

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 5

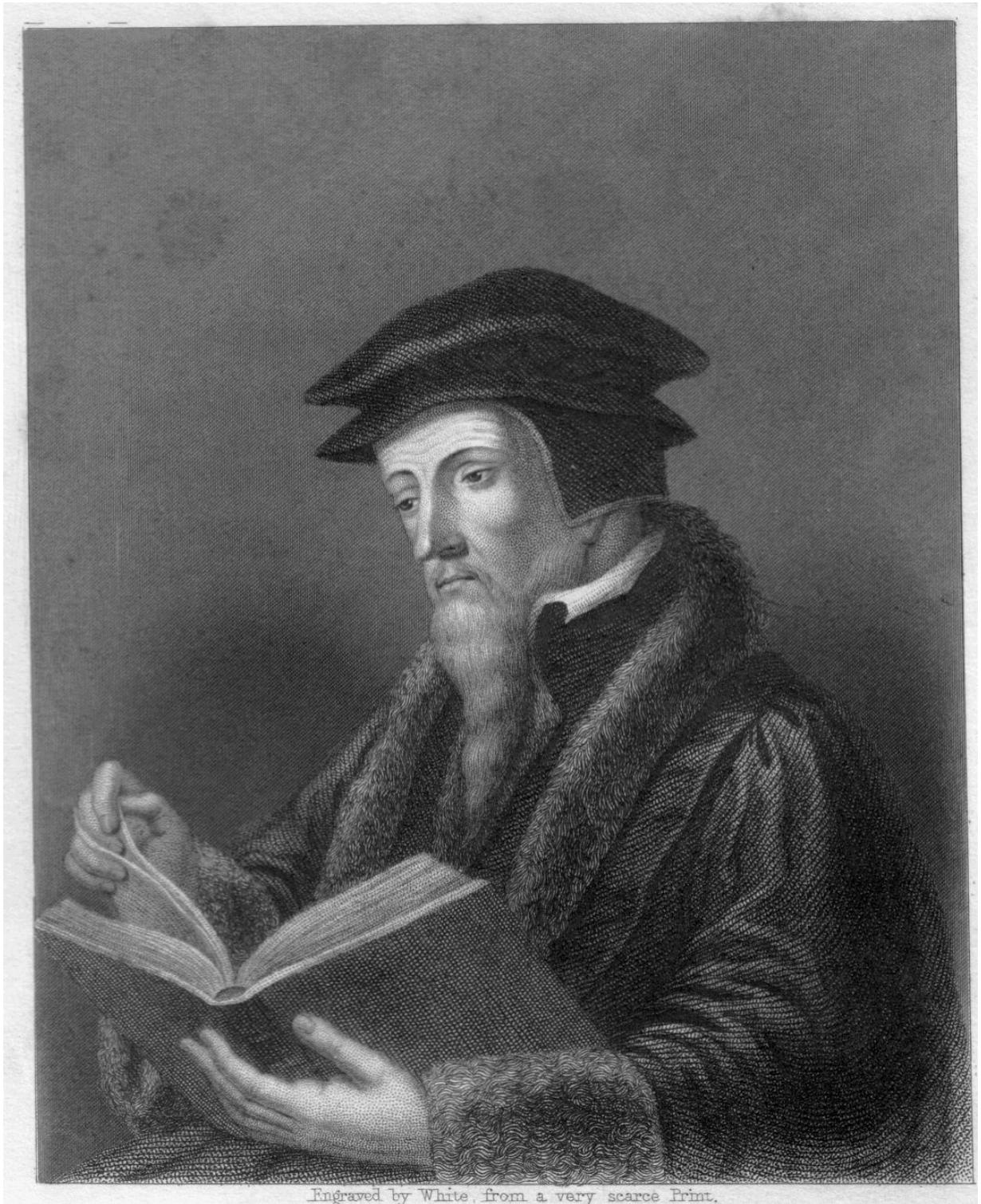
The Reformation in Europe

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VOLUME 5



John Calvin

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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THE SEVENTH BOOK
OF
THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS

129. History of the Turks.



F it were not that I fear to overlay this our volume with heaps of foreign histories, which have professed chiefly to treat of Acts and Monuments here done at home, I would adjoin after these popes above rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turks' story; of their rising and cruel persecution of the saints of God, to the great annoyance and peril of Christendom: yet, notwithstanding, certain causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny, and bloody victories, the ruin and subversion of so many Christian churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made plain and manifest, as well to this our country of England, as also to other nations.

First, For the better explaining of the prophecies of the New Testament, as in St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, and also in the Revelation of St. John. Which Scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these histories, cannot so perfectly be understood. Of the which Scriptures, we mind hereafter, Christ granting, orderly, as the course of matter shall lead us, to make rehearsal.

Another cause is, That we may learn thereby, either with the public church to lament with our brethren, such a great defection and decay of Christian faith, through these wicked Turks; or else may fear thereby our own danger.

The third cause, That we may ponder more deeply with ourselves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine; which in the sequel hereof more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

Fourthly, The consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turks, rising chiefly by our discord and dissension among ourselves, may reduce us again from our domestic wars, in killing and burning one of another, to join together in Christian patience and concord.

Fifthly, But chiefly, these great victories of the Turks, and unprosperous speed of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, than hitherto we have done. First, we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the prince of this world, goeth with the Turks; which to resist, no strength of man's army is sufficient, but only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus, the Son of God, going with us in our battles; as among the old Israelites, the ark of God's covenant and promise went with them also, fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we Christian men have no strength but in Christ only. Whether we war against the devil, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Without me ye can do nothing. Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the devil, or to conquer the world, but our faith only; to which all the promises of God, touching salvation, be annexed, beyond which promises we must not go, for the word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the word expressed, goeth not, but wandereth, he cannot tell whither. Neither must we appoint God how to save the world, but must

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take that way which he hath appointed. Let us not set God to school, nor comprehend his Holy Spirit within our skulls. He that made us without our counsel, did also redeem us as pleased him. If he be merciful, let us be thankful. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let us therefore not resist, but search his word, and thereunto apply our will, which, if we will do, all our contentions will be soon at a point. Let us therefore search the will of our God in his word, and if he will his salvation to stand free to all nations, why do we make merchandise thereof? If he have graciously offered his waters to us, without money, or without money-worth, let us not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace given us.

And finally, if God have determined his own Son only to stand alone, let not us presume to admix with his majesty any of our trumpery. He that bringeth St. George or St. Dennis as patrons to the field to fight against the Turk, leaveth Christ (no doubt) at home. Now, how we have fought these many years against the Turk, though stories keep silence, yet the success declareth. We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors ourselves. We wrestle against a bloody tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christ's people with the sword, and we burn them with fire. He, observing the works of the law, seeketh his justice by the same; the like also do we. But neither he nor we seek our justification as we should, that is, by faith only in the Son of God.

And what marvel then, our doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the Turk? The Turk hath prevailed so mightily, not because Christ is weak, but because that Christians be wicked, and their doctrine impure. Our temples with images, our hearts with idolatry, are polluted: our priests stink before God for adultery, being restrained from lawful matrimony. The name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in our hearts. We war against the Turk with our works, masses, traditions, and ceremonies; but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the power of his glory, which if we did, the field were won.

Wherefore, briefly to conclude, saying my judgment in this behalf, what I suppose; this hope I have, and do believe, that when the church of Christ, with the sacraments thereof, shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be received to be our justifier, all other religions, merits, traditions, images, patrons, and advocates, set apart, the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soon vanquish the Turks' pride and fury. But of this more largely in the process of this story.

The sixth and last cause, why I think the knowledge of the Turks' history requisite to be considered, is this: Because that many there be, which, for that they be further from the Turks, and think therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little care and study what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and prayer to Almighty God, in this so lamentable ruin of Christ's church, I thought it requisite, by order of history, to give this our nation also something to understand, what hath been done in other nations by these cruel Turks, and what detriment hath been, and is like more to happen by them to the church of Christ, except we make our earnest invocation to Almighty God, in the name of his Son, to stop the course of the devil by these Turks, and to stay this defection of Christians, falling daily unto them, and to reduce them again to his faith which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Jesus of his grace grant with speed. Amen.

Before we enter into this story of the Turks and Saracens, first let us call to remembrance the prophecy and forewarning of St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, in his Second Epistle, in

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these words: Be not moved or troubled in your minds, either by preaching or writing, or by letter from us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the Lord will not come, except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be revealed, &c. Of this defection, sundry minds there be of sundry expositors; some thinking this defection to mean a falling away from the empire of Rome; some, from the obedience of the pope. But as St. Paul little passed upon the outward glory of the Roman empire, so less he passed upon the proud obedience of the pope. What St. Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling away of these churches by him before planted, will soon declare.

Another mystery there is in the Revelation, chap. xiii., where the number of the beast is counted six hundred and sixty-six. Whereby may seem, by all evidences, to be signified the first origin and springing of these beastly Saracens, as by sequel hereof may appear, by the first rising of this devilish sect of Mahomet.

