the place where they stood was railed about to keep out the press of them. On the bench, under St. Bartholomew's church, sat Wriothesley, chancellor of England, the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, and the lord mayor, with others.

Wriothesley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew, offering her the king's pardon if she would recant. Refusing even once to look upon them, she answered that she did not come there to deny her Lord and Master. Then the letters were likewise offered to the others, who in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, refused not only to receive them, but even to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to the faggots, cried with a loud voice, "Let justice be done!"

Thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, having passed through so many torments, now ended the long course of her agonies, being encompassed with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice to God. She slept in the Lord, A.D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

John Lassels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian, were the names of those burnt along with her. Belenian was a priest of Shropshire, Adams a tailor, and Lassels, a gentleman of the court and household of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew. For though they were strong and stout men, through her example and exhortation, they received great comfort in that painful kind of death. And beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, they showed no kind of fear.

Thus confirming one another with mutual exhortations, their bodies were consumed in the fire, about the month of June 1546.

As Winchester and other bishops set king Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow-martyrs, so Doctor Repse, bishop of Norwich, incited no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers, who at about the same time was condemned and suffered martyrdom in Smithfield, for the Six Articles.

### ***The History of Queen Catharine Parr.***

After these stormy histories, we must now address the afflictions of the virtuous and excellent lady, queen Catharine Parr, the last wife of king Henry.

About a year after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that queen Catharine Parr was very much given to the reading of the holy Scriptures, and that learned and godly persons instructed her in them. She used to have private conference with them regarding spiritual matters; but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon for an hour, one of her chaplains delivered a sermon in her privy chamber, to her and to the ladies of her privy chamber, or others who were disposed to hear. These things, just as they were not done secretly, so neither were the preachings unknown to the king, who seemed to like it very well. This made her bolder (being indeed very zealous towards the gospel) to debate with the king regarding religion. She often desired, and even persuaded the king, that having begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome (the pope), which was to the glory of God and his eternal fame, so he should thoroughly perfect and finish it — cleansing and purging his church of England, of what yet remained great superstition.

[615] A.D. 1540-1547.

Although the king, towards his latter end, grew very stern and obstinate, so that it was only from a few that he could be content to be taught, but least of all to be contended with by argument. Still, he refrained himself toward her, and treated her with great respect, either through reverence for the cause, or else for the singular affection which, till a very short time before his death, he always bore toward her. For besides the virtues of her mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, such as singular beauty, favor, and an attractive personage. These were things in which the king was greatly delighted. And so she enjoyed the king's favor, and would have done great good if the malicious practice of certain professed enemies against the truth had not prevented her. This would have gone even to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and others with her, if God had not succored her in her distress. The conspirers and practicers of her death were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Wriothesley, then lord chancellor, and others. These men, for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose, sought to revive, stir up, and kindle evil and pernicious humors in their prince and sovereign lord, with the intent to deprive the queen of the great favor which she then stood in with the king. This they did not a little fear would turn to the utter ruin of their anti-Christian sect, if it continued. They made their wicked entry upon their mischievous enterprise, in this manner: They knew the king disliked being contended with in *any* argument. Although the queen would not cross this mood of his in smaller matters, yet in cases of religion, as occasion served, she would not confine herself to reverent terms and humble talk, entering into discourse with him, with sound reasons from Scripture. The king was so well accustomed to this, that he it took all in a good way, which greatly appalled her adversaries. Perceiving she so thoroughly grounded in the king's favor, they dared not for their lives once open their lips to the king in any respect regarding her, either in her presence, or behind her back.

It happened, however, during the time of the king's sickness,<sup>115</sup> that he had left off his accustomed manner of visiting the queen; and therefore she sometimes was sent for, and sometimes she would come to visit him of her own account. At such times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him to zealously proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had increased the king's accustomed impatience, so that he began to show some tokens of dislike. One day, contrary to his usual manner, he broke off the conversation with her, and began to speak of other things, which somewhat amazed the queen. Notwithstanding, in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance. After other pleasant talk, she took her leave of his majesty for that time. And as was his manner, he bid her farewell "Sweet heart," for that was his usual term for the queen.

At this visit the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) chanced to be present, and also at the queen's taking her leave. He did not fail to observe the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her talk, and falling into other matters. He thought that if the iron were struck while it was hot, and the king's humor was helped, such a dislike might pass to the queen herself, that it might overthrow both her and all her endeavors. He only awaited some occasion to renew in the king's memory the former disliked argument. His expectation in

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<sup>115</sup> Henry VIII suffered from a variety of health issues after a jousting accident in 1536, which left him with severe leg ulcers that never fully healed. These were prone to infection and caused him constant pain, leading to a sedentary lifestyle and weight gain. He suffered from other ailments, including headaches, swollen ankles, and mood swings. He was terrified of various infectious diseases, including smallpox, malaria, and the Sweating Sickness, which led to his self-isolation during outbreaks.



that respect did not fail him. For the king, even at that time, showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or similar words, "It is a good hearing when women become such clerics, and a thing that is much to my comfort, to come in my old days to be taught by my wife."

The bishop hearing this, seemed to dislike that the queen should so much forget herself, as to take it upon herself to stand in any argument with his majesty. He extolled the king to his face for his rare virtues, and especially for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above professed doctors in divinity. And he said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so impudently; and grievous to him on his part, to hear of it, as well as others of his majesty's counsellors and servants. The bishop inferred, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever has been, for a prince to allow such insolent words at his subject's hands. Just as they are bold to oppose their sovereign in words, so they lack no will, but only power and strength, to overthrow his words in their deeds.

Besides this, he said that the religion so stiffly maintained by the queen not only disallowed and dissolved the policy and government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that whatever color they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and so perilous for the prince's estate, that (except for the reverence they bore to her for his majesty's sake) he dared be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she spoke, and likewise those arguments that she defended, had with justice by law deserved death.

However for his part, the bishop would not, and dared not, without good warrant from his majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, even though very apparent reasons urged him to so. And such was his dutiful affection towards his majesty, and his zeal for the preservation of his state, that it would scarcely give him leave to conceal this, even if uttering it might, through her and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of those who chiefly tended to the prince's safety, unless his majesty would take it upon himself to be their protector. If he would do this, then the bishop, with other faithful counsellors, could disclose such treason, cloaked with this heresy, that his majesty might easily perceive how perilous a matter it is to cherish a serpent in his own bosom.

These and such other phrases whetted the king to anger and displeasure towards the queen. Thus Winchester with his flattering words so far insinuated himself with the king at that time, and so filled the king's distrustful mind, that before they separated, the king had given command, with warrant to certain of them, to consult together about drawing up certain articles against the queen, in which her life might be touched, which the king pretended he fully resolved not to spare. They departed with this commission, resolved to put their pernicious practice into as mischievous an execution.

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they did not fail to use all kinds of mischievous practices, as well as to suborn accusers, and to otherwise betray her, in seeking to ascertain what books forbidden by law she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass — because they would not suddenly but only gradually deal with her — they thought it best, at first, to begin with some of those ladies whom they knew to be intimate with her. and of her blood. The chief, most esteemed, and privy to all her doings, were these: the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her first cousin; the lady

Tyrwhitt, of her privy chamber, and for her virtuous disposition held in very great favor and credit with her.

It was devised that these three should first of all have been accused and brought to answer to the Six Articles. And then, upon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers would have been searched, that something might be found by which the queen might be charged. This being found, the queen herself would presently have been taken, and likewise carried at night by barge to the Tower.

The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and being unwell he very seldom stirred out of his chamber or private gallery. Few of his council, except by especial command, resorted to him.

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This purpose was handled so secretly, that it now grew within a few days of the time for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen neither knew nor suspected anything at all. Therefore, in her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, she still dealt with him regarding religion, as before. The king all this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full, without contradiction. Thus after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him, it chanced that the king broke the whole matter to one of his physicians, pretending as though he no longer intended to be troubled with such a doctress as she was; and also declaring what trouble was working against her by her enemies. Yet the king charged the physician, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living. And thereupon he revealed to him the parties above-named, with all the circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter would be.

The Queen all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows. But see what the Lord God did for his poor handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, into which she was ready to fall unawares. For as the Lord would, so it came to pass, that the bill of articles drawn up against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand (although dissemblingly you must understand), falling from the bosom of one of the councilors, was found by some godly person, and brought immediately to the queen. Reading there the articles against her, and seeing the king's own hand set to it, fell immediately into a great agony, bewailing and talking on in such a way, as was lamentable to hear and see. Of this, certain of her ladies and gentlewomen, still being alive, who were then present around her, can testify.

The king hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians to her. Seeing what extremity she was in, they did what they could for her recovery. Then Wendy, the physician to whom the king had spoken, perceiving by her words what the matter was, to comfort her mind, began to break with her in secret, regarding the articles against her, which he himself, he said, knew right well to be true — even though he stood in danger of his life, if he were ever known to utter it to any living creature.

Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of the mischief that hung over her head. He beseeched her to use all secrecy, and he exhorted her to frame and comport herself to the king's mind, saying he did not doubt that if she would do so, and show her humble submission to him, she would find him gracious and favorable to her.

It was not long after this, that the king hearing of the dangerous state in which she still remained, came to her himself. After she had uttered her grief to him, fearing lest his

majesty, she said, had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her, then he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words, so refreshed and appeased her mind, that she began to recover somewhat. And so the king, after he had tarried there about an hour, departed.

After this the queen, remembering the words that Mr. Wendy had said to her, devised how by some good opportunity she might repair to the king's presence. And so first commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were against the law, the next night after supper, waited upon only by the lady Herbert her sister, and the lady Lane, who carried the candle before her, she went to the king's bedchamber. She found him sitting and talking with several gentlemen of his chamber. When the king beheld her, he very courteously welcomed her, and breaking off the talk which he had with the gentlemen, of himself, contrary to his manner, he began to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to be resolved, by the queen, of certain doubts which he propounded.

The queen perceived to what purpose this talk tended. And not being unprovided in what way to behave herself towards the king, she resolved his questions as time and opportunity required, mildly, and with reverent countenance, answering in this manner:

"Your majesty," she said, "right well knows, and I myself am not ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted to us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject to man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed, And that as God made man in his own shape and likeness, whereby being indued with more special gifts of perfection, he might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavor to obey his commandments, even so He also made the woman from man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed. Thus womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne with, so that such things that are lacking in her ought to be supplied by wisdom.

"Since, therefore, God has appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature to you, how then does it now come to pass that your majesty, in such causes of religion, would seem to require my judgment? Which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet I must, and I will, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here on earth, next under God, to lean to."

"Not so, by St. Mary," replied the king, "you have become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your majesty takes it so," said the queen, "then your majesty is very much mistaken. For you have ever been of the opinion and thought it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon herself the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather she is to learn from her husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have, with your majesty's leave, up to now been bold to have talks with your majesty, in which sometimes there has seemed some difference in opinions, I have not done it so much to maintain an opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end that your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your majesty might reap some ease by it; but also that hearing your majesty's learned discourse, I might receive some profit to myself. In this, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters to your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

“And is it even so, sweetheart?” answered the king, “and did your arguments tend to no worse end? Then we are now perfect friends again, as ever at any time up to now.”

And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added that it did him more good at that time to hear those words out of her own mouth, than if he had been informed that a 100,000 pounds in money had fallen to him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and affection, with promises and assurances to never again in any way to mistake her, he entered into another very pleasant discourse with the queen and the lords, and the gentlemen standing by. And then in the end he gave her leave to depart.