Moreover, another place there is, Rev. xvi., where we read, that by pouring out of the vial of God's wrath, of the sixth angel, the great flood Euphrates was dried up, to let in the kings of the east; the opening of which prophecy may also more evidently appear, in considering the order and manner of the coming of these Turks into Europe.

Some also apply to the Turks certain prophecies of Daniel, Ezekiel, and other places of the Old Testament more, which here I omit, forasmuch as the prophecies of the Old Testament, if they be taken in their proper and native sense, after my judgment, do extend no further than to the death of our Saviour, and to the end of the Jews' kingdom. Albeit herein I do not prejudicate to any man's opinion, but that every man may abound in his own sense.

As touching the year and time when this pestiferous sect of Mahomet first began, histories do not fully consent, some affirming that it began A. D. 621, and in the tenth year of Heraclius the emperor of Constantinople; in which mind is Johannes Lucidus. As Munsterus counteth, it was in the year of our Lord 622. Martin Luther and John Carion refer it to the eighteenth year of the reign of Heraclius, which is the year of our Lord 630. Unto the which number, the computation of the beast signified in the Apocalypse doth not far disagree, which numbereth the name of the beast with three Greek letters, χ , ξ , σ [chi, xi, sigma,] which Greek letters, after the supputation of the Grecians, make the number of six hundred sixty and six.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahomet was born in the country of Arabia, bordering on the east part of Jewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Persian, his mother was an Ishmaelite; which Ishmaelites being a people of Arabia, were called then Agarenes; which term Mahomet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahomet mention was made before, where we showed, how he, making himself the highest prophet of all other, yet denieth not Christ to be a holy prophet, and next to him, and Moses also to be another. Moreover, he denieth not Mary the mother of Christ to be a virgin, and to have conceived Christ by the Holy Ghost; affirming further, that Christ in his own person was not crucified, but another called Judas for him. He greatly commendeth also John the son of Zacharias for a virgin; when he himself permitteth a man to have four wives, and as many concubines as he is able to find; and saith, that whereas Christ and other prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was sent by force of sword to compel men to his religion,

The prodigious vanities, lies, and blasphemies contained in his law, called Alcoran, are rather to be laughed at than recited.

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It is thought that Sergius, a Nestorian, was a great doer with Mahomet, in contriving of this lying Alcoran; and so it doth well appear by the scope and pretence thereof, which especially tendeth to this end, to take the Divinity from the person of Christ, whom he granteth, notwithstanding, to be a most holy man, and also that he is received up to God, and shall come again to kill antichrist, &c.

Moreover, this ridiculous Alcoran is so blanced and powdered with so divers mixtures of the Christians', Jews', and the Gentiles' laws, giving such liberty to all wantonness of flesh, setting up circumcision, abstaining from swine's flesh, and Judaical lotions, and so much standeth upon Father Abraham, that it is supposed of some, this filthy Alcoran not to be set out in the days of Mahomet, but that certain Jews had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death; and so seemeth first to take his force about the number of years limited in the Apocalypse, as is aforesaid, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred sixty and six.

After this devilish Mahomet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to give his law, and that they which will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribute (for so be the words of the Alcoran); and after that he had gathered strength about him of the Arabians, which Arabians had then occasion to rebel against the emperor, because their stipends were not paid them of Heraclius the emperor's officers, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of Syria bordering near unto him, and first subdued Mecca, then Damascus; and further increasing in power, he entered into Egypt and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the Persians, with whom Cosroes, the king of Persia, encountering with a puissant army, overthrew the Saracens, and put Mahomet to flight. Of these Persians came the Turks, which afterward joining with the Saracens, maintained them against the Christians.

After the death of this beast, which, as some say, was poisoned in his house, succeeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer, his father-in-law, or, as Bibliander affirmeth, his son-in-law, who took upon him the government of the Christians, and got the city Gaza, and besieged also Jerusalem two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief city Damascus.

After him followed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

The fourth king of the Saracens, after Mahomet, was Odman, then followed Haly, and after him Muhanias; which, after the siege of seven years, obtained and got the Christian city of Cesarea; also overcame the Persians, with their king Orimasda, and subdued that country to his law.

Thus the wicked Saracens, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, got Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, which came directly to the six hundred and sixty-six years prophesied of in the Revelation of St. John, as is aforesaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got Africa, and then Asia, as in the process of their story shall appear, the Lord willing.

Not long after Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, succeeded Constance his nephew, who, in the thirteenth year of his empire, fighting unluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, was overthrown of Muhanias aforesaid, in the year of our Lord 655. Which Constance, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his wars, it was no great marvel, considering that he had slain his

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brother Theodosius before at home; moreover, lived in incestuous matrimony; also, being inclined to certain new sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew them which admonished him thereof. The said Constance going afterward to Italy, was also overcome of the Lombards, &c. The Saracens after this victory spoiled all Rhodes.

Although these cursed Saracens, in these their great victories and conquests, were not without domestic sedition and divisions among themselves, yet the princes of the Saracens, being called then sultans, had in their possession the government of Syria, Egypt, Africa, and of a great part of Asia, about the term of four hundred years; till at length the Saracen king which ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracen of Babylon, sought aid of the Turks, to fight with him against the sultan of Babylon. The which Turks by little and little surprised upon the sultan of Persia, and not long after putting him out of place, usurped the kingdom of Persia; which afterward went further, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turks' dominion.

These Turks, after they had thus overcome great countries and provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in Asia and Europe, began to divide their kingdoms and countries amongst themselves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly war contended for the bounds of those kingdoms and dominions, in the mean time four of the principal families, conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole empire amongst themselves. And yet they also not so contented, fell to such cruel hatred, contention, war, and slaughter, (no doubt by the just judgment of God against his blasphemous enemies,) that there was no end thereof, until the remnant of the ancient Turks was utterly rooted out.

For it is evident that there are few now remaining which are Turks indeed by birth and blood, and that the state of that great empire is not up-holden, but by the strength and power of soldiers which have been Christians, and now are turned to Mahomet's religion; so that even their own natural language is now out of use amongst them, saving in certain families of their nobility and gentlemen.

These four families above mentioned, with their captains and armies, about the year of our Lord 1330, went raging throughout all Asia and Europe, and every one of them conquered some part of the countries where they passed.

The causes of these great invasions and victories, were the dissension and discord, falsehood, idleness, inconstancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity among Christian men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilful defection and backsliding of the Christians the Turkish power did exceedingly increase, in that many, desiring the licentious life and liberty of war, and allured with the prosperous success of things, forsook the church of God, and made themselves bondslaves to Mahomet and his devilish sect; both because that fleshly liberty is delightful to all men, and partly also because as fortune favoureth, so commonly the wills of men incline. And again, such as be profane and without the fear of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the church,) in all ages, are wont commonly to judge of religion according to the success of realms and kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diversity of events and fortune amongst men, have inquired, and do inquire, whether there be any church of God distinct from other nations; what it is, and where it is; especially, forasmuch as the greatest part of men, both in the old time, when the four monarchies flourished in order, was ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the church alone, and now also the barbarity of Mahomet prevaieth and reigneth in the most part of the world. And how standeth this with man's reason, that a small number, both miserable and also feeble and broken

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with many battles, should be regarded and loved of God, and the other flourishing in all wealth, prosperities, victories, authority, and power, should be rejected and despised of God, seeing there is no power and authority, but by the ordinance of God? Albeit, therefore, the power of the Turks had been, for these two hundred years, of greater force than any other monarchy of the world besides, yet is there no imperial dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyranny, but amongst those nations only, where the heavenly doctrine of the Gospel is preached, and other disciplines necessary for the church of God, and the common life of man maintained and regarded; where the laws of God, and other honest and civil ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reign; where lawful judgment is exercised; where virtue is honoured and rewarded; where sin and wickedness is punished; where honest families are maintained and defended.

These things are not regarded amongst the Turks, the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful empires; because they dissolve and reject all godly societies, honest discipline, good laws, policies, righteous judgment, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families. For what hath the empire of the Turks been hitherto, but most deadly, cruel, and perpetual war, to work all mischief, destruction, and desolation; to subvert good laws, cities, kingdoms, policies, and to enlarge their cruel power and dominion? The stay and strength whereof, is not love and favour proceeding of virtue and justice, as in lawful and well-governed empires; but fear, violence, oppression, swarms and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satan's malice and fury. Which kind of dominion and tyranny hath been condemned by the voice of God many years ago; the testimonies whereof the Lord would have to remain in the church, lest the godly, being moved with the power and success thereof, should fall away and forsake the Son of God.