Now then, God be thanked, the king’s mind was quite altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly showed) this tragic practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who not understanding the king’s mind and good disposition towards the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day’s labor; which was the day on which they had determined to have the queen carried to the Tower.

[617] A.D. 1540-1547.

The day having come, almost at the appointed hour, the king was disposed in the afternoon to take the air. He went into the garden, waited on only by two gentlemen of his bedchamber. The queen also came there, having been sent for by the king himself. She was accompanied by the three ladies above named to wait upon her. The king at that time disposed himself to be as pleasant to them as he ever was in all his life before. When suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined having come, the lord chancellor came into the garden, with forty of the king’s guards at his heels, intending to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone. The king sternly beholding them, broke off his mirth with the queen, and stepping a little aside, called the chancellor to him. Upon his knees, he spoke certain words to the king, but what they were is not well known (for they were softly spoken, and the king was a good distance from the queen). But it is most certain that the king’s reply to him was, “Knave!” indeed, “Arrant knave, beast, and fool!” And with that, the king commanded him to quickly be gone out of his presence. These words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet they were so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen with her ladies overheard them. This would have been not a little to her comfort, had she known at that time the whole cause of his coming, so perfectly as she knew it afterwards. Thus the lord chancellor departed out of the king’s presence as he came, with all his train, the whole device being utterly broken.

The king, after the chancellor’s departure, immediately returned to the queen. She perceived him to be very much chafed (though coming towards her, he forced himself to put on a cheerful countenance). With as sweet words as she could utter, she endeavored to qualify the king’s displeasure, with a request to his majesty, in behalf of the lord chancellor, whom he seemed to be offended with. She said for his excuse, that although she did not know what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error. And so she besought his majesty (if the cause were not very heinous) at her humble suit, to take it so.

“Ah, poor soul,” he said, “You little know how badly he deserves this grace at your hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he has been an arrant knave towards you, and so let him go.” To this the queen in a charitable manner, replying in few words, ended that talk. She had also, by God’s blessing, for that time and ever, happily escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel’s sake.

The pestiferous purpose of this bishop, and like bloody adversaries, thus practicing against the queen, puts me in remembrance of another such story of his wicked working, in like manner, that took place a little before. That was much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen. I thought this would be a convenient place to notify all posterity of this story, as faithfully recorded to me by someone who heard it from Archbishop Cranmer's own mouth.

*A Discourse, regarding a certain Policy used by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry VIII from redressing certain Abuses of Ceremonies in the Church, being Ambassador beyond the Seas.*

*Also the Communication of King Henry VIII with the Ambassador of France, at Hampton-court, concerning the Reformation of Religion, in France as well as in England, August A.D. 1546.*

It chanced in the time of King Henry VIII, not long before his highness' death in 1547, that a league was concluded between the emperor, the French king, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner by name, was sent as ambassador beyond the seas for that purpose. In his absence Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, attending upon the king's court, sought occasion to further the reformation of religion. For as the archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so bishop Gardiner was a contrary instrument, continually spurning against it, in whatever part of the world he remained. For even now, being beyond the seas in the temporal affairs of the realm, he did not forget but found the means, as a most valiant champion of the bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder the good diligence of archbishop Cranmer, as well as the godly disposition of the king's majesty, which happened as follows.

While the bishop of Winchester was beyond the seas, the king's majesty and archbishop Cranmer conferenced together for the reformation of some superstitious enormities in the church. Among other things, the king determined to immediately pull down the roods (crosses) in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallows-night, with a few similar vain ceremonies. And therefore, when the archbishop took his leave of the king, to go into his diocese, his highness desired him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised: "To be signed by me;" said the king. "The one to be directed to you, my lord, and the other to the archbishop of York, in which I will command you both to send your precepts to all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies that we communed about, be reformed without delay."

So upon this, the king's pleasure being known, when the archbishop of Canterbury had entered Kent, he caused his secretary to write these letters according to the king's mind. And being in readiness, he sent them to the court to Sir Anthony Denny, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denny moved the king to do this, the king answered,

"I am now otherwise resolved; for you will send my lord of Canterbury word that since I spoke with him about those matters, I have received letters from my lord of Winchester, now on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us and the emperor, and the French king. And he writes plainly to us, that the league will not prosper, nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than has already been done and commenced before now. Therefore my lord of Canterbury must take patience in this, and forbear, until we may spot a more apt and convenient time for that purpose."

This matter of reformation began to be revived again, when the great ambassador from the French king came to the king's majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death. There, no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his lord and master, without a velvet coat and a chain of gold. And for the entertainment of the ambassador, three very great and sumptuous banqueting houses were built in the park. At first it was purposed that the ambassador would be very richly banqueted for three nights. But as it chanced, the French king's great affairs suddenly changed, so that this ambassador was sent for, to come home in haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him; and he had but the fruition of the first banqueting house.

Now, it is not our purpose here to address what prince-like order was used in the furnishing of the banquet, and in the places of the noble estates — namely, the king's majesty, and the French ambassador, with the noblemen both of England and France on the one part, and of the queen's highness and the lady Anne of Cleves, with other noble women and ladies on the other part — nor the great and sumptuous preparation of costly and fine dishes displayed there. We will only consider and note the conference and communication that was had the first night after the banquet was finished, between the king's majesty, the ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), regarding establishing godly religion in both their realms. The king's highness stood openly in the banqueting-house, before all the people, leaning one arm on the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other on the shoulder of the ambassador. In the report of the archbishop to his secretary, on the later occasion of his service to be done during King Edward's visitation, it was related in the register of that visitation as follows: —

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When the visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners proceeded in their voyage, the archbishop sent for the register to Hampton Court, and desired him to make notes of certain things in the visitation. He gave him instruction, having further talks with him regarding the good effect and success of the visitation. On this occasion the register said to his master the archbishop:

“I remember, that you not long ago caused me to write letters, which King Henry VIII should have signed and directed to your grace and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, such as taking down the roods, and forbidding the ringing on Allhallows-night, and similar vain ceremonies. These letters your grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's majesty, but as yet I think there was never anything done.”

“Why?” asked the archbishop, “Did you never hear that those letters were suppressed and stopped?” The archbishop's servant replied; “As it was my duty to write those letters, so it was not my part to be inquisitive about what became of them.”

“Indeed,” replied the archbishop, “my lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation regarding religion might pass here in the realm in his absence, he wrote to the king's majesty, bearing him in hand, that the league would not prosper nor go forwards on his majesty's behalf if he made any other innovation, or alteration in religion, or in the ceremonies in the church. This caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denny wrote to me by the king's command.”

Then his servant said back to him, “Because the king's good intent did not then take place, now your grace may go forward in those matters, as the opportunity of the time serves much better than in King Henry's days.”

“Not so,” said the archbishop. “It was better to attempt such reformation in King Henry’s day than at this time, [King Edward] being in his infancy. For if the king’s father had set forth anything for the reformation of abuses, who dared challenge it? Indeed, we are now in doubt as to how men will take the change or alteration of abuses in the church. And therefore, the council has especially forbore speaking of it, and of other things which they would gladly have reformed, referring all those, and such like matters, to the discretion of the visitors. But if King Henry VIII had lived to this day with the French king, it would have been past my lord Winchester’s power to have influenced the king’s highness, as he did when he was about the same league.”

“I am sure you were at Hampton Court,” replied the archbishop, “when the French king’s ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting houses, not long before the king’s death — namely, when after the banquet was done the first night, the king leaning upon the ambassador and me, if I should tell what communication passed between the king’s highness and the ambassador, concerning the establishing of sincere religion, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I myself thought the king’s highness had been so forward in those matters as he then appeared. I may tell you it concerned more than the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it that few in England would have believed that the king’s majesty and the French king had been at this point, not only within half a year later to have changed the mass in both realms into a communion (as we now use it), but also to have utterly extirpated and banished the bishop of Rome and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions. Indeed, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they also meant to exhort the emperor to do the same in Flanders and his other countries and seigniories, or else they would break off from him. And in this, the king’s highness commanded me (said the archbishop) to pen a form to be sent to the French king to consider it. But the deep and most secret Providence of Almighty God visiting this realm with a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to His mercy both these princes.”

*A brief Narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.*

Here something may be said about Sir George Blage, one of the king’s privy chamber, who being falsely accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and Master Littleton, was sent for by Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, and carried to Newgate, and from there to Guildhall, where he was condemned and appointed to be burned. The words which his accusers laid to him were these; “What if a mouse were to eat the bread? Then, in my opinion, they should hang the mouse.” Whereas, to the end of his life, he protested that he never spoke these words. But the truth, he said, was this: that those walking with him in St. Paul’s church after a sermon of Doctor Crome’s, asked if he were at the sermon. He said, “Yes.” “I heard,” says Master Littleton, “that he said in his sermon, that the mass profits neither the quick nor the dead.” “No,” says Master Blage, “Why then? Perhaps for a gentleman when he rides in hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling!” And so they departed, and immediately after he was apprehended and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among those of the Privy Chamber, the king hearing them whispering (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Upon the matter being told, and suit being made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford (who was then lord privy seal), the king was very offended that they would come so near him, into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, He sent for Wriothesley, commanding him to immediately draw out the pardon himself, and so Blage was set at liberty. Blage afterwards came into the king’s presence. “Ah, my pig,” the king said to him, for so he used to call him. “Yes,” he said, “if your Majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig would have been roasted before this time.”

***The Abolishing of English Books***

Then the popish leaders, when they had martyred Mrs. Askew and the others, and now being in their triumph, like the Pharisees when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised among themselves how to keep Blage down, and to tread over the truth forever. On consulting with certain of the council, they made out a hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for abolishing the Scriptures [in English], and all English books that might set forth God's true word, and the grace of the gospel.

*A Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books,  
the 8th of July A.D. 1546.*

“The king's most excellent majesty understanding how, under the pretense of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, diverse evil-disposed persons have taken it upon themselves to utter and sow abroad, by books printed in the English tongue, various pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and word, by reason of which certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted, arrogantly and maliciously, to impugn the truth, and with that to trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's majesty in this his realm; his highness minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue from the said books, is forced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as follows: —

“First, That from now on no man, woman, or person, of whatever estate, condition, or degree he or they may be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English, or any other text than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament held at Westminster in the 34th and 35th years of his majesty's most noble reign.

[619] AD. 1540-1547.

“Nor after the said day shall they receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which is, or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndale, Wycliffe, Joy, Roy, Basel, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other book or books containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year 34 or 35; but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the English book, or books, to his master in that household, if he is a servant, or dwells under any other, and the master or ruler of the house, and others who dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts that they have, or will come to their hands, delivered as before or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be delivered over by them openly, within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese, with the intent that the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them to be openly burned immediately. It is the king's majesty's pleasure, that every one of them shall see this executed in the most effectual way, and make a certificate of their doings to the king's majesty's most honorable council, before the first day of October next coming.

“And with the intent that no man will mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as are passed in this behalf, for keeping the said books, the king's majesty is most graciously contented by this proclamation to pardon that offense till the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books, and commands that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who brings forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as ordered in this proclamation. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, has any of the said books in his keeping, or is proved and



convicted by sufficient witness before four of the king's most honorable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, by which it appears that he has willingly offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his highness for the same, as shall be determined by his majesty, or four of his grace's said council, etc.

"Finally, His majesty straitly charges and commands that no person or persons, of whatever estate, degree, or condition, he or they may be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute any English book printed in the outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person dwelling within this his grace's realm, or any other of his majesty's dominions, unless it shall be specially licensed to do so by his highness' express grant, to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited, and with this to incur his majesty's extreme indignation."

Having procured this proclamation, they proceeded to prohibit all the books that taught the true gospel of Christ, under the pretense that they taught heresy and every evil thing. And thus they slandered, under terms of *heresy* and *blasphemy*, the writings, doctrine, and persons of the protestants. And while they thus prohibited all true doctrine, they themselves published many books against the protestants, in which they most falsely and untruly call them heretics, charging them as blasphemers of God, despisers of God and men, church robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of the public peace and tranquility, corrupters and subverters of the commonwealth, and all else that is bad.

In much the same way. Socrates was accused by his countrymen of being a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defends. Aristides, the Just, did not lack his unjust accusers. Was it not objected to St. Paul, that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might do evil so that good might come of it? How was it laid to the Christian martyrs in the primitive church for worshipping an ass's head, and for sacrificing infants? And to come nearer to our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian congregation of the Frenchmen who gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of horrible wickedness, which we must not name, and were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which cannot be voided by these slanders and criminations, when our Savior Christ himself was noted as a wine-drinker, and a common haunter of the publicans, etc.?

Even so, it likewise pleases our Lord and Savior Christ to keep and to exercise his church under the same kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who under the name of the church, will maintain a portly state and kingdom in this world. And because they cannot uphold their cause by plain scripture and the word of God, they bear it out with railing and slandering, making princes and the simple people believe that whoever dares to reply with any Scripture against their doings, are all heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, rebels, and subverters of all authority and government.

It is written of Nero, that when he himself had caused the city of Rome to be set on fire, and it had burned for seven nights, he made an open proclamation that the innocent Christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, by which he might burn and destroy them as rebels and traitors.

The dealing of these papists does not seem much unlike this. When they are the true heretics themselves, and have burnt and destroyed the church of Christ, they make out their

exclamations, bulls, briefs, articles, books, censures, letters, and edicts against the poor protestants, to make the people believe that the protestants are the heretics, schismatics, and disturbers of the whole world. If they could prove them to be so, as they reprove them to be heretics, they would be worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them "heretics!" and can prove no heresy; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error; they call them schismatics, and what church since the world stood has been the mother of so many schisms as the mother church of Rome? They charge protestants with dissension and rebellion; and what dissension can be greater than to dissent from the Scriptures and word of God? Or what rebellion is so great as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? Protestants are disturbers, they say, of peace and public authority; which is as true as Christians setting the city of Rome on fire. What doctrine ever attributed so much to public authority of magistrates, as do the protestants? Or who ever attributed less to magistrates, or deposed more dukes, kings, and emperors, than the papists? Protestants say the bishop of Rome is no more than the bishop of Rome, and ought to wear no crown; that he should not be a rebel against his king and magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authority; which indeed the bishop of Rome cannot abide.

Briefly, will you see who are the greater heretics, the protestants or the papists? Let us test it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory alone of the Son of God, who cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech you, whoever knows the doctrine of them both, which of these two ascribe more or less to the majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord? The protestants admit no other head of the church, nor justifier of our souls, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father, but Christ alone. While the papists can abide none of these articles, but condemn them as heresy. This being so (as they themselves will not deny) now judge, good reader, who has set the city of Rome on fire: Nero, or the Christians?

But to return to our former purpose, which was to show the proclamation of the bishops for abolishing English books, as being corrupt and full of heresy. Notwithstanding, we have declared that they contain no heresy, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and Scripture of God.

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Now, when the prelates of the pope's side had procured this proclamation for the condemnation of all such English books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, thinking they had overthrown the gospel forever, and that they had firmly established their kingdom. After so straight, so precise, and so solemn a proclamation set forth and armed with the king's terrible authority, and also after the cruel execution of Anne Askew, Lassels, and the rest, who would not have thought the gospel was overthrown? Especially seeing what sure work the papists had made in setting up their own cause, and throwing down the cause of truth.

But it is not a new thing with the Lord, to show his power against man, who when he counts himself the most sure, is then furthest off; and when he supposes to have done it all, must then begin again. So it was in the primitive church before Constantine's time, that when Nero, Domitian, Maximin, Decius, and other emperors, impugning the gospel and profession of Christ, not only instituted laws and made proclamations against the Christians, but they also engraved those same laws in tables of brass, minding to make all things firm forever. Yet we see how, with a little turning of God's hand, all their mighty devices and brazen laws were turned to wind and dust. So little does it avail man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings. Man's building is mortal and ruinous, made of brittle brick, and moldering stones. Yet what the Lord takes in hand to build, neither wastes time,

nor can man pull it down. What God sets up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What He intends, stands; what He blesses, prevails. And yet man's presumption will not cease to erect towers of Babel against the Lord, which the higher they are built up, fall with greater ruin. For what can stand, that does not stand with the Lord?

The proclamation was terrible for the time. Yet not long after, because of the king's death (whom the Lord shortly afterwards took to His mercy) it became of no avail. So that where the prelates thought to make their jubilee, it turned into a day of lamentation. Such are the admirable workings of the Lord of Hosts, whose name be sanctified forever.

I not infer this for any other purpose than that the works of the Lord may be seen — admonishing you, good reader, that as to the king (who in this proclamation had nothing but his name), nothing is spoken here but to his honor and praise. Of his own nature and disposition, he was so inclinable and forward in abolishing the almost invincible authority of the pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing idolatry and pilgrimage, etc., such enterprises as never a king of England before him had accomplished (though some began to attempt them). So to this day we see but few in other realms who dare to follow the same.

If princes always have their counsel about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, I take that to be the fault of those who are about them, rather than of princes themselves. So long as queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, bishop Cranmer, Master Doctor Ruts, with others like them were about the king, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? This is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church; exploding the pope with his vile pardons; removing diverse superstitious ceremonies; bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects; in putting chantry priests to their pensions; permitting white meat during Lent; destroying pilgrimage worship; abrogating idle and superfluous holydays, both by public acts, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect. We subjoin one of these letters here:

*By the King.*

“Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily ensue to our subjects by the great superfluity of holydays, we have by the assent and consent of all the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such holydays as are neither canonical, nor fit to be suffered in a commonwealth. For the manifold inconveniences which ensue from the same, as recited, and to the intent that our determination in this may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you, immediately upon the receipt of this, to address your commandments in our name to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holydays aforesaid. Herewith you will receive a transcript, commanding them and every one of them, in no way, either in the church or otherwise, to invite or speak of any of the said days and feasts that are abolished. The people might take occasion by this either to murmur, or to disdain the order taken in this, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, notwithstanding the same — but to ignore it with such secret silence that they may have abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation. And because the time of harvest now approaches, our pleasure is that you shall with such diligence and dexterity put this matter into execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time, accordingly without failing, as you will answer to us for the contrary.

“Given under our signet, at our monastery of Chertsey, the eleventh of August.”

Thus while the king had good counsel was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So again when sinister and wicked counsel, under subtle and crafty pretenses, had the ascendancy over him, thrusting truth and charity from the prince's ears, so much as religion and all good things went prosperously forward before, so much on the contrary side, all devolved backward again. Thus the proclamation proceeded, mentioned above, concerning the abolishing and burning of English books. This proclamation bore the name of the king's majesty, but being the very deed of the popish bishops, it no doubt would have done much hurt in the church among the godly sort — bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness — had not the shortness of the king's days stopped the malignant purposes of the prelates. It caused the king to leave to the people by his death, that which he would not grant by his life. For within four months, the proclamation coming out in August, he died on the 27th of January (A.D. 1547), having reigned nearly 38 years. He left behind him three children who succeeded him in his kingdom: king Edward, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, of whom it now remains to prosecute in the process of this history (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince), according to the order of their succession, and the acts done by them in the church requires. I will first prosecute certain other matters along the way.

***Persecution in Scotland.***

Thus having finished the time and reign of king Henry VIII, it remains now, according to my promise made before, to place and adjoin here so much as comes to our hands regarding the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ, who in that country likewise suffered for the true religion of Christ, and the testimony of their faith.

To proceed therefore in the history of the affairs of Scotland, next after the mention of David Stratton and Master Norman Gourlay (or Nicolas Gurley), with whom we ended earlier (see p. 501), the order of time requires us to refer to the memory of Sir John Borthwick, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwick. Being accused of heresy, as the papists call it, and cited to answer for it, A.D. 1540, he did not appear, but escaped into other countries. Even though absent, however, he was condemned by the sentence of David Breaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and other prelates of Scotland; all his goods were confiscated, and his picture at last was burned in the open marketplace.

[621] A.D. 1540-1547.

*The Sentence of Condemnation against Sir John Borthwick, knight,  
by the Cardinal, Bishops, and Abbots in Scotland, A.D. 1540.*

[After reciting the articles with which he was charged, it thus concludes:]

“Of all these premises, and many other errors held, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught by him, the common fame and report is that the said Sir John Borthwick is held, reputed, and accounted by very many as a heretic, and principal heretic, who holds evil opinions of the catholic faith.

“Where we, David, by the title of St. Stephen, in Mount Celio, prelate and cardinal of the holy church of Rome, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and born legate of the apostolic see, sitting in the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy gospels of God being laid before us, so that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice, having only God, and the verity and truth of the catholic faith before our eyes, his holy name being first called upon, as said before, having hereupon held a council of wise men, divines as well as lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwick,

called Captain Borthwick, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errors and heresies listed before, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned, as aforesaid — and by lawful proofs had against him in every one of the premises, being convicted and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway and absent, even as if he were present, to be a heretic — is, and has been convicted as a heretic. And as a convicted heretic and heresiarch, he is to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterwards to be delivered and left to the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit all and singular, his goods, movables, and unmovables, however and by whatever title they were gotten, and in whatever place or part they may be; and all his offices, whatever he has previously had, reserving notwithstanding the dowry and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm to persons confiscate ought to pertain. Also, we decree that the picture of the said John Borthwick being formed, made, and painted according to his likeness, is to be carried through our city, to our cathedral church; and afterwards to the market cross of the same city; and there in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others; and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, is to be burned.

“Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwick is hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such like punishment due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the terror of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of whatever dignity, state, decree, order, condition, or pre-eminence they may be, or with whatever dignity, or honor, ecclesiastical or temporal they may be honored, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbor the said Sir Jolin Borthwick, commonly called Captain Borthwick, being accused, convicted, and declared a heretic, and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatever they may be, or by any manner of means admit him there, either by helping him with food, drink, or victuals, or any other thing whatever it may be, they show to him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation and forfeitures. And if it happens that they are found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefore as the favorers, receivers, defenders maintainers, and abettors of heretics, and shall be punished therefore according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due to men in such behalf.”

*The Sentence against Thomas Forrest et al.*

And now to address others who followed, beginning first in order with Thomas Forrest and his fellows. Their history is as follows:

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Master Gourlay — in the days of David Beaton, cardinal, and archbishop of St. Andrews; and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld — a canon of St. Colme’s Inche, and vicar of Dolone, called **Dean Thomas Forrest**, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel, as it fell for the time. This was then a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach except a Black friar, or a Gray friar. And therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld (in whose diocese he remained) as a heretic, and one who showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people, in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the instigation of the friars, called Dean Thomas, and said to him, “Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you counsel as to how you will rule and guide yourself.” Thomas said to him, “I thank your lordship heartily.” Then the bishop began his counsel in this manner.

“Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle, or gospel, every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you do not take the cowl or uppermost cloth, from your parishioners. This is very prejudicial to the churchmen. And therefore. Dean Thomas, I would have you take your cowl and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday. For in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel that sets forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest alone.”

Thomas answered; “My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I do not take the cowl or the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give them to me, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and share with them anything that I have. And so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us.

“And where your lordship says, it is too much to preach every Sunday; indeed I think it is too little, and I would also wish that your lordship did the same.”

“No, no, Dean Thomas,” said the bishop; “let that be; for we are not ordained to preach.”

Then Thomas said; “Where your lordship bids me to preach when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel. But if your lordship will show me the good epistle, and the good gospel, and the evil epistle, and the evil gospel, then I will preach the good, and omit the evil.”

Then my lord spoke stoutly, and said, “I thank God that I never knew what the New and Old Testament was” (and from these words arose a common proverb in Scotland: ‘You are like the bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither new nor old law’). “Therefore. Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my mass book, and my pontifical. Go your way, and leave off all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent it when you may not mend it.” Thomas said; “I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I do not care much what follows.” And so my lord and he separated at that time.

Soon after, a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrews, and the bishop of Dunkeld, upon the Dean Thomas Forrest, upon two Black friars, called Friar John Kelore, and another called Beverage, and upon a priest of Stirling, called Duncan Simpson, and one gentleman called Robert Forster, in Stirling, with three or four others with them of the town of Stirling, who at the day of their appearance, were condemned to death without any opportunity for recantation, because it was alleged they were heresiarch, or chief heretics and teachers of heresy.

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And it was especially because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Twybody, beside Stirling. And they ate flesh during Lent, at the bridal, and so they were all together burnt upon the castle hill, Edinburgh, where those who were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously comforted those who came behind.

*The persecution by the Cardinal of Scotland,  
against certain persons in Perth.*

There was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue — forbidding, nevertheless, all reasoning, conference, or convocation of people to *hear* the Scriptures read or expounded. This liberty of private reading, being granted by public proclamation, bore fruit. So that in several parts of

Scotland, the eyes of the servants of God were opened to see the truth, and to abhor the papistical abominations.

At this time, a sermon was given by Friar Spense, in Perth, affirming that prayer made to saints is so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. A burgesse of the town, Robert Lamb, could not bear this blasphemous doctrine, but publicly accused the friar of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him in God's name to utter the truth. The friar, stricken with fear, promised to do this; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so much, that the friar could gain no audience. Yet Robert, with great danger to his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, especially of the women, who proceeded with extreme cruelty against him.

At this time (A.D. 1543) the enemies of the truth procured John Charters, who favored the truth, and was provost of the city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the governor's authority. A papist named Master Alexander Marbeck was chosen in his place, so that they might more easily accomplish their wicked and ungodly purpose. After deposing the former provost, and electing the other, in the month of January the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice Sir John Campbell of Lundie, knight, and Justice Defort, the lord Botthwick, the bishops of Dunblane, and Orkney, with others of the nobility, all came to Perth. Although there were many accused for the crime of heresy, as they called it, yet only the following persons were apprehended at that time: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, and Hellen Stirke, his wife. They were cast that night into the Spay Tower of the city, to receive judgment on the morrow after.

The next day when they appeared and were brought forth to judgment, there was laid in general to all their charge, violation of the act of parliament expressed before, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of the Scriptures against the tenor of the act. Robert Lamb was accused especially for interrupting the friar in the pulpit, which he not only confessed, but also confirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, who understood and knew the truth, to hear the truth impugned without contradiction. And therefore, many who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence for consenting. This Robert, along with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused of hanging up the image of St. Francis on a cord, nailing rams' horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating a goose on Allhallows evening.

James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine. Yet because he often frequented that suspected company, he was accused.

The woman, Hellen Stirke, was accused because in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake, and because she said, that if she herself had lived in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ — thereby meaning that there were no merits in the virgin, which procured for her that honor to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate. These words were counted most execrable in the face of all the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson, when building a house, set atop his fourth stair the three-crowned diadem of Peter, made of wood, which the cardinal took as being done in mocking of his cardinal's hat; and this procured no favor toward James at their hands.

These persons were condemned and judged to death, by an assize, for violating, as alleged, the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon the Scriptures; for eating flesh on forbidden days; for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit; for dishonoring images, and for blaspheming the Virgin Mary.

After their sentence was given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated. The woman beholding this, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband, for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the people of the town for the life of these persons, to the governor, who of himself was willing to do so, that they might be delivered. But the governor was so under subjection to the cruel priests, that he could not do what he would. Indeed, they threatened to assist his enemies and to depose him, unless he assisted their cruelty.

There were some priests in the city who ate and drank in these honest men's houses before, to whom the priests were much bound. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat for them at the cardinal's hands. But they altogether refused, desiring the death of these men rather than preservation. So cruel are these wicked men from the lowest to the highest.

Then they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town unless they had their men of war) to the place of execution. This was common to all thieves, and to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lamb, at the foot of the gallows, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

Lamb's wife desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not allowed. Yet following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake. And parting from him with a kiss, she said, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day in which we must die, ought to be most joyful for us both, because we must have joy forever. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." After that she was taken to a place to be drowned, even though she had a child sucking at her breast; but this did not move the unmerciful hearts of her enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbors of the town for God's sake, and the child was given to the nurse, she sealed the truth by her death.

*The Condemnation of Master George Wishart,  
who suffered Martyrdom, A.D.1546.*

I will solicit the attention of the reader to the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wishart, by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles of which he was accused, and his meek answers. Finally, ponder the furious rage and tragic cruelty of the malignant church of Rome, in persecuting this blessed man of God; and his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them at the moment, without regarding their menacings and threats, and not moving his countenance nor changing his visage.

[623] A.D. 1540-1547.



But before I refer to his articles, I thought it not impertinent to touch somewhat concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, as it came to my hands, certified in writing by a scholar of Wishart named Emery Tylney. His words, as he wrote them to me, follow:

“About the year 1543, there was in the University of Cambridge one Mr. George Wishart, commonly called Mr. George of Benet’s college, a man of tall stature, judged by his physiognomy. He was of a melancholy disposition, black-haired, long-bearded, handsome, well-spoken of in his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and well travelled. He never had on him for his habit or clothing anything but a mantle or frieze-gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvass for his shirts, with white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All of this apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

“He was modest man, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity never had an end, night, noon, or day. He forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvass sheets which, when he changed them, he gave away. He commonly had by his bedside a tub of water in which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself. I being very young and assured, often heard him, and on one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him as effectually, for my age. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defense. And after due correction for their malice, by a good exhortation, he amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished what he had begun! For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland, with some of the nobility that came for a treaty to king Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in whatever he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading diverse authors.

“If I were to declare his love toward me, and all men, his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, indeed, infinitely studying how to do good to all, and hurt to none, I would sooner lack words than just cause to commend him.

“All this I testify with my whole heart and truth about this godly man. He that made all, governs all, and shall judge all, knows that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, and the hypocrite disclosed.

“Emery Tylney.”

Master George Wishart was in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, where the dean of the town was sent, by command of the cardinal, to summon him to appear before the judge on the following morning, to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

Master George responded, “What need is there for my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer by his power? Or does he believe that I am unprepared to render an account of my doctrine?”

The next morning the cardinal had his servants dress themselves in their most warlike array, with all their arms, more prepared for war than for preaching the word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, they sent for Master George, who was conveyed into the church by the captain of the castle, accompanied by a hundred men-at-arms. Like a lamb they led him to the sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying there

afflicted with great infirmities, who asked alms from him, to whom he hung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, the subprior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to the congregation, taking his subject matter out of Matthew 13. His sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist.

The second part of the interpretation about the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it may be known. He defined it in this manner: "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacity, clearly contrary to the word of God."

The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that and other realms. The cause of heresy is the ignorance of those who have the cure of souls; to whom it necessarily belongs to have the true understanding of the word of God, so that they may be able to win the false teachers of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win them back, but also to overcome them. As St. Paul says, "For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not quickly angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding fast the faithful word as he has been taught, so that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince those who contradict." Tit 1.7-9.

The fourth part of his sermon was how heresies should be known. Heresies (he said) are known in this way: as the goldsmith knows the fine gold from the imperfect by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At last he added that heretics should be put down in this present life. The gospel appeared to contradict this proposition.; "Let them grow together till the harvest;" the harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and the law. And when he ended his sermon, they had Master George ascend the pulpit, to hear his accusation and articles. And right against them stood one John Lauder, a priest, laden full of curses written on paper. He took out a roll, both long and full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and he hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth have speedily swallowed him up. Notwithstanding, he stood still with great patience, hearing their statements, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When this well-fed priest had read through all his menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What do you answer to these sayings, you runagate traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against you?" Master George hearing this, knelt down on his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all as follows: —

"You have spoken many horrible sayings and many abominable words here this day, which I thought a great abomination not only to teach, but also to think. Therefore I pray you quietly to hear me, that you may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lord, I desire to be heard for three causes.

"The first is, because through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable, therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that you hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

“The second reason is, because your salvation springs from the word of God; for He works all things by his word. It would therefore be an unrighteous thing if you were to stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

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“The third reason is, because your doctrine utters many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming from the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than that of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable that you should know what my words and doctrine are, so that I do not perish unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Therefore, both for the glory and honor of God, your own salvation, and safety of my life, I beseech you to hear me, and I will recite my doctrine without any color.

“First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the commandments of God, the twelve articles of the creed, and the Lord’s prayer in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee I taught the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I will show you faithfully what manner I used when I taught.

Then suddenly with a loud voice, the accuser cried,

“You heretic, runagate,<sup>116</sup> traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for you to preach. You have taken the power into your own hand, without any authority from the church. We thought that you have been a preacher too long.”

Then the whole congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, exclaimed,

“If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and so exercised in the holy Scripture, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.”

Master George seeing their malicious and wicked intention, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. The accuser, John Lauder, responded, “Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm: chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Meropois, commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus a latere?*<sup>117</sup> And so reciting a long list of titles, he asked, “Is not my lord cardinal an equal judge? Who else would you desire to be your judge?”

To whom this humble man answered, “I do not refuse my lord cardinal; but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships as my auditors, because I am my lord governor’s prisoner here.” Whereupon the proud and scornful people who stood by mocked him, saying, “Such a man, such a judge! Speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor and others of the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics.” Without delay and without further process, they would have sentenced Master George, had not certain men counselled the cardinal to read the articles, and to hear his answers, so that the people might not complain of his condemnation.

The following were the articles, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to answer their charges, and show his doctrine, they stopped his mouth with another article.

1. “You false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, you despise the holy church, and in it disdain my lord governor’s authority. And this we know for surety, that when

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<sup>116</sup> *Runagate*: a person who abandons or renounces a religious belief or cause; a renegade.

<sup>117</sup> A *legatus natus* is a bishop who holds the title of legate by virtue of his office, rather than being individually appointed. On the other hand, a *legatus a latere* is a legate sent from the Pope’s side, typically a cardinal who represents the Pope on a special assignment with specific powers delegated to him. This type of legate has full plenipotentiary powers and is considered the Pope’s alter ego.

you preached in Dundee, and were charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless you would not obey, but persevered in the same; and therefore, the bishop of Brechin cursed you, and delivered you into the devil's hands, and commanded that you should preach no more. That notwithstanding, you continued obstinately.”