Wherefore, let us not seek for any imperial state in that barbarity; but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reserved to us certain remnants of the Roman empire; and let us call upon him daily, with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the house of God, that this Turkish power, joined with the malice of Satan against the Son of God, prevail not against the poor congregations and little remnant of his church, as it hath hitherto done against those strong and noble Christian kingdoms and churches, where now we see the Turkish tyranny to reign, and Satan to have taken full possession. Whose state was once far better than ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible overthrows and desolation. Oh that we might foresee a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads! For though the Turk seemeth to be far off, yet do we nourish within our breasts at home, that which may soon cause us to feel his cruel hand, and worse, if worse may be, to overrun us; to lay our land waste; to scatter us amongst the infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the Son of God.

Now, although these four families above mentioned long continued together in bloody wars, deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all cruelty and tyranny, and subduing the other three families, took upon him the government alone, and so became the first monarch, or emperor, that reigned amongst them, called Ottomannus; of whom all that reigned after him were called Ottomanni. Who succeeding orderly of his line, have occupied the same dominion and seat of the Turks, from the year of our Lord 1300, unto this present time, which have been to the number of twelve; of the which twelve, in such order as they lived and reigned, I intend, Christ so permitting, severally and compendiously something to treat, briefly abstracting, out of prolix and tedious writers, such specialties as for us Christians shall be briefly requisite to be known.

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Ottoman, the first great emperor, or tyrant, of the Turks.

This Ottoman was at the first of poor estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of men, coming of a base progeny, and of rustical parents; but through his valiantness and activity in war, he got him a great name amongst the Turks; for he being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in war, and gathering together by subtlety a multitude of common soldiers, began to make war, and by conquest and victories to advance himself and his family. First, he began to rob and spoil with a great band of rovers, and afterward he attempted to set upon all men. Neither did he vex and destroy the Christians only, but set upon his own nation also, and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly unto him. For now the princes and captains of the Turks, inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselves, insomuch that they fell to domestic and inward war, with all the power they could.

Ottoman having this occasion very fit and meet to accomplish that which he long had sought for, gathering unto him all such as he thought to be given to robbing and spoiling, and set all upon mischief, in short time began to grow in authority, and first set upon certain towns, as he saw opportunity to serve him. Of which towns some he took by force, some by yielding, other some he spoiled and overthrew to terrify the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the mean time, the discord which was amongst the Christians was no small advantage to this Ottoman, by occasion whereof he, within ten years' space, subdued Bithynia, and all the provinces about Pontus; also Natolia, which comprehended all the dominion of the Greeks within Asia; Ancyra, a city in Phrygia; Synope, a city in Galatia; and Sabastia, a city in Cappadocia: and thus still prevailing, he increased in short time to a mighty power, either through the secret judgment of God against that nation, or else because God would have them so far and so cruelly to prevail, for the punishment of the sins of other nations; like as it was prophesied before, that such a kingdom there should be of Gog and Magog.

This Ottoman, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, in the year of our Lord 1327, died, and departed to his Mahomet, leaving behind him three sons, of whom Orchan, being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilst they were at variance between themselves.

Orchan, the second emperor after Ottoman.

Orchan, the youngest of the sons of Ottoman, after he had slain his two brethren, took the regiment of the Turks after his father. Who, after he had drawn to him the hearts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set upon the licentious life of war, converted his power further to enlarge his father's dominion, winning and subduing Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria; all which countries, being within the compass of Asia, unto the sea-side of Hellespontus, and the sea Euxinus, he added to the Turkish empire. Also he won Prusia, which was the metropolitan city of Bithynia, which then he made the chief seat of the Turkish empire. Besides these, moreover, he conquered Nicea, and got Nicomedia; all which were before Christian cities and regions. And yet all this could not make the Christian princes in Grecia to cease their civil wars, and to join and accord among themselves; such debate and variance was then between Cantacuzenus on the Greeks' part, and Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople. By reason whereof, the Turks' aid was sent out of Asia to help our Christians one to kill another, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both. Who, if they had, according to their profession, so well joined in brotherly unity, as they did in cruel hostility dissent, neither had Orchan so prevailed in getting Prusia from the Grecians, neither had the Turks so soon presumed

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into Europe as afterward they did. Orchan, after these victories, when he had reigned two and twenty years, was stricken, some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusia. The opinion of other is, that he, fighting against the Tartars, where he lost a great part of his army, was there also slain himself, A. D. 1349.

Amurath, the third emperor of the Turks.

The Greek writers do hold that Orchan had two sons, Soliman and Amurath. Of which two, first Soliman reigned, albeit not long. After him followed Amurath, who, after that Asia now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade Europe. To whose ambitious purpose the domestic wars of the Christians gave unprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared. Certain discord fell between the princes of Greece (whose captain was Cantacuzenus) and Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople. Whereupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his party good with the Grecians, most unwisely sent for Amurath to help him. Who being glad to have such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aid him twelve thousand Turks into Thracia; but first he used all delays he could of crafty policy, to the intent that the Greeks first should waste their strength and power upon themselves, whereby he might be more able afterward to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

The Turks thus being called into Europe by the Christians, whether they, tasting the sweetness of the soil, incensed Amurath their emperor to make invasion, or whether Amurath of his own head thought good to use the time, in the year of our Lord 1363, he came himself over into Europe with sixty thousand Turks, falling upon the Grecians, being wasted and spent with their long wars and battles before. The pretence of the devilish Turk was, to aid and to assist the Emperor Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him. The Christian ships of the Ligurians, for money were hired to conduct them over, taking for every soldier a piece of gold.

Thus the Turks' army being conveyed over by the Grecian sea, called Hellespont, first got Calipolis, with other towns and cities bordering about the sea, and there planting themselves, and preparing ships of their own for transporting their munitions out of Asia, advanced their power further into Thracia, and there won Philippolis, then got Adrianopolis, which was not far from Constantinople, and there Amurath made his chief seat. Then began Paleologus the emperor at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with Amurath. When the Turks had expugned thus a great part of Thracia, they extended forth their army unto Mysia, which they soon subdued; from thence proceeding and conquering the Bessos and Triballos, they entered into Servia and Bulgaria, where they joining battle with Lazarus Despota, prince of Servia, and with other dukes of Dalmatia and Epirus, won of them the field, and put them to the worse; where Lazarus Despota, being taken and committed to prison, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certain faithful client or servant, who to revenge his master's death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life so far, that he came to the tyrant and thrust him through with his dagger. This Amurath reigned twenty-three years, and was slain in the year of our Lord 1372.

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Bajazet, the fourth emperor of the Turks.

The power of the Turks began to increase in Europe, what time Bajazet, the first of that name, after the death of his father, entered the possession of the Turks' kingdom. This Bajazet had two brethren, Soliman and Saucis; which Saucis had his eyes put out by his father, for striving for the kingdom. Soliman was slain of his brother. Thus Bajazet, beginning his kingdom with the murder of his brother, reduced his imperial seat from Prusia, a city of Bithynia, unto Adrianople, intending with himself to subdue both Asia and Europe to his own power. First he set upon the Servians and Bulgarians, thinking to revenge his father's death, where he gave the overthrow to Marcus Despota, with all the nobility of the Servians and Bulgarians, and put all those parts under his subjection, unto the confines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreover he brought likewise under his yoke, only Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he invaded the residue of Grecia, prevailing against the countries of Thessalia, Macedonia, Phocides, and Attica, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance; and so, returning with innumerable spoil of the Christians unto Adrianople, laid siege to Constantinople the space of eight years, and had expugned the same, but that Paleologus, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the Frenchmen, and of Sigismund the emperor; who, being accompanied with a sufficient power of Frenchmen and Germans, came down to Hungary, and toward Servia, against the Turk. Bajazet, hearing of their coming, raised his siege from Constantinople, and with sixty thousand horsemen came to Nicopolis, where he, encountering with them, overthrew all the Christian army, took John, the captain of the French power, prisoner; Sigismund, which before in the council of Constance had burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, hardly escaped by flying. Bajazet, after the victory got, carried away Duke John with five other in bands, into Prusia, where before his face he caused all the other Christian prisoners to be cut in pieces. Afterward the said John, being ransomed with 200,000 crowns, was delivered. Some authors refer this story to the time of Calpine, as followeth hereafter to be seen.

Bajazet, the cruel tyrant, after this victory won and tyranny showed upon the Christians, returned again to the siege of Constantinople, fully bending himself to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the providence of God had found such a means, that Tamerlane, king of Parthia, with a hundred thousand horsemen, and swarms of footmen, like a violent flood overrunning Asia, and pressing upon Syria and Sebastia, had taken Orthobules, the son of Bajazet, prisoner, and afterward slew him, exercising the like cruelty upon his prisoners, as Bajazet had done before upon the Christians; insomuch that he spared neither sex nor age of the Turkish multitude; of whom he caused twelve thousand at one time to be overridden and trodden down under his horses' feet. By reason whereof, Bajazet the tyrant was forced to raise his siege from Constantinople, and to return his power into Asia; where he, near the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlane.