“My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, ‘We ought to obey God rather than men.’ (Act 5.29) I have also read in the prophet Malachi, ‘I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings’ (Mal 2.2), believing firmly that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings.”

2. “You false heretic said that the priest standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail.”

“My lords, I did not say so; these were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nothing else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a searcher of men's hearts; therefore whoever would truly adore and honor God, must honor Him in spirit and truth.”

3. “You false heretic preached against the sacraments, saying that there were not seven sacraments.”

“My lords, if it is your pleasures, I never taught about the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ are shown to us by the gospel. I profess them openly; and unless it is the word of God, I dare affirm nothing.”

4. “You false heretic have openly taught that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And you say that we should only confess to God, and to no priest.”

“My lords, I say that auricular confession, seeing that it has no promise of the gospel, cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when David says, ‘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.’ (Psa 32.5) Here confession signifies the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprov'd no manner of confession. And further, St. James says, ‘Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.’” (Jas 5.16)

When he had said these words, the bishops and their accomplices cried out, and gnashed their teeth, saying, “Do you not see what colors he has in his speaking, so that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion?”

5. “You heretic openly said, that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was, contrary to general councils, and the estate of the holy church.”

“My lords, I believe there are none so unwise here, that they will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, unless he first knows and understands the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger. So likewise, I would that we understood what we promise to God, in the name of the infant in baptism. For this reason I believe you have confirmation.”

Then Master Bleiter, chaplain, said that Master George had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. A child answered him, saying, “The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man speaks.”

6. “You heretic, traitor, thief, you said that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and nothing else; and all that is done there, is but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God.”

“Oh Lord God! The Scripture does not teach you such manifest lies and blasphemies. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught anything against the Scriptures, which I will by God’s grace make manifest this day; being ready to suffer death for it.

“The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable to God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable to Him. But what occasion do they have to say such words about me, I will show your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew when I was sailing on the Rhine. I inquired of him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messiah had come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him fulfilled? Moreover, the prophecies are taken away, and the scepter of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the Scripture I proved to him that Messiah had come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew replied, ‘When Messiah comes, he shall restore all things, and not abrogate the law which was given to our forefathers, as you do. Why do I say this? We see the poor almost perish through hunger among you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them; but among us Jews (though we are poor), there are no beggars found.

[625] A.D. 1540-1547.

Secondly: it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God alone is to be honored, Yet your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly: a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, you adore and worship and say that it is your God.’ I have recited here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true.”

Then the bishops shook their heads, and spit on the earth.

7. “You false heretic said, that extreme unction was not a sacrament.”

“My lords, I never taught anything about extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it was a sacrament or not.”

8. “You false heretic said, that holy water is not as good as washing, and such things. You condemned conjuring, and said that holy church’s cursings avail nothing.”

“My lords, as for holy water, I taught nothing about it in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them.”

9. “You false heretic and runagate have said, that every layman is a priest, and such-like. You said that the pope has no more power than any other man.”

“My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of whom one says, ‘And has made us kings and priests.’ (Rev 1.6) The other says, ‘But you are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.’ (1Pet 2.9) Therefore I have affirmed, that any man being skillful in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, has this power from God, not by the power or violence of men, but by virtue of the word of God, which word is called, ‘The power of God,’ (Rom 1.16) as St. Paul witnesses evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatever estate or order he is of, I say, he has no power to

bind or loose, seeing that he lacks the instrument by which he binds or looses, that is to say, the word of God.”

After he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When he beheld their laughing, “You laugh my lords?” Though these sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of great value, because they concern not only myself, but also the honor and glory of God.” In the meantime, many godly men beholding the great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, greatly mourned and lamented.

10. “You false heretic said, that a man has no free will, but is like the Stoics, who say that it is not in man’s will to do anything; but that all concupiscence and desire comes by God, whatever kind it is.”

“My lords, I did not say so, truly. I say that as many as believe in Christ firmly, to them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, ‘If the Son, therefore, makes you free, you shall be free indeed.’ (Joh 8.36). On the contrary, as many as do not believe in Christ Jesus, are bond-servants of sin. \*Whoever commits sin is the servant of sin.” (Joh 8.34)

11. “You false heretic said, it is as lawful to eat flesh on Friday, as on Sundays.”

“I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that whoever is clean, to him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifies by the word, the creature of God. But the creature makes no man acceptable to God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man all things are ‘sanctified by the word of God and prayer.’” (1Tim 4.5)

After these sayings of Master George, then all the bishops with their accomplices said, “Why do we need any witness against him? Has he not openly spoken blasphemy here?”

12. “You false heretic said that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether you have said this, or not; speak shortly.”

For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers he said, without doubt plainly, that saints should not be honored. “My lord,” he said, “there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain; the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honor one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, ‘You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve.’ (Mat 4.10) But as for praying to and honoring of saints, there is great doubt among many whether or not they hear invocations made to them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and he makes intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by which we must enter in. Whoever does not enter in by this door, but climbs up another way, is a thief and a murderer. He is the Truth and the Life. Whoever goes out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yes, truly, has fallen into it already. This is my doctrine, which I have ever followed. Truly, that which I have heard and read in the word of God I taught openly, and not in corners. And now you will witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Unless it stands by the word of God, I dare not be so bold as to affirm anything.”

13. “You false heretic have preached plainly, saying, that there is no purgatory; and that it is a feigned thing, that any man after this life can be punished in purgatory.”

“My lords, as I have oftentimes said before, without witness and testimony of the Scriptures I dare affirm nothing. I have oftentimes read over the Bible, and yet I never found such a

term, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable to it. Therefore I was ashamed to teach that which I could not find in the Scriptures.”

Then he said to Master John Lauder,” his accuser, “If you have any testimony of the Scriptures by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory.” But his accuser did not have a word to say for himself; he was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

14. “You false heretic have taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying that whoever was bound to such vows, they vowed, themselves to the estate of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live single.”

“My lords, I have read in the gospel, that as many as do not have the gift of chastity, nor have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, nor have vowed chastity, should marry. You have experience, though I would hold my peace, of what inconvenience they have vowed themselves.”

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines, than one married wife.

15. “You false heretic and runagate said, you will not obey our general or provincial councils.”

“My lords, what your general councils are I do not know. I was never exercised in them; but I gave my labors to the pure word of God. Read here your general council, or else give me a book in which they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree.”

Then the ravening wolves said, “Why let him speak any further? Read the rest of the articles, and do not stay upon them.”

Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Graifind Scot, standing behind John Lauder, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon Master George’s godly answers. “For we may not listen to them,” he said, “any more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross.”

16. “You heretic said, that it is in vain to build costly churches to the honor of God, seeing that God does not remain in the churches made with men’s hands, nor can God be in so little a space as between the priest’s hands.”

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“My lords, Solomon says, ‘Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain you; how much less this house that I have built?’ (1Kng 8.27) And Job consents to the same sentence: ‘Can you by searching find out God? Can you find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven; what can you do? deeper than hell; what can you know? Its measure is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.’ (Job 11.7-9) So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because he is infinite. Notwithstanding these sayings, I never said that churches should be destroyed; but on the contrary I ever affirm that churches should be sustained and upheld; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wherever there is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself. So that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be comprehended in any place; and yet, wherever two or three are gathered together in his name, there He is present in the midst of them.” Mat 18.20

Then he said to his accuser, “If you think anything otherwise than I say, show your reasons before this auditory.” Then being dumb and without all reason, and not answering one word, his accuser proceeded forward in his articles.

17. “You false heretic despise fasting, and said you should not fast.”

“My lord, I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I would be a slanderer of the gospel if I despised fasting. And not only so, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body. But God knows who fasts the true fast.”

18. “You false heretic have preached openly, saying that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain immortal life until that day.”

“God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive those who say such things of me: I know surely by the word of God, that whoever has begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believes firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but shall live an immortal life. This life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented; nor yet shall it ever perish or have an end, but shall ever live immortal with Christ. All who believe in Him shall come to this life, and rest in eternal glory. Amen.”

When the bishops with their accomplices had accused this innocent man in this manner, they condemned him to be burnt as a heretic, having no regard to his godly answers and true reasons, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking truly that they do good sacrifice to God, conformable to the saying in St. John, “They shall put you out of the synagogues: yes, the time comes, that whoever kills you will think that he does God service.” Joh 16.2.

*The Prayer of Master George Wishart.*

“O immortal God, how long will you suffer the great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon your servants who further Your word in this world, seeing that they desire to be contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity by which you have shown Yourself to the world, which was all drowned in blindness and ignorance of your name. O Lord, we know surely that your true servants must suffer, for your name’s sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as you have shown to us, by your prophets and apostles. Yet we desire of You heartily, that you keep, defend and help your congregation, which you have chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them your grace to hear these words and to be your true servants in this present life.”

Then they caused the common people to depart, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done, the cardinal had his warders pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he had come into the castle, two gray fiends came there: friar Scot and his mate, saying, “Sir, you must make your confession to us.” He answered and said, “I will make no confession to you. Go fetch me yonder man who preached this day, and I will make my confession to him.” Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence, but what he said in this confession, I cannot show.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows erected, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal — dreading lest Master George should be taken away by his friends — commanded that all the ordnance of the castle should be turned against that part, and that all his gunners should be ready and stand by their guns. until such time as he was burned. All this being done, they bound Master George’s hands behind his back, and led him out from the castle with their soldiers, to the place of execution. As he came out from the castle gate, certain beggars met him there asking him alms for God’s sake. He answered them, “I lack my hands with which I might give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, grants to give you necessities both for your bodies and souls.” Then afterward two false fiends met him (I should say, friars) saying, “Master



George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." He answered them meekly, "Cease, do not tempt me, my brethren." After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he went down upon his knees and rose again, and three times he said these words, "O you Savior of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into your holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned to the people and said these words:

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that you not be offended in the word of God for the affliction and torments which you see already prepared for me. But I exhort you, that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray that you show my brethren and sisters, who have heard me often before, that they do not cease, nor depart from the word of God which I taught them according to the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which do not last. And show them that my doctrine was no old wife's fables following the constitutions made by men. If I had taught men's doctrine, I would have gotten great thanks by men. But for the world's sake and true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent: that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider, and behold my visage. You shall not see me change my color. I do not fear this grim fire. And so I pray you to do likewise, if any persecution comes to you for the word's sake, and not to fear those who slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the soul of man sleeps until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Savior Christ this night, before it is six hours."

Then he prayed for those who accused him, saying,

"I beseech you, Father of heaven, to forgive those who have, from any ignorance, or from any evil mind, forged any lies against me; I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive those who have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he spoke to the people in this manner;

"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, so that they at last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not escape."

[627] A.D. 1540—1547.

He said many faithful words in the meantime, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments, which were then prepared for him.

And at last the hangman, who was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said; "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come here to me." When he had come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Behold, here is a token that I forgive you. Do your office." By and by he was put upon the gallows and hanged, and there he was burnt to powder. When the people beheld the great torment, they could not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

*The Martyrdom of Adam Wallace.*

On a platform erected at the Black friars' church in Edinburgh, there was the lord governor: behind him sat Master Gawin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan

pastor. On a seat at his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrews. At his back stood the official of Lothian. Next to the archbishop of St. Andrews, sat the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Murray, the abbot of Dunfermline, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of that city. And at the other end of the seat sat Master Ouchiltrie: at his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy Sir John Campbell of Lundie. Next to him, the earl of Huntly. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrews, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Forbes, dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews. And behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, etc.