The fight between these two was long and great on both sides, which was in the year of our Lord 1397, and the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pannonia; but the victory of this battle fell to Tamerlane at length. In the which battle, as Munsterus writeth, were slain two hundred thousand Turks. Among whom Bajazet the tyrant, having his horse slain under him, was taken prisoner; and to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in golden fetters, and so being enclosed in an iron grate, whom before all Grecia could not hold, was led about and showed through all Asia, to be scorned and laughed at; and moreover, was used instead of a footstool to Tamerlane, or a block, as often as he mounted upon his horse. Some add also, that he was made, like a dog, to feed under Tamerlane's table.

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The tyranny of which Bajazet against the Christians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of Valerian the Roman emperor above mentioned, so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for as Sapore, king of the Persians, did then with Valerian in time of the eighth persecution of the primitive church, so likewise was Bajazet this persecutor worthily handled by Tamerlane king of the Parthians, as in manner abovesaid.

Tamerlane after this conquest passed with his army into Mesopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriously subduing the cities and munitions of the Turks, at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his manner was, the first day to go all in white attire, the second day in red, the third day in black; signifying thereby mercy the first day, to them that yielded; the second day the sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great victories, and spoils gotten of the Turks, he returned into his country again, and there died, A. D. 1402.

Seb. Munsterus, writing of this Tamerlane, recordeth that he had in his army two hundred thousand men; and that he overcame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans, Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia; and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing over the river Euphrates, with six hundred thousand footmen, and four hundred thousand horsemen, he invaded all Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the flood Tanais unto the Nile in Egypt, and was called Terror orbis, The terror of the world. He left behind him two sons, who, falling in discord for their possessions, lost all again that their father got.

In the mean time Bajazet, in the second year of his captivity, died, leaving behind him divers sons, Jesus or Josua the eldest, Mulsuman, Moses, Celebine, or Calepine, Jesus the younger, Mustapha, and Hali; of whom first Jesus the eldest was overcome and slain of Mulsuman; which Mulsuman afterward was delivered to Moses his brother, and by him was slain likewise; which Moses had also the like end by his brother Calepine, having his neck broke with a bowstring, which was then the usual manner among the Turks in killing their brethren. The same Calepine sparing only the life of Mustapha his other brother, condemned him to perpetual prison. Jesus the younger was baptized, and shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such discords and divisions among the Turks, what occasions were given to the Christians to have recovered again of the Turks that they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private wars otherwise occupied with themselves?

Calepine, the fifth emperor of the Turks.

Calepine, or Celebine, was the son of Bajazet, and of four brethren the eldest; who being all taken captives of the Parthians, he only escaped and obtained his father's kingdom. This Calepine, encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Grecians amongst themselves and other nations near about them, long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Servians, and Macedonians, even to the time of Sigismund. Which Sigismund, seeing now Bajazet to be overcome and taken of Tamerlane, and the power of the Turks weakened in Europe, and having such occasion offered him, as it were from heaven, to destroy and utterly to root out, not only out of Asia, but also all Europe, that barbarous nation and cruel enemies to the name and religion of Christ; and also to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his army, fighting before with Bajazet at Nicopolis, a city in Mysia; with great power made war against Calepine at Columbatium, a town in Servia, as is also before mentioned, but as unluckily and with as little success as he did before against Bajazet his father. For in that battle were slain of the Christians to the number of twenty thousand, and the rest

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utterly discomfited, the king himself escaping so hardly, that he entered not again into his kingdom for the space of eighteen months after. Some write that this was done under Bajazet, other some refer this battle to Amurath; but howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians. He reigned but six years, and died very young, A. D. 1404.

Orchan and Moses his uncle, the sixth after Ottoman.

After the captivity of Bajazet above mentioned, histories diversely do dissent. The Greek writers, making no mention at all of Calepine, only make mention of the sons of Bajazet, and of the contention among them, until the time of Mahomet. The Latin stories, writing of the children of Bajazet and of their succession, do not therein agree, some affirming that Bajazet had two sons, Orchan surnamed Calepine, and Mahomet his brother, which within two years slew the said Calepine, and entered his dominion. Other attribute to Bajazet more sons, as is above rehearsed. Some again do give to Bajazet only these two sons, Celebine and Mustapha; and hold that Calepine or Celebine had two sons, to wit, Orchan and Mahomet; and add, moreover, that the said Orchan, being somewhat young, was slain of his uncle Moses, who governed but two years. For Mahomet, to revenge his brother's death, slew Moses, and invaded his dominion. The Greek stories make no mention at all of Orchan.

Mahomet, the seventh emperor of the Turks.

This Mahomet, whether he was the son of Bajazet, or else of Calepine, converted to himself alone the kingdom, or tyranny rather, of the murdering Turks: who afflicted the Christians with sore wars within Europe, especially the country called Wallachia, lying not far from the flood Danube, between Hungary and Thrace. From thence he removed into Asia, where he recovered divers parts in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which before Tamerlane had alienated from the Turks. This Mahomet planted his chief imperial seat in Adrianople, not far from Constantinople, within the country of Thrace. In some writers the conflict between Sigismund and the Great Turk, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Mahomet, than to Calepine; of which conflict mention is above made in the story of Sigismund. This Mahomet reigned, as some say, fourteen years, and died in the year of our Lord 1419; other affirm seventeen years.

Amurath, the eighth emperor of the Turks.

Amurath, as Philephus saith, was the son of Celebine; as Laonicus Chalcondiles testifieth, of Mahomet: whose son soever he was, a wretched tyrant he was, and permitted, as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. In the story of Bajazet, mention was made before of Mustapha, his son, who was condemned to perpetual prison by Calepine, his brother. This Mustapha, escaping out of his brother's prison, was conveyed to the Grecians, where he remained long in custody, till at length they, understanding the purpose of Amurath, set him up with sufficient habiliments and furniture of war, to fight against the said Amurath, his nephew. But in conclusion, he, being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his enemy, and had his neck broke with a bow-string, after the manner of the Turkish execution.

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The Grecians then, terrified with this sinister adversity, required truce of the Turk; but when that would not be granted, they procured unto them Mustapha, the other brother to Amurath, being of the age of thirteen years; who, likewise being armed of the Grecians, got the city of Nice, in Bithynia, from Amurath his brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same city, and brought to Amurath, who caused him likewise to taste of the same whip, as the other Mustapha had done before. Amurath, being now out of all fear and doubt of brethren and kinsfolk to rise against him, converted all his power against the Grecians; and first ranging throughout Thrace, where divers cities yielded unto them, which before belonged to the emperor of Constantinople, from thence he set forward to the noble and famous city Thessalonica, being then under the league and protection of the Venetians. This Thessalonica is a city in Greece, bordering upon Macedonia, to the citizens whereof St. Paul writeth, foreshowing unto them, in his Second Epistle, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of the Lord, 2 Thess. ii. By the which apostacy or defection, what the holy apostle doth mean, this story of the Turks may easily declare. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis, with all the country about Athens, Boetia likewise, Ætolia, Acarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponnesus, unto the coast of Corinth, to whom St. Paul also wrote two other Epistles, were brought in bondage and slavery unto the Turk.

In Epirus, and in that quarter that adjoineth to Macedonia, named Albania, reigned then one Johannes Castriotus; who, perceiving himself too weak to match with the Turk's power, made with the Turk this convention, that he should have Croia, a famous city in Grecia, and also gave to him his three sons for hostages, to wit, Constantinus, Reposius, and Georgius.

In this George, such towardness of noble courage, such vigour of mind and strength of body, singularly did appear, that the Turk caused him more freely to be instructed after the Turkish religion and manner in his own court; where he, being trained up, did so shoot up, as well in feats of activity as in strength of body, that he excelled all his equals; insomuch that he was named Scanderbeius, which soundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

After this Alexander was grown up to mature ripeness of age, and was well trained up in feats of war, he was sent out by the Turk, to war against Caramannus of Cilicia, the Turk's enemy. In which expedition he sped himself most manfully, fighting hand to hand, first with a footman of Scythia, then with a horseman of Persia, being challenged by them both to encounter, first with the one, after with the other; whom he so valiantly overthrew that he won great renown with the Turk; insomuch that he, trusting to the Turk's favour, when he heard of the decease of his father, durst ask of the Turk the grant of his father's dominion to be given unto him: which request, although Amurath the Turk did not deny him, yet, notwithstanding, he, perceiving the matter to be dallied out with fair words, by subtle means and policy slipped out of the Turk's court, and came to Epirus, his own inheritance, where first by forged letters he recovered Croia. The other cities of their voluntary mind yielded themselves unto him; who then gathering unto him the people of Epirus and Macedonia, (which were not so many in number, as with good willing minds they stuck unto him,) so manfully and valiantly behaved himself, that against all the puissance both of Amurath, and also of Mahomet, he maintained his own, repulsed their violence, and put to flight their armies many years together. But to return again to the course of Amurath's victories, after he had thus prevailed (as is before signified) against the east parts of Europe and Greece, and had converted thus for the dominion of Epirus, he invaded Illyricum, (otherwise called now Sclavonia,) containing in it Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Liburnia; which countries after he had spoiled and wasted, he continued his course to Albania and Bosnia. In

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which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to Wallachia and Servia, upon hope to conquer all Pannonia.

There reigned at the same time in Servia a certain prince named Georgius Despota, who made great suit to the Turk for truce and peace, promising to give his daughter to marriage; for by the Turk's law they marry as many wives as they lust. It was not long after Amurath had married the daughter of Despota, but he, contrary to his league and promise, made war upon Despota his father-in-law, and expelled him out of his kingdom, taking from him divers cities, as Scopia, Novomonte, Sophia, and all Mysia. Georgius himself fled into Hungary, leaving behind him his son to defend the town of Sinderonia. Amurath, understanding of the flight of Despota his father-in-law, compassed the city of Sinderonia with a strong siege, which, when he in few days had expugned, he took his wife's brother, the son of Despota, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turks, put out his eyes, with a bason red hot set before his eyes, and after that led him about with him in derision, in despite of his cowardly father.

Servia being thus won and gotten, Amurath, thinking to go farther into Hungary, besieged the city called Belgrade, and no doubt had also suppressed the same, had not the providence of God found means, that partly through slaughter of his men, partly for lack of victual and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

In the mean time Johannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recovered part of Servia, and all Moldavia; against whom Amurath the Turk, with a mighty army, moved into Pannonia. But Huniades, with the power and aid of Ladislaus, king of Poland, (but especially by the power of the Lord,) did soon infringe the puissance of the Turk, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Christians the greatest part of Servia and Bulgaria.

In this battle Huniades had five sundry conflicts with the Turks upon one day, and with five victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfit and overthrow the great captain of Amurath called Bassa, the duke of Anatolia, (which is otherwise named Asia Minor,) that he slew of the Turks that day to the number of thirty thousand. Amurath, although he was not a little thereat discouraged, yet dissembling his fear, with stout countenance sent for Carambeius his principal stay and captain, with a new power brought out of Asia, to assist him in his wars. This Carambeius, in the downs of Transylvania, Ladislaus, the aforesaid king of Poland, (the Lord so working,) through the industry of Johannes Huniades, so received and with such celerity oppressed him unprovided, that all his stout and sturdy army either was slain downright, or else put to flight and disparkled, Carambeius the captain being himself taken prisoner in the same field.

These victories of Huniades struck no little terror to Amurath, insomuch that for distress of mind he was ready to destroy himself, (as some do write,) but being confirmed by Helibeus Bassa, his counsellor, he kept himself within the straits of the Mount Rhodope. Who, then hearing that Caramannus invaded the same time the country of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, was glad to take truce with Ladislaus and Huniades upon such conditions as they listed to make themselves; which conditions were these, that Amurath should depart clearly from all the region of Servia, and should remove from thence all his garrisons, which were placed in the castles and forts of the same; also he should restore George Despota, (which is to say,) prince of Servia, unto his possession, and set his children free, whom he had in captivity, and restore them to their

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inheritance. Item, that he should make no more claim nor title to the country of Moldavia above mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had lost; and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and injuries against the Christians. Upon these conditions the Turk being agreed, so was truce concluded on both parts for ten years, and with solemn oath between them confirmed.

This done, Amurath, the tyrant, addressed himself toward Asia, to resist the invasion of Caramannus aforesaid. At what time Pope Eugenius, so soon as he heard the Turk to be returned into Asia, sendeth Julianus Cæsarianus his cardinal, (whose story is before touched,) unto Ladislaus the aforesaid king, with full dispensation and absolution to break his oath and league with the Turk, promising moreover great hope and aid, if he would go in arms stoutly against the tyrant.

Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promise in that pestilent see of Rome, neither was there any war prospered, which was taken in hand by the pope's counsel; so was there never any counsel of the pope that brought with it more detriment to Christianity than this. But the pope belike thought, that as he might lawfully break promise with John Huss, and with other Christians, so also he needed not to observe any league or truce taken with the Turk; but it turned much otherwise than the pope's blind brains imagined, as by the sequel is to be seen. For Ladislaus being thus excited by the unadvised and sinister instigation of Pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce established a little before, set out with his army from Seledinus, and so proceeding to Wallachia and Bulgaria, came to Varna, a town of Bulgaria, where he fell sick.

It was not long but the Turk, having thereof intelligence, left his wars begun with Caramannus in Asia, and with great journeys made haste into Europe, passing over by the Straits near to Callipolis, where all the Italian navy still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardliness, would not stir one oar to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurath was come to Adrianople in Thrace, using such celerity as no man looked for, within eight days he was in Bulgaria, and there encamped himself against Ladislaus. The day of battle being set, the armies joined on both sides. Huniades was himself there present, but all the matter was ruled by Julian the cardinal, and the pope's clergy. The fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodshed on each side; insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of blood. It seemed at the first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first ranks of the Turks. But the priests and prelates which were at the field, (which had been more fit to have been in the church,) seeing the Turks to begin to fly, unskilfully left their array to pursue the enemy, so that they, leaving the other standings of the Christians naked, gave great advantage to the Turks with their darts and shot to disturb the Christian ranks. By the which occasion Amurath enclosing the Christians with his army round about, obtained the victory. In the which field, Ladislaus the young king of Poland, having his horse first killed under him, was stricken down and slain. The pope's bishops flying to save themselves, fell into the marshes, and there were destroyed, sustaining a dirty death condign to their filthy falsehood and untruth. Julian the cardinal, which with the pope was the chief doer in breaking the league, in the way was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked skin. Of the rest of the army that escaped by flying, part was drowned in the marshes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold, watching and wandering in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God, being reserved to the further profit and commodity of Christendom.

This John Huniades the worthy warrior was born in Wallachia, being earl of Bistice, of all captains that ever went against the Turks most famous and singular, prudent in wit, discreet in

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counsel, expert and politic in war, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quick in expedition; in whom wanted almost no good property requisite in a warlike captain. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurath and Mahomet, through the Lord's might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terror of the Turks. Like as Achilles was unto the Grecians, so was he set up of God to be as a wall of bulwark of all Europe against the cruel Turks, and enemies of Christ and of his Christians. Neither was there any king or prince that ever achieved such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for the public utility of all Europe, as did he, and that not only in the days of this Amurath, but also of Mahomet his successor, as hereafter remaineth further to be seen. This battle of Amurath against the Christians at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought in the year of our Lord 1404.

Amurath, by reason of this victorious overthrow against the Christians, surprised with no small pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the Grecians, where Castriotus was, otherwise called Scanderbeius. And first coming to Peloponnesus, and breaking down the wall about the straits of Corinth, encountered with the brother of the emperor of Constantinople, whom with his sudden coming he oppressed, with all the Greeks' army, ere they were provided. Paleologus, the emperor, after that did build up the wall again, but at the Turk's bidding he was compelled to undo it again; which wall afterwards the Venetians did repair. After the demolition of the wall, Amurath entering into Peloponnesus took divers towns and cities, as Sycion, and Patris; and moreover made all the parts of Thessalia and Achaia tributaries unto him.

The next year after this battle of Amurath fought against the Christians at Varna, the Turk being now about the parts of Grecia, purposed to bend all his force and main against the country of Epirus, belonging to Georgius Castriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how he was brought up in the Turk's court, from whence we declared also how subtly he conveyed himself, and came to the possession of his own patrimony of Epirus. Which Epirus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius, whom the Lord also had raised up the same time with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turks, valiantly defended against all the power of Amurath; insomuch that he discomfited and vanquished seven of the most expert bassas or dukes of the Ottoman emperor, one after another, with all their armies of most picked and chosen soldiers, dislodged them of their tents, and expelled them utterly out of all Epirus. And when Amurath himself with his whole puissance had environed about the city of Croia, with cruel siege and ordinance out of measure, yet, notwithstanding, the said Scanderbeius, through the power and blessing of the Lord, beat him out of the field, and repulsed him from the siege.

After this discomfiture, the saying is, that Amurath, to keep his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gave himself unto a religious order, living a contemplative life, with certain other priests joined unto him, in the forest of Bithynia, renouncing the government of his realm to the hands of Haly, one of his princes; for thou must understand, good reader, that the Turks also be not without their sundry sects of religion, no more than we Christians are without our friars and monks.

In the mean time, while Amurath this Turkish tyrant was cloistered up in his monkish religion, Johannes Huniades in the kingdom of Hungary, and Castriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great stir against the Turks. By reason whereof Amurath was taken again from his monkish vow and profession, and brought again into the field; for first, Huniades had rescued the whole country of Hungary, and had propelled moreover all the might of the Turks far from Servia. And although the peevish practice of Georgius, prince of Servia, had oftentimes disclosed his counsels unto the Turks, whereby twice he was brought in danger, yet, notwithstanding, through

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the Lord's gracious protection, he was preserved and delivered by the said George unto the Hungarians again, and after that manfully vanquished the Turks, so that they had no resting-place about those parts of Servia and Bulgaria, so long as he lived.