At the farther end of the chancel wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbottle, the accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood. And a great congregation of the people in the body of the church, were standing on the ground.

After that, Adam Wallace was brought in, a simple poor man in appearance. He was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what was his name. He answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Feane. Then he asked where he was born. "Within two miles of Fayle," he said, "in Kyle." Then the accuser said, "I am sorry that such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to such great inconvenience this day by your vain speaking."

"And I must speak," Wallace said, "as God gives me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt anybody."

"Would to God," said the accuser, "that you had never spoken. But you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresies, as were never imagined nor heard of in this country before, which shall be sufficiently proved, so that you cannot deny it."

"Adam Wallace, alias Feane: you are openly accused for preaching, saying, and teaching the blasphemies and abominable heresies under-written. First, you have said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

Wallace turned to the lord governor, and lords mentioned, saying; "I never said, nor taught anything but what I found in this book (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English) which is the word of God. And if you will be content that the Lord God and his word will be my judge as to where I have said wrong, I will take that punishment which you will put upon me. For I never said anything concerning what I am accused of, but that which I found in this book."

"What did you say?" asked the accuser. "I said, he answered, "that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his last supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said. Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying. Drink you all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Mat 26.26-28. And in St. Luke it is added, "Do this in remembrance of me." Luk 22.19.

Then the bishop of St. Andrews, and the official of Lothian, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, all said "We know this well enough." The Earl of Huntly said, "You did not answer to that which is laid to you; say either no or yes to it." Wallace answered, "If you will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior, you will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but

what the Word says, which is the test and touchstone, and which ought to be the judge, to me and to all the world.”

“Why,” said the Earl of Huntly, “Do you not have a judge good enough? And do you think that we do not know God and his word? Answer to that which is spoken to you.” And then they made the accuser say the same thing over again. “You say,” said the accuser, “and have taught, that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ.”

He answered, “I never said more than the written word says. For I know well by St. Paul when he says, ‘Therefore, whoever eats this bread and drinks this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. For whoever eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body.’ And therefore when I taught, which was but seldom, and only to those who requested and desired me to, I said that, ‘If the sacrament of the altar were truly administered, and used as the Son of the living God instituted it, wherever that was done, there was God himself by his divine power.’”

The bishop of Orkney asked him, “Do you not believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, is the very body of God, flesh, blood, and bone?”

He answered, “I do not know what that word *consecration* means. I do not have much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary, and has a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught. He suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day; and the same body ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And that this body is a natural body, with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he shows well himself. For which everlasting thanks be to Him who makes this matter clear. When the woman broke that ointment on him, answering some of his disciples who resented it, he said, ‘The poor you always have with you, but me you do not always have,’ meaning his natural body. And likewise at his ascension he said to the same disciples who were fleshly, and would have had him ever remain with them corporally, ‘It is needful for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter (the Holy Spirit) will not come to you,’ meaning that his natural body must be taken away from them. ‘But be of good cheer; for I am with you always, until the end of the world.’

“And that the eating of his very flesh does not profit. may be well known by his words which he spoke in St. John, where after he said, ‘Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you;’ they murmured at it. And he reproveth them for their gross and fleshly taking of his words, and he said, ‘What then if you were to see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before? It is the Spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing,’ to be eaten as they took it, and even so take you it.” (Joh 6.53-63)

“It is a horrible heresy,” said the bishop of Orkney.

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Then Wallace was bid to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, “You said likewise, and openly taught, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.”

“Wallace answered and said, “I have read the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet I never read that word *mass* in any of it. But I found that the thing that was highest and most in estimation among men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say that the mass is held in great estimation among men and is not founded on the Word. There, I said it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by God’s word, I will acknowledge my error, and will submit to all lawful correction and punishment.”

“Go to the third article,” said the archbishop. Then the accuser said, “You have openly taught that the God whom we worship is but bread, sown of corn, grown from the earth, baked by men’s hands, and nothing else.”

He answered, “I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three Persons in one Godhead, who made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is in them. But I do not know what God you worship; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is, as I can by my judgment.”

“Do you not believe,” asked the accuser, “that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration between the priest’s hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?” “What the body of God is,” he said, “and what kind of body he has, I have shown you so far as I have found it declared in the Scriptures.”

Then the accuser said, “You have preached, and openly taught other great errors and abominable heresy against all seven sacraments, which for shortness of time I omit and pass over. Do you admit the articles that you are accused of or not?” And then the accuser repeated the above three articles, and asked Wallace whether he granted or denied them?

Wallace answered as he did before, that he had said nothing but what agreed with the holy word as he understood it. So God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him; and he would abide by that till the time he was better instructed by the Scriptures, even to the death. And he said to the lord governor and other lords, “If you condemn me for holding by God’s word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands when you are brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom you shall not deny it. Nor yet will you be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance. As it is written, ‘Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.’” Rom 12.19

Then they passed sentence, and condemned him, and left him to the secular power in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle-hill. He was put in prison with irons about his legs and neck, and given in charge to Sir Hugh Terry, to keep the key. He was an ignorant minister, and a ready servant of Satan and of the bishops. By direction, he sent two Gray friars to the poor man to instruct him, with whom he would not enter into any communication. Soon after, two Black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophist were sent to him. Wallace would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures with the English friar. But he answered that he had no commission to enter into disputation with him, and so he departed.

Then a worldly-wise man was sent to him, though ungodly in the understanding of the truth. This was the dean of Roscalrige, who gave him Christian consolation. He exhorted Wallace to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration; but he would consent to nothing that did not have evidence in the holy Scriptures, and so he passed that night in singing and praising God to the tears of many hearers, having learned the psalter of David without a book. For they had previously spoiled him of his bible which, till after he was

condemned, was always with him wherever he went. After Sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took them from him, leaving him destitute of consolation. And he gave ungodly and injurious provocations, in order to pervert the poor man from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Savior. But God did not allow him to be moved.

Thus this godly man abode in irons all night and all the next morning, when provision was commanded to be made for his burning the next day. That day the lord governor, and all the principals, both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, the dean of Roscalrige came to him again, and reasoned with him. But Wallace answered as before, that he would say nothing concerning his faith, except as the Scripture testifies — yes, even if an angel came from heaven to persuade him to it. But he confessed to have received good consolation from this dean in other respects, as becomes a Christian.

Then Sir Hugh Terry came in again, and examined him, and said that he would make devils come out of him before evening. He answered, “You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you had come, I prayed God that I might resist your temptations, which I thank him, He has made me able to do. Therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace.” Then Wallace asked of one of the officers who stood by, “Is your fire-making ready?” When he was told it was, he answered, “As it pleases God, I am ready sooner or later as it shall please Him.” And then he spoke to a faithful one in that company, and asked him to commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time to his coming to the fire, no man spoke with him.

When he was brought out of prison, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any man to him. Coming from the town to the castle hill, the common people said, “God have mercy upon him.” “And on you too,” he said. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven two or three times, and said to the people, “Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth’s sake; for the disciple is not greater than his master.” The provost was angry that he spoke. Then Wallace looked to heaven again, and said, “They will not let me speak.” The cord being about his neck, the fire was lit, and so he departed to God with great constancy.

*The Schism that arose in Scotland about the Paternoster.*

After **Richard Marshall**, doctor of divinity, and prior of the Black friars at Newcastle, in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrews, in Scotland, that the Lord’s Prayer (commonly called the Paternoster) should be said only to God, and not to saints, or to any other creature. The doctors of the university of St. Andrews, together with the Gray friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Paternoster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be opposed. They stirred up a Gray friar named Friar Toittis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Paternoster (or our Lord’s Prayer) to saints. Finding no part of the Scriptures to found his purpose upon, he yet came to the pulpit on the first of November, being the feast of Allhallows (A.D. 1551), and took the text from the gospel that day read in their mass, in the fifth of Matthew, containing these words: “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord’s Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition pertains to them.

“For if we meet an old man in the street,” he said, “we will say to him, ‘Good day, father,’ and therefore much more may we call the saints our *fathers*. And because we also grant that they are in heaven, so we may say to every one of them, ‘Our Father which is in heaven.’”

[629] A.D. 1540-1547

“Our Father, God, has made their names holy, and therefore we, as followers of God, should hold their names holy, and so we may say to any of the saints, ‘Our Father which is in heaven, hallowed be your name.’ And for the same cause,” said the friar, “as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession. And so praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, ‘Your kingdom come.’ And unless their will had been the very will of God, they would never come to that kingdom; therefore seeing that their will is God’s will, we may say to every one of them, ‘Your will be done.’”

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, regarding our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he sweat abundantly; partly because his sophistry began to fail him, not finding such a color for that part, as for the other which went before it; and partly because he spoke against his own knowledge and conscience. And so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints’ power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, he said, that we may obtain our daily bread by their intercession. And so he commented on the rest of the prayer to the end. Not yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that St. Paul’s napkin, and St. Peter’s shadow did miracles, and that the virtue of Elijah’s cloak divided the waters, attributing nothing to the power of God — with many other errors of the papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this, followed a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland, not only as to the clergy, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry. So that there arose a proverb: “To whom do you say your Paternoster?” And although the papists had the upper hand then (so great was the blindness of that age), yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that whoever could understand the bare words of the Lord’s Prayer in English (which was then said in Latin), utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no way be said to saints. So that the tradesmen and others, when the friar came among them, put him to great shame, crying “Friar Paternoster! Friar Paternoster!” At last, being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, he was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrews.

At length the Christians were so offended, and the papists, on the other side, were so proud and willful, that it was necessary for the clergy at last be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, so that the laypeople might be put out of doubt. This being done, and the university agreed, there ensued much subtle sophistry. For some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *formalitèr*, and to saints *materialitèr*; others *ultimatè et non ultimatè*; Others said it should be said to God *principalitèr*, and to saints *minus principalitèr*. Others that it should be said to God *primariè*, and to saints *secondariè*. Others that it should be said to God *capiendo strictè*, and to saints *capiendo largè*. These vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, those who were simple remained in greater doubt than they were before; so that a well-aged man, and a servant to the subprior of St. Andrews, who was called the subprior’s Thome, being asked to whom he said his Paternoster; he answered, “To God only.” Then they asked him again what should be said to the saints; he answered, “Give them plenty of aves and creeds, for that will suffice them well enough, although they spoil God of his right.” Others said that because Christ,

who made the Paternoster, never came into the isle of Britain, and so did not understand the English language, the doctors concluded that it should therefore be said in Latin.

This trouble and open slander still continuing, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter. This council being assembled at Edinburgh, the papists, being destitute of reason, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded that the Lord's Prayer should be said to the saints. But as that could not be proved, and they could not prevail by reason, they used their will instead. Friar Scot, being asked to whom he should say the Paternoster, answered: "Say it to the devil." So the council, perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, were compelled to omit voting.

But then those who were called churchmen were found divided among themselves. For some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Paternoster should be said to the saints. But the bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness, and Atheins, with other learned men, refused to subscribe to it. Finally, with the consent of both parties, commission was given by the holy church to Dean John Winrame, then subprior of St. Andrews, to declare to the people how and in what manner they should pray the Lord's Prayer. Accepting the commission, he declared that it should be said to God, with some other restrictions which are not necessary to relate. And so, little by little, the tumult ceased.