On the other side, in Grecia, Castriotus Scanderbeius so foiled the Turk in defence of his country, Epirus and Macedonia, and kept Amurath so short, that not only he was not able to win any great town in all Epirus; but also coming from Epirus in the straits, he was so entangled by Castriotus, that he was forced to give battle; in the which battle he was so vanquished, and most part of his army slain, that, for grief and sorrow conceived, he falling into a raving sickness was transported out of his pavilion unto Adrianople, and there in fury and madness died, after he had reigned thirty-four years, which was about the year of our Lord 1450.

This Amurath first ordained the order of the Janizaries; which were the men-children of such Christians as he conquered and took captive; whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ wherein they were baptized, and brought them up in Mahomet's law, and exercised them in the same feats of war as he did his own people, and after that they came to men's estate, he named them Janizaries, that is to say, soldiers of a strange country, and made them to guard his person. They wear on their head, instead of a helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of wool, and in so many folds about their head that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangeth down on the back with a tail, and before on the forehead it is garnished with gold and silver. They were wont to use bows and lances in the field, but now they use daggers as our horsemen do.

At the first institution there were but eight thousand in their garrison, but now there be twice so many. This of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the Turk is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ wherein they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet, and so be professed enemies of Christ and his church, to make war against heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our own children, born of our own bodies, to become our mortal and cruel enemies, and to cut our throats with their own hands! This servitude of mind is far greater than death itself; which if our princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruel enemy.

Mahomet the Second, the ninth emperor of the Turks.

Amurath left behind him three sons, Mahomet, born of the daughter of Despota, prince of Servia, being twenty years of age; the second son, called Turcin; the third, named Calepine. This Turcin being an infant, and but eighteen months old, was strangled at the commandment of the Turk by his servant Moses, himself being there present and beholding the horrible murder. And when Moses, the executer of the murder, had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turks, that all the other brethren, being destroyed, none should be left alive but one to govern the empire. Wherefore Moses was commanded by the tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact, when the mother of the child understood, she cried out, and, almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But he, to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the executer of her son's death, delivered the said Moses

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bound into her hands, who then, in the presence of the tyrant, thrust him to the heart with a knife, and opening his side, took out his liver, and threw it to the dogs to be devoured.

The third son, called Calepine, which was but six months old, the aforesaid Amurath, his father, commended to the custody of Halibassa, one of his nobles, who, to gratify and please the tyrant, betrayed the infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he, at the tyrant's commandment, was strangled. Some affirm, that instead of Calepine, another child was offered unto the tyrant, and that Calepine was conveyed to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople was carried to Venice, and then to Rome to Pope Calixtus, where he was baptized, and afterward came into Germany to Frederic the emperor, and there was honourably entertained, and kept in Austria during his life. Where note how the merciful providence of God, whom he list to save, can fetch out of the devil's mouth. And note moreover the aforesaid Halibassa, the betrayer of the infant, how he escaped not unrevenged. For Mahomet, understanding him to be a man of great substance and riches, through forging of false crimes, with great torments put him to death to have his riches, for this tyrant was given to insatiable avarice. Thus this bloody Mahomet began regiment with horrible murder, after the example of other cursed tyrants, his predecessors.

Although this Mahomet, notwithstanding that he came of a Christian mother, being the daughter of Despota, prince of Servia, and by her was brought up and instructed from his childhood in the precepts of Christian religion and manners, yet he, soon forgetting all, gave himself to Mahomet's religion, and yet so, that he, being addicted to neither religion, became an atheist, believing and worshipping no God at all, but only the goddess of good fortune, deriding and mocking the minds and judgments of men, which believe that God by his providence governeth and regardeth the state of human things on earth.

After that this Mahomet heard of the victories and conquests of other his predecessors, and had understanding how Bajazet lay eight years about Constantinople, and could not win it; he, dispraising Bajazet, and disdaining that so long, time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all his study and device how to subdue the same. But first, having a privy hatred against the city of Athens, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his brethren, this murdering Mahomet first of all taketh his voyage to subvert and destroy the city aforesaid, being a famous school of all good learning and discipline. Against the which city he did so furiously rage for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation thereof to stand, because that city was a good nurse and fosterer of good arts and sciences; wherefore he commanded the city to be razed and utterly subverted; and wheresoever any monuments or books could be found, he caused them to be cast into dirty sinks, and the filthiest places of the city, or put to the most vile uses that could be devised, for extirpating and abolishing all good literature; and if he understood any to lament the case and ruin of that noble place, those he grievously punished and put to death.

Thus the famous and ancient school of Athens being destroyed and overthrown, he returned his army and power into Thrace, where in all haste he, gathering up his power together, both by sea and land, with a mighty multitude compassed the city of Constantinople about, and began to lay his siege against it, in the year of our Lord 1453, and in the four and fiftieth day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the Emperor Constantine slain. As touching the cruelty and fierceness of the Turks in getting of this city, and what slaughter there was of men, and women, and children, what calamity and misery was there to be seen, forasmuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath been made before, it shall be superfluous now to

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repeat the same. This only is not to be omitted touching three principal causes of the overthrow of this city, whereof the first was the filthy avarice of those citizens which, hiding their treasures in the ground, would not employ the same to the necessary defence of their city. For so I find it in story expressed, that when the Turk, after the taking of the city, had found not so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himself (as the truth was) the treasures and riches to be hidden under the ground, commanded the earth to be digged up, and the foundations of the houses to be searched; where when he had found treasures incredible, "What," quoth he, "how could it be that this place could ever lack munition and fortifications, which did flow and abound with such great riches as here is, and plenty of all things?" The second cause was the absence of the navy of the Venetians, which, if they had been ready in time, might have been a safeguard against the invasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered upon occasion incident in stories, either for that the city of Constantinople fifteen years before did yield to the bishop of Rome, as is before to be seen, or else because (as in some writers it is evident) that images were there received and maintained in their churches, and by the Turks the same time destroyed.

Johannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of this city, amongst other matters maketh relation of the image of the crucifix, being there in the high temple of Sophia; which image the Turk took, and writing this superscription upon the head of it, This is the god of the Christians, gave it to his soldiers to be scorned, and commanding the said image with a trumpet to be carried through all his army, made every man spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast, good reader, by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence we Christians give unto the barbarous infidels by this our ungodly superstition, in having images in our temples, contrary to the express commandment of God in his word. For if St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, saith, We know Christ now no more after the flesh; how much less then is Christ to be known of us in blind stocks and images set up in our temples, serving for none other purpose, but for the infidels to laugh both us and our God to scorn, and to provoke God's vengeance! which, by the like example, I fear, may also fall upon other cities, where such images and idolatrous superstition is maintained; whereof God grant Vienna to take heed betime, which hath been so long, and yet is, in such great danger of the Turk, and polluted with so many images and plain idolatry.

To make the story short, such was the cruelty of these Turks in winning the city, that when Mahomet had given licence to the soldiers three days together, to spoil, to kill, and to do whatsoever they listed, there was no corner in all Constantinople, which did not either flow with Christian blood, or else was polluted with abominable abusing of maids, wives, and matrons, without all reverence of nature. Of the which citizens, some they murdered, some they roasted upon spits, of some they flayed off their skin, hanging them up to consume with famine, of other some they put salt into their wounds, the more terribly to torment them, insomuch that one of them contended with another, who could devise most strange kinds of new torments and punishments, exercising such cruelty upon them, that the place where the city was before, seemed now to be no city, but a slaughter-house or shambles of Christian men's bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body also of Constantine the emperor was found; whose head being brought to Mahomet, he commanded it to be carried upon a spear through the whole city for a public spectacle and derision to all the Turkish army. And because he would diminish the number of the captives, which seemed to him to be very great, he never rose from his table, but he put every day some of the nobles to death, no less to fill his cruel mind with blood, than his body was filled with wine; which he used so long to do as any of the nobles of that city were left alive. And of the other sort also, as the stories do credibly report, there passed no day in the which he did not orderly slay more than three hundred persons; the residue he gave to his rascal soldiers to kill,

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and to do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Constantine, the son of Helena, was the first emperor of Constantinople, so Constantine, the son also of Helena, was the last emperor thereof.