*The Martyrdom of Walter Mille.*

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence. Out of his ashes sprang thousands of the same opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose to die rather than be trodden upon any longer by the tyranny of the cruel and ignorant bishops, abbots, monks and friars. And so the church of Scotland began to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists; for the controversy ensued soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille.

In the year 1558, in the time of Mary, queen regent of Scotland, and John Hamilton being bishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in his youth had been a papist) after he had been in Germany, and heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned again to Scotland. Setting aside all papistry and constrained celibacy, he married a wife, which brought him under the suspicion of the bishops of Scotland for heresy. After long watching for him, he was taken by two popish priests, and brought to St. Andrews, and imprisoned in the castle. When in prison, the papists earnestly labored to seduce him, and threatened him with death and torments, to cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing that he remained firm and constant, they labored to persuade him by fair promises. They offered him a monk's portion for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermline, if he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy. But continuing in the truth even to the end, he despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then the bishops assembled together from St. Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, and Atheins, the abbots of Dunfermline, Landors, Balindrinot, and Towpers, with the doctors of theology of St. Andrews, such as John Greson, Black friar, and John Winrame, subprior of St. Andrews, William Cranston, provost of the Old College, with diverse other friars, Black and Gray. These being assembled, and having consulted together, Walter was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops, on the 20th of April. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, he appeared so weak and feeble of person, partly by age, and partly by ill treatment, that he could not climb up without help. Then they gave up the hope of hearing him, for the weakness of his voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church ring and sound

again, with such great courage and stoutness, that the Christians who were present were no less rejoiced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. Being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishops' priests, commanded him to arise, and to answer to his articles, saying, "Walter Mille, arise and answer to the articles, for you delay my lord here too long." Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered saying, "We ought to obey God rather than man; I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. Now say what you have to say."

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Oliphant. — "What do you think of priests' marriage?"

Mille. — "I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men. But you think it is not free to you; you abhor it, and in the meantime you take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the bond that God has made. You vow chastity, and break it. St. Paul would rather marry than burn; which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of whatever state or degree he was."

Oliphant. — "You say there are not seven sacraments."

Mille. — "Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and you take the rest, and divide them among you. For if there are seven, why have you omitted one of them — to wit, marriage — and given yourselves to ungodly immoralities?"

Oliphant. — "You are against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and say that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry."

Mille. — "A lord or a king sends and calls many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causes a bell to be rung, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner. But the lord, turning his back to them, eats it all himself, and mocks them. So do you."

Oliphant. — "You deny the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood."

Mille. — "The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and stands in faith alone. And as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was offered once on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice."

Oliphant. — "You deny the office of a bishop."

Mille. — "I affirm that those whom you call bishops. do no bishops' works, nor use the office of bishops (as St. Paul bids, in writing to Timothy), but they live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock. Nor yet do they regard the word of God, but desire to be honored and called 'My lords.'"

Oliphant. — "You spoke against pilgrimage."

Mille. — "I affirm and say that it is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater immorality committed in any place, than at your pilgrimages."

Oliphant. — "You preached secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields."

Mille. — "Yes, man, and on the sea also, sailing on a ship."

Oliphant. — "Wilt you not recant your erroneous opinions? And if you will not, I will pronounce sentence against you."



Mille. — “I am accused of my life. I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, what you do, do quickly. You shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am not chaff. I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.”

Then Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic, which punishment was to be burnt. His boldness and constancy so moved the hearts of many, that the bishop’s steward of his regality, provost of the town, named Patrick Learmont, refused to be his temporal judge, to whom it properly pertained. Also the bishop’s chamberlain, being charged with it, would in no way take upon himself so ungodly an office. Indeed, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop’s servants could not get, even for money, so much as a cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar barrel to burn him; but they were constrained to cut the cords of their master’s own pavilion to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop’s, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Simmerwail, acting in the office of a temporal judge, conveyed him to the fire, where his boldness and hardiness more and more increased. So that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in Mille, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and he was being innocently martyred.

When all things were ready for his death, and he was brought by armed men to the fire, Oliphant asked him to pass to the stake. Walter said, “No, but will you put me up with your hand, and take part in my death? You will see me pass up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself.” Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, and desired that he might have an opportunity to speak to the people. But Oliphant and others of the burners refused, saying that he had spoken too much, for the bishops were offended that the matter had continued so long. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops, their masters, to the devil, saying that they believed they should lament that day, and desired Walter to say what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, he said;

“Dear friends, the reason why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (although I am a miserable sinner before God), but only for the defense of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments. For this, as the faithful martyrs have gladly offered themselves before, being assured of eternal felicity after the death of their bodies, so this day I praise God, that he has called me of His mercy among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life. As I have received this from him, so I willingly offer it to His glory.

Therefore, if you would escape the eternal death, no longer be seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation.”

All the while there was great mourning and lamentation among the multitude; for perceiving his patience, constancy, and hardiness, they were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts were also so inflamed, that he was the last martyr who died in Scotland for religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, “Lord have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!” And so he endured his cruel end with constancy.

In the time of the Reformation, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images in the great church of the abbey were burnt.

And thus much concerning the martyrs who suffered in the realm of Scotland for the faith of Jesus Christ, and the testimony of His truth.

***Persecutions in Kent.***

In looking through the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find others during the time and reign of King Henry, besides those comprehended above. Some of them suffered martyrdom for the testimony of God's word, and some recanted. Although they come a little out of order here, and should have been placed before, at the beginning of King Henry's reign, yet rather than omitting them entirely, I judged it fitting here to give them a place, being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others before them — especially as they were martyred here in England, before the appearing and preaching of Martin Luther.

The martyrs alluded to are William Carder of Tenterden, weaver; Agnes Grebil of Tenterden; Robert Harrison of Halden; John Brown of Ashford; Edward Walker of Maidstone, a cutler.

*The Articles upon which the above five blessed  
Martyrs were accused and condemned.*

1. For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the very true body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.
  2. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.
  3. That no power is given by God to priests, more than laymen, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other Divine service.
- [631] A.D. 1540-1547.
4. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to the salvation of souls, nor was it instituted by God (as a sacrament, they meant.)
  5. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available or necessary to the soul's salvation.
  6. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that those who worship them commit idolatry.
  7. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, are not necessary, nor meritorious to the soul's salvation.
  8. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that He alone hears their prayers.
  9. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration than before.
  10. That they have believed, taught, and held all and every one of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present time.
  11. That though they have now confessed their errors, they would not have so done except for fear of manifest proofs brought against them; nor would they ever have confessed the same of their own accord.
  12. That they have communed and talked up to now of the said damnable errors with diverse other persons, and have possessed books concerning the same.

*The order and form of Process used against  
these five Martyrs, A.D. 1511.*

**William Carder** was brought before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor Cuthbert Tunstall, Doctor Sylvester, Doctor Welles, Clement, Brown, with others, the notaries being William Potking, and David Cowper. The articles and interrogatories above specified were laid to his charge, which he denied. He affirmed that he never did, nor does he hold any such opinion, otherwise than becomes what every Christian man should do, who is ready to conform himself in all points to their doctrine. And therefore to better clear himself against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of them. The other four martyrs after him did the same.

Notwithstanding all of this, the uncharitable archbishop brought against him such witnesses as were abjured before, whom he knew. For fear of relapse, they dared do no other than to disclose whatever they knew — to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hills, and Steven Castelin. Their depositions being taken, and Carder being asked what he could say for himself, said he had nothing to produce against their attestations; but submitted himself to their mercy. He added that if he had any disbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the catholics, he now was sorry and repented of them. This being done, the archbishop, notwithstanding Carder's submission, and notwithstanding that the register makes no mention of any relapse contrary to law, or at least contrary to all Christian charity, proceeded to the reading of his sentence, and condemned him to be burnt.

After him, **Agnes Grebil** was called and examined on the twelve articles, which she in like manner denied, as the other had done, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop called for John Grebil, her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil, her two sons, and caused them upon their oath to depose against their own natural mother!

First, John Grebil, her husband, being examined by virtue of his oath, said what Agnes, his wife, believed about the sacrament of the altar, of going on pilgrimage, offerings, and the worshipping of saints, images, etc., and how long she had held such opinions. He deposed that first, about the end of King Edward IV's days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she was brought to that belief. And so she continued from there, daily, until the time of her detection.

Besides that, he said, "when my children, Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught by me in my house, the error of the sacrament of the altar, and also by Agnes, my wife, she was always of one mind in her disbelief about the sacrament of the altar, that it was not Christ's body, flesh, and blood, but only bread." Further, being examined how he knew that she was steadfast in this error; he said that she always, without contradiction, affirmed this teaching, and said the opinion was good, and that she was well contented that her children should be of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar, etc.

The bishop, with his popish doctors, not content with this, in order to set the husband against the wife, proceeded further in their popish zeal and caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced, one aged twenty-two, the other nineteen. Against their own mother, being pressed with their oath, they witnessed and said that Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ's flesh and blood; that baptism was no better in the fount than out of the fount; that confirmation was of no effect; that the solemnization of

matrimony was no sacrament; that confession to God alone was sufficient; also that going on pilgrimage, and the worshipping of saints and images, was of no effect, etc. That their father, and Agnes, their mother, had held, taught, and communed about these errors within their house for three years past, on holy-days as well as working days, affirming and teaching that these opinions were good and lawful, and to be held and maintained; and agreement was made among them, that none of them should reveal about the others. Finally, that as far as they could remember, they never heard their father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions than the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, etc.

Here, Christian reader, you have before your eyes a horrible spectacle of impiety: first, of an unnatural husband, witnessing against his own wife; and of just as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own mother. Although they had done so, the cause was of itself just and true; and yet it seems more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such that, by God's word, it stands firm, sound, and perfect, what impiety was it for men to accuse a poor woman of heresy, which is not heresy? And yet the greatest impiety of all rests in these papists and popish priests, who were the authors of all this mischief.

The reason why this good woman stood in the denial of these articles was this: that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who alone were privy to her religion, would testify against her. And thus the archbishop, with his doctors, having now gained the end that they sought, even though she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet they proceeded to their sentence, and condemned her to death.

After her condemnation, next was brought to examination **Robert Harrison**. Because he stood in his denial, witnesses were produced against him. After the deposition of these witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he was condemned with the other two to the fire.

Thus these three were condemned and burned, and a certificate upon the same was given to the king, from Warham the archbishop (A.D. 1511).

Besides these three godly martyrs, I find in the registers of William Warham two other godly martyrs in the same year, and for the same twelve articles, condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses. Their names were **John Brown** and **Edward Walker**.

Besides these five blessed saints of God, whom they so cruelly condemned to death by their sentence in the year 1511, we also find in the same registers of William Warham, a great number of others whom for the same doctrine and like articles, they had apprehended and put to open recantation. The names of these persons are given in the following list:

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John Grebil, the elder, of Bcnenden.  
 Christopher Grebil, his son.  
 John Grebil, son of John the Elder, of  
 Benenden  
 W. Olbert, the elder, of Godmersham.  
 Agnes Ive, of Canterbury.  
 Agnes Chytenden, of Canterbury,  
 Thomas Manning, of Benenden.  
 Joan Colyn, of Tenderden.  
 Robert Hills, of Tenterden.