Not far from the said city of Constantinople there was another little city called Pera, and once called Gallatia, situated by the sea-side; who, hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and seeing the city flaming with fire, sent certain of the chief men with speed to Mahomet, declaring unto him, that they neither had sent any help to the city of Constantinople, neither yet wrought any detriment to any of his army; wherefore they desired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yield unto him, so he would be favourable unto them and spare them, and not punish the guiltless with the guilty. Mahomet, although he was not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good will, they submitted themselves, and that they would rather resist him if they had been able, yet he received for that time the submission of the messengers; but sending with them his ambassadors into the city, he commanded also his army to follow withal, and to enter with him into the city, which although it was greatly suspected and misliked of the citizens, yet they durst not otherwise do but suffer them to enter; which being done, the ambassador gave a sign to the soldiers, every man to do whatsoever he was bidden; of whom, some ran to the walls, some to the temples and churches, some to the streets and houses of the city, plucking all things down to the ground, sacking and ranging with no less fury and abominable filthiness than they had done at Constantinople before, saving only that they abstained from murder; but the same day letters came from Mahomet to the ambassador, that he should spare none, but destroy and murder all that ever were in the city; which message, because it seemed to the ambassador to be too cruel, forasmuch as they had yielded themselves, he stayed his hand a little until night came. In the mean time, drunken Mahomet coming something to himself, (whom drunkenness had before overcome,) sent his second letters to revoke the first. Where again is to be noted the merciful providence of God towards his people in their deserved plagues, by staying the hands and bridling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedy.

Mahomet thus being in himself not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of Constantinople, where he had now made the imperial seat of the Turkish dominion, the third year next following, to adventure more masteries, he set out to the siege of Belgrade, a city of Hungary, lying near to the banks of the Danube, thinking to have the like success there as he had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit, through the Lord's disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the city of Belgrade, the same time of the siege thereof, was Johannes Huniades, the valiant captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a sufficient strength of picked soldiers, albeit in number nothing equal to the Turk's army, valiantly defended the city with great courage, and no less success. In the which siege great diligence was bestowed, and many of the Turks slain. Among whom also Mahomet himself, being stricken with a pellet under the left arm, was fain to be carried out of the field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turks the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much under the number, of forty thousand, besides the loss of all their ordnance, which the Turks, in haste of their flight, were forced to leave behind them.

Hieronymus Zieglerus, writing of the siege of this Belgrade, addeth moreover, that when Mahomet was at the siege thereof, seeing the town to be so small and weak of itself, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he staring and faring like a mad man, commanded all his brazen pieces to be laid, to batter down the walls and towers of the town; so that the Christians

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within the walls were vehemently distressed; for the siege continued both night and day without intermission. Among the rest of the Christians which defended the town, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mention of a certain Bohemian, much worthy of his condign commendation; who being upon the walls, and seeing a Turk with a banner or ensign of the Turks to be gotten up, by the sight whereof the whole town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the Turk, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to John Capistranus standing below, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mind did cast himself with that dog (so he termed him) down headlong from the wall to be slain with him; what should become of his soul, and whether he might be saved or not? To whom when the other had answered, that he should be saved without doubt, he eftsoons tumbleth himself with the Turk down off the wall, where, by his death he saved the same time the life of all the city. Mahomet being so wounded, and in despair of winning the city, was carried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length coming again to himself, partly for fear and partly for shame, was ready to kill himself. And thus was the town of Belgrade at that time rescued through God's providence, by the means of Johannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

This siege of Belgrade began in the year of our Lord 1456, and endured six and forty days. At which siege were numbered of the Turks two hundred thousand. Of whom more than forty thousand (as is aforesaid) were slain, where the victory fell to the Christians through the prosperous success given of God to Johannes Huniades, and Capistranus. Which Huniades not long after the said victory, through the importune labour and travail in defending of the said town, was taken with a sore sickness, and thereof departed; to whose valiant prowess and singular courage stories do give great laud and commendation.

Mahomet the Turk, after this done in Europe, returned into Asia to war with Usumcassanes a Persian, one of the Turk's stock, with whom he had three battles. The first was about the river Euphrates, where the Turk lost ten thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field likewise he was discomfited. The third battle was at Arsenga, where through the terrible noise of the brazen pieces, the Persian horses disturbed the camp, and so was Usumcassanes overcome.

From thence the Turk reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued unto him Synope and all Paphlagonia; also the kingdom of Trapezunce, which he besieging both by land and water, won from the Christians, and sent David the king of the same with his two sons, and Calus his uncle, unto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stock of the Conneni, which were of the king's stock, by the Turk were destroyed. Which was about the year of our Lord 1459, at which time this mischievous Mahomet was first saluted emperor.

Not long after he got from the Grecians Corinth and Mitylene, not without great slaughter of Christian men, insomuch that the whole city of Mitylene was utterly to the ground almost destroyed. The isles also of Lemnos and Lesbos he won from the Venetians; in the which island of Lesbos is the city of Mitylene aforesaid.

Not far from this isle of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a country in Asia toward the sea side, bordering next to Europe, called Mysia, or of some called Mœsia, wherein stood the city of Troy. This country Mahomet coveting to win rather by policy and falsehood, than by doubtful danger of war, secretly sent for the prince thereof, to come to speak with him for certain causes, as he pretended, which should concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the king of Mysia either for shame would not, or for fear durst not, deny, he came to him as to confer

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upon necessary affairs in common to them appertaining. Mahomet, when he had brought that to pass which he would, he caused the king to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slain, or rather torn in pieces; and so invading the land of Mysia, he exercised the like tyranny upon his kindred and affinity.

This Mysia by fraud being taken and lost, Mahomet flyeth again toward Europe, where he assailed the island Eubœa, otherwise called Negropont, making a bridge of a marvellous frame over the sea Euripus, to convey over his army out of Grecia, and there laid his siege to the city Chalcis, which at length in thirty days he overcame, not without a great slaughter of his army; who, in the siege thereof, is said to have lost forty thousand of the Turks. But the slaughter of the Christians was greater, for when the city was won, the tyrant commanded, most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole city, but to be put to the sword, whosoever was above the age of twenty years. This cruelty was showed of the barbarous tyrant for anger and fury, because such a number of his Turks were slain at the siege thereof, being reckoned, as is said, to forty thousand. In the fierce siege of this city it is memorable that is in stories recorded, how that the women of that city, seeing the men begin to faint, and the city to lie in present danger, took the matter themselves in hand, and playing the men, went to the walls, and there defended the city with no less trouble to the enemy than the men had before done, and so for a space continued, so long as any man's strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the loss of this city and island is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetians' navy, who being there present, and having prosperous wind, yet durst not, or would not, adventure upon the Turks' bridge, which if they had done, the island of Eubœa and Chalcis had not so soon been overmatched of the Turks.

Thus all the east parts of Grecia being subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, and Eubœa, shortly after followed also Peloponnesus, brought in like subjection to the Turk. Within Peloponnesus were these provinces contained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, and Arcadia, &c. The Venetians in this Peloponnesus had great possessions, and had made up the wall again toward the sea side, near to the straits of Corinth before mentioned, where, for the more speed of the work, they had thirty thousand workmen to the building thereof; which when it came to the knowledge of the Turk, he burst into the country of Peloponnesus with an army of eighty thousand, and first wasted the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and making a great slaughter of the Venetians, in short time he brought the whole dominion of Peloponnesus under his yoke and tribute.

Long it is, and more lamentable, to recite all the victories of this Mahomet, gotten against the Christians both by land and sea; who, after he had overcome the isle Lesbos above mentioned, and had cruelly slain Nicolaus Catalusius, the prince thereof, turning his army toward the sea of Pontus Euxinus, got the country of Capha from the Genoese. Before was declared how truce was taken between Georgius Scanderbeius and the Turk for ten years; which truce being expired, Mahomet leaveth no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but maketh all his power to Epirus and Albania, which he, after long fatigation of siege, at length overcame and subdued. In the which tract also, he won from the Venetians Scodra, Lysson, and Dinastrum. Notwithstanding, when Scanderbeius, the valiant captain, had done against the Turk what in man's strength did lie, yet being overmatched with power and multitude, seeing no possibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his country as an exile, and went to Italy, and there, being sent for by the pope's letters, openly declared that it was not possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turks by the strength of any one king or prince, unless all Europe,

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with one consent, should join their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius, a man of puissant courage, being driven out of his country, continued his age in exile. Whose courage and vehemency is reported to have been such, that in fighting against the barbarous enemy, for very eagerness of spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his lips. It is testified also of him, that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting never turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded but only once with a light shaft in his foot, neither ever set against the Turks with more than six thousand horsemen and three thousand footmen; who is said with his own hand to have slain above two thousand Turks, whom with such violence he did strike, that many of them he did cleave asunder from the head to the middle.

Neither yet was the unsatiable greediness of this Turkish hell-hound with all this satisfied, but still he conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole world; and so passing forward towards Europe, he subdued all Illyria, slaying Stephanus the king of Bosnia, about the year of our Lord 1463. But afterward Matthias Corvinus, the son of Huniades before mentioned, recovered again the said kingdom of Bosnia, with many other cities near unto Croatia and Dalmatia, and moreover repulsed Mahomet the Turk in his second siege of Jaitza, taking his tents and munitions left behind him.