Alice Hills, his wife.  
 Thomas Harwood, of Rolvenden.  
 Joan Harwood, his wife.  
 Philip Harwood,  
 Stephen Castelyn, of Tenterden,  
 W. Baker, of Cranbrook.  
 Margaret Baker, his wife.  
 William Olbert, the younger, of  
 Godmersham.  
 Agnes Reynold, of Cranbrook,

Thomas Field, of Boxley.  
Joan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert, the elder, of  
Godmersham.

Elizabeth White, of Canterbury.  
Thomas Church, of Great Chartre  
Vincent Lynch, of Halden,  
John Rich, of Wittisham.  
Joan Lynch, of Tenterden,  
Thomas Browne, of Cranbrook,  
John Franke, of Tenterden,  
Joyce Bampton, wife of John Bampton, of  
Berstede.

Richard Bampton, of Boxley,

Robert Bright, of Maidstone,  
William Lorkyn, of East Farley.  
John Bannes, of Bosley, 1512,  
John Buckherst, of Staplehurst  
Joan Dodd, wife of John Dodd.  
John Benet, of Staplehurst,  
Rebecca Benet, his wife,  
Joan Lowes, wife of Thomas Lowes, of  
Cranbrook,  
Julian Hills, wife of Robert Hills, of  
Tenterden,  
Robert Franke, of Tenterden.

The articles laid to these abjurers appear in the registers to be the same which were objected to the other five martyrs. By these articles and abjurations we may understand what doctrine of religion was most prevalent in England, before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here among us. For all this is in the archbishop of Canterbury's Registers for A.D. 1511.

### **Three sorts of Judgments among the Papists against Heretics.**

As to the penance and penalty enjoined to heretics as also to all others, the popish fathers, in their processes of heretical pravity, have three distinct kinds of judgments and proceedings.

Some they judge to be burned, so that others being brought into terror by them, they might more quietly maintain their kingdom, and reign supreme. And thus they condemned the five martyrs above-mentioned, even though they were willing to submit themselves to the mother church. Yet they could not be received, as it appears by the words of the register, and by the tenor of their sentence.

And the sorts of persons thus condemned, consist either of those who have been abjured before, and fallen into relapse; or else who stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else those whom they intend to make a terror and example to others, notwithstanding that they may be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received. Of the last sort were the five martyrs named above. So also was John Lambert. Submitting himself to the king, he could not be accepted. So likewise was Richard Mekins, and the three women of Guernsey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives, with many others. Against these sorts of persons, the process which the papists use is this:

First, once they began to be suspected, they were afterward denounced and cited. Then by virtue of inquisition, they are taken and clapped fast in irons in prison. From there they are brought out at last to examination, if they are not killed before by famine, cold, or strictness of imprisonment. Then articles are drawn, or rather twisted out of their writings or preachings; and they are put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them. These articles, if they seem to deny or solve by true expounding, then witnesses are called in, no matter what witnesses they are, however infamous in character. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then the husband is brought in and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the mother, as in the example of Agnes Grebil. Or if no witness at all can be found, then they are strained on the rack; or by other torments they are forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Nor might any be allowed to come to them, nor may any public audience be

given to speak for themselves, till at last the sentence is read against them, to give them up to the secular arm, or to degrade them if they are priests, and then to burn them.

And yet the malignity of these adversaries does not cease here. For after the fire has consumed their bodies, they fall upon their books, and condemn them in like manner to be burned. And no man must be so hardy as to read their books, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have destroyed these books, they first gather articles out of them, and they so perversely twist them to their own purposes, falsely, and contrary to the right meaning of the author, making them appear to be the most heretical and execrable. This being done, and the books destroyed, so that no man may compare them with the articles to discover their falsehood, they then send abroad these articles, so that princes and people may see what heretics they were.

To the second order belongs that sort of heretics whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assign to monasteries, there to continue and to fast all their life, with bread and sorrow, and the water of affliction. And so that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the monastery so long as they lived, without them being otherwise dispensed with by the archbishop or his successors.

The third kind of heretics were those whom these prelates did not judge to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them to penance: either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a faggot around the market, or in a procession; or to wear the picture of a faggot on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown over it; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses, or to say so many paternosters, aves, and creeds, to a certain saint; or to go on pilgrimage to a certain place; or to bear a faggot to the burning of some heretic; or to fast certain Fridays on bread and water; or if it was a woman, to wear only woolens on Fridays.

And thus much, out of the register of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. Many more examples might be collected out of other bishops' registers, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of this volume would allow all to be inserted that might be found. Yet the history and martyrdom of Launcelot and his companions should not be forgotten.

*The Martyrdom of Launcelot, one of the King's Guards;  
John, a painter; and Giles German.*

About the year 1539, one John, a painter, and Giles German, were accused of heresy, and while they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance one of the king's servants named Launcelot came in, a very strong and tall man, and of no less godly a mind and disposition.

This man standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favor both the cause and the poor men who were his friends. Whereupon, being apprehended, he was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, he was carried with them into St. Giles-in-the-fields, and there burned. There was but a small concourse of people at their death.

[633] A.D. 1540-1547.

*The Story of one Stile, a Martyr.*

In the company and fellowship of the blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, who innocently suffered in king Henry's reign, for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man, named Stile, also comes to my mind. He was with like cruelty oppressed and burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the time of Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London. With him

there was also burned a book of the Apocalypse, which probably he was accustomed to read. When he saw this book fastened to the stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, he said, "O blessed Apocalypse, how happy am I that I shall be burned with you?" And so this good man and the blessed Apocalypse were both consumed together in the fire.

And thus (through the gracious support of Christ our Lord) we have run over these 37 laborious years of king Henry's reign. Under his time and government, we have discoursed here of those acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, and reformations as then happened in the church. We did not omit the statutes, injunctions, and proclamations that were set forth by him in matters pertaining to the church. Although not comprehending all things so fully as we might, yet omitting as few things as we could.

### ***The Death of King Henry VIII.***

Closing this eighth book with the death of king Henry VIII, we will next proceed to the time and reign of king Edward his son. But first we will interpose a few words regarding the death of king Henry.

After a long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, he lay from St. Steven's day (December 26th) to the latter end of January. His physicians at length perceiving that he was failing, and yet not daring to discourage him with thoughts of death, for fear of the act passed earlier in parliament, that no one should say anything about the king's death (the act being made only for soothsayers, and talkers of prophesies). This moved those who were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity, when the rest dreaded to do so. Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him the state he was in, and that to man's judgment, he was not likely to live. He therefore exhorted the king to prepare himself for death, calling to remembrance his former life; and entreating him to call upon God in Christ for grace and mercy, as becomes every good Christian man.

Although the king was loath to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving that it was the judgment of his physicians, and also feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself to hearken to the words of Denny's exhortation, and to consider his past life. Which although he much accused himself, yet he said, "the mercy of Christ is able to pardon me all my sins, even if they were greater than they are." Master Denny being glad to hear him speak this way, asked to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer with, and to open his mind to. The king answered that if he had any, he would have Doctor Cranmer, who was then at Croydon. And therefore Master Denny asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleep, and then according to how I feel, I will advise upon the matter."

After an hour or two, the king awaking, and feeling feebleness increasing upon him, commanded Doctor Cranmer to be sent for. But before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Doctor Cranmer, he reached his hand to him, held him fast, but could utter no words to him; and he was scarcely able to make any sign. Then the archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, to yet give some token with his eyes, or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, wrung his hand in his as hard as he could. Shortly after, he departed, after he had reigned in this land for thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth.

We conclude this book with the following history of certain friars in France, A.D. 1534, as illustrative of the priestcraft of those times.

The wife of the mayor of the city of Orleans provided in her will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when anyone departs there, the bellmen are hired to go about the city, and in the places most frequented, to assemble the people with the sound of the bell, and to declare the names and the titles of the parties deceased — also where and when they are to be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the corpse is carried forth, numbers of the begging friars go with it to the church, with many torches and tapers carried before them. The more pomp and solemnity that is used, the greater the concourse of people. But this woman would have none of all this pomp done for her. Therefore her husband, who loved her well, followed her mind, and gave to these greedy cormorants, the friars, who waited for their prey, six crowns for a reward. Yet they gaped for a great deal more. Afterwards, when he cut down a wood and sold it, the friars craved to have part of it, freely without money; he refused them. They took this grievously. As they did not love him before, they now devised a way to be revenged, saying his wife was damned everlastingly!

The workers of this tragedy were Colyman and Steven of Arras, both doctors of divinity. The first was indeed a conjurer by profession. He had all his trinkets and furniture concerning such matters in readiness, and they settled the matter thus:

They set a young man, who was a novice, above the vault of the church. And when they came to say their matins at midnight, in their accustomed manner, he made a tremendous noise and shrieking aloft. Then this Colyman went crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. When charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb spirit, he rustled and made a noise again, and that was the sign.

When they had laid this foundation for their priestcraft, they went to certain of the chief men in the city. And to those who favored them most, they related what a sad affair had happened. Yet they did not say what it was, but entreated them to take the pains to come to their service at night. When they had come, and the service was begun, the who was aloft made a great noise. It was demanded what he wanted, and what he was. He signified that he could not speak. Then he was commanded to answer to their interrogatories by signs and tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpose, and by laying his ear to it, he might hear and understand what the conjurer said. There was also a table at hand, and when any question was asked, he struck and beat upon the table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then the conjurer demanded whether he was any of those who had been buried in that church. After that, reckoning up many of their names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, he at last named the mayor's wife. Here the young man who was perched above in the roof, and who was playing the ghost, made a sign that he was the spirit of that woman. Then the friar asked whether she was damned, and for what offense? Whether it was for covetousness, pride, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new heresy and Lutheranism? What was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet? Was it that the body buried in holy ground should be dug up again, and carried to some other place? To all these things this pretended ghost answered by signs as he was commanded — affirming or denying everything by striking twice or three times upon the table.

When he had thus signified that Luther's heresy was the cause of her damnation, and that her body must be taken up, the friars desired the citizens who were present, to bear witness of those things which they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing.

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But taking advice lest they both offend the mayor, and bring themselves into trouble, they refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the friars took the plate with the host, and the Lord's body (as they call it), and all their saints' relics, and carried them to another place, and there they said their mass. They usually do this by the pope's law, when a church is suspended and must be hallowed again. When the bishop's official heard of this, he came there to understand the matter better. Associating with certain honest men, he commanded the friar to conjure up the ghost in his presence, and he purposed to appoint certain men to go up to the vault, to see if any spirit appeared there. But Steven of Arras was against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not do so, saying, that the spirit should not be molested. Although the official earnestly urged them to conjure it up before him, yet he could not bring them to do it. In the meantime, the mayor, making his friends privy as to what he would do, went to the king and informed him of the whole matter. And because the friars, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come into judgment, the king chose certain ones out of the court of parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gave them full authority to do so. Whereupon they were carried to Paris, and constrained to answer, but they would confess nothing.

Then they were sent back to prison, and kept apart from one another. The novice was kept in the house of Fumeus, a senator. Being often examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he would afterward be murdered by them for speaking against their order. But when the judges promised him that he would have no harm, and would come into the friars' hands no more, he declared to them the whole matter. Being brought before the others, he admitted the same. But although they were convicted, they yet refused their judges, and relied on their privileges. But it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried back to Orleans, and committed to prison. Afterwards they would be brought openly to the cathedral church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed, and there they would make open confession of their wickedness.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.