Moreover, the said Mahomet passing unto Wallachia, set upon Dracula the prince thereof; which Dracula, although he had no great power of soldiers, yet he so enclosed and environed the Turk, that he had almost lost his whole army, of whom a great part, notwithstanding, was destroyed, and many of his ensignes taken. Into Dalmatia were sent two captains of the Turk, who, fighting against the provinces of the Venetians, made great spoil and waste about the regions of Stiria and Carinthia; where also the Venetian power was discomfited, and Hieronymus Nouell their captain slain. At length truce was taken between the Turk and the Venetians, upon this condition, that Scodra, Tenarus, and Lemnos should be yielded unto him, and they should pay to him yearly eight thousand ducats, for the free passage of their merchants.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahomet himself sailed over into Asia, sending two of his great captains abroad to sundry places; of whom Mesithes was sent against Rhodes with a mighty navy. The other, called Acomates Bassa, was sent into Italy to take Rome, and all the west empire. Concerning the voyage of which two captains, this was the event, that Mesithes, after his great travail and bloody siege against the Rhodians, was fain to retire at length with great shame and loss. The other eaptain, Acomates, as is said, was sent into Italy with a navy of a hundred ships, and fifteen thousand men, who by the way in his sailing got Leucadia, (which now they call St. Maure,) Cephalonia, and Zacynthus, and sailing by Favelona, arrived in Apulia, and so passing along by the sea side, spoiled and wasted divers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Hidruntium, a city in Calabria in Italy, which after long siege he overcame and subdued, and brought such a terror into all Italy, that the pope, forgetting all other things, yet mindful of himself, with all hastefled out of Rome. After the city of Hydruntium was taken, and the Turks placed in the same, which was the year of our Lord 1481. Matthias Corvinus, Huniades' son, was sent for by the Italians, to set upon the said city, upon the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his return with five and twenty thousand Turks, in the mean time news eame, that Mahomet the Great Turk was dead; by reason whereof, the siege broke up, and the city was delivered to the Italians again, and so was Italy delivered at that time out of that present peril and danger. This Mahomet won from the Christians two hundred cities, and twelve

kingdoms, and two empires, which he joined both together. He died in the year abovesaid, A. D. 1481.

Bajazet the Second, the tenth emperor of the Turks.

Mahomet aforesaid had three sons; of the which, Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousness and carnal lust, died before his father. The other two were Bajazet and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. About whom great controversy rose amongst the Turks, which of them should succeed in their father's kingdom. For neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahomet died; Bajazet being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Lycaonia; wherefore, when great dissension was among the nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloodshed for the matter, the Janizaries, which were the Turk's guard, did proclaim Bajazet emperor; others, in the absence of Bajazet the father, did choose Corchuthus his son. Bajazet the father coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with money, got the wills of the Janizaries, and was made emperor. Demes the other brother being in Lycaonia more near, although he made no less speed in his coming, yet was prevented of Bajazet, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he being put back from all hope of his kingdom, incited by some of his friends, moved war against his brother; who being overcome in three battles by Acomates, Bajazet's captain, who had got Hydruntium before, did fly to the great master of Rhodes, leaving in a place called Carræ his mother and two young children, whom Bajazet slew.

This Demes, being with the master of Rhodes, was desired first of Pope Innocent the Fourth, then of Ludovicus the Second, French king, but especially of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, intending by him to obtain great victory against Bajazet. But in conclusion, the knights of Rhodes sent him to the bishop of Rome, where he, being kept, and afterwards sent to Charles the Eighth, the French king, for a hostage of Pope Alexander the Sixth, was poisoned by the way of Terracina, by the said Pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whose death, Bajazet, to requite the aforesaid Acomates for his good service, put him to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to have his treasure; whose death redounded to the great profit of the Christians, forasmuch as he was ever an utter enemy to the religion and name of Christ.

Bajazet thus being confirmed in his tyranny, made his expedition against Wallachia, where he subdued two great forts, one called Lithostomus, the other called Moncastrum. From thence he removed his power, taking his voyage into Asia, thinking to be revenged of the sultan of Egypt, which had succoured and entertained before his brother Demes against him; where he lost two great battles, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus; but especially at the field at Tarsus, the army of the Turk took such a wound, that of a hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained unslain. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Demes aforesaid, yet Bajazet (whether for fear or for subtlety) abstained to provoke them with war, but rather entering with them the league of peace, requiring the master of Rhodes to keep his brother safe under his custody, promising for his yearly salary, to be paid unto him every year in the month of August, 45,000 ducats.

Thus Bajazet, being overthrown and terrified with evil luck, fighting against the sultan of Egypt, removed from Asia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Dyrrachium near unto Verona, and had a great victory over the Christian army in the country of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians, and Croatians, joining their powers together, encountered with the Turk, and lost the field, about the year of our Lord 1493.

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From thence the Turk leading his army against the Venetians, had with them divers and doubtful conflicts, where the Turk sometimes was put to the worse, and sometimes again prevailed, out of Jadra and divers other cities about Dalmatia, carried away great multitudes of Christians into captivity, which was about the year of our Lord 1498.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1500, Bajazet, with a hundred and fifty thousand armed men, entered into Peloponnesus, which although Mahomet had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turks. Which Methone the Turk besieged with three armies, having about the walls five hundred great brazen cannons, whereof twenty-two were most violent and hurtful, wherewith he battered the city both day and night; but the citizens, which were within the city, committing themselves to God, defended their city as well as they could, rather choosing to die than to yield unto the Turk's tyranny. But the Turk prevailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians convented together into a certain house prepared for the purpose, both men, women, and children; where they, setting the house on fire, gave themselves rather to be burned, than to come into the tyrant's hands. Certain women also, with their children, cast themselves headlong into the sea, by that means to avoid the Turkish captivity. Some writers there be, which affirm that the Methonians, seeing five great ships of the Venetians coming with men and victuals toward them, issued down from the walls to the sea side to receive them, which were all taken captives, being above the number of a thousand; which all being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slain, except certain nobles, whom Cherseogles, son-in-law to Bajazet, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gritto. The city of Coron, and also Pilus, cities in Greece, being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yielded themselves to the power of the Turks. Crisseum, otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherseogles, by force of guns.

These things thus achieved, although Bajazet went away victor unto Constantinople, yet, notwithstanding, the Venetians, through the help of the kings of France and Spain, had won from the Turk Cephalonia, an island very commodious for their traffic. Also they had gotten other two islands, Leucas and Nericus, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the garrison of the Turks. But afterwards, peace being taken between the Venetians and the Turks, by the counsel of Andreas Gritto aforesaid, the Turks so agreed, that Leucas and Nericus, the islands abovesaid, should be rendered unto the Turks, and the Venetians should keep still the possession of Cephalonia.

Unto this league the Turk did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintain war against Ismael Sophus in Asia, king of Persia. Which Sophus was stirred up by God's providence to war with this Bajazet, whereby the Christian churches in Europe might have some breathing time, and freedom from the Turk's cruel tyranny and bloodshed. This Sophus was a valiant Turk, who with great power and victories had overrun a great compass of the east parts of Asia; then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning again into Armenia, he made war against the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, and from thence coming into Asia Minor, encountered with Corchuthus, Bajazet's son, and afterward coming to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Bassa, Bajazet's captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterward took him alive, and his wife, prisoners. Afterward he was encountered by Halibassa another captain of the Turks, whom Techelles, one of the said Sophus's captains, meeting in the plain of Galatia, did withstand, and so by the way slew Caragius the captain, and hanged him upon a pole in the sight of Halibassa; which Halibassa shortly after was slain in war, and his army scattered and put to flight.

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Thus through the admirable example of God's justice and providence, were these Turks kept occupied, and so came it to pass, that these barbarians, being blasphemous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutual slaughter and bloodshed, for their impiety and blasphemy against Christ and his religion, whereby in the mean time some rest was given to the Christians.

Bajazet, partly by these victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the gout, and partly also broken with age, finding himself unwieldy to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdom, began to have talk with the nobles about the choosing of one to succeed him; the occasion whereof ministered much matter of inward wars amongst the Turks. This Bajazet had in all six sons, whereof three died before him, and three yet were left alive, to wit, Acomates, Corchutus, and Selim. Bajazet himself had most mind to Acomates, but the chiefest of his nobles did favour rather Selim; who, through their traitorous incitation, provoked him to stir war against his father; and notwithstanding that he was overcome in war, yet, through intercession, he was reconciled again to his father, and afterward proclaimed again emperor against his father's will, through the help and favour of the soldiers, entering the first beginning of his kingdom with the murdering of his own father. The story whereof in some authors is thus declared.

After that the Janizaries had persuaded with Bajazet, for that he himself was unwieldy, therefore he should do well to constitute some successor, and that he had assigned Acomates to succeed him; the Janizaries being offended with the said Acomates, because he would not enlarge their stipends, and bribe them, compassing about the king's palace with their privy swords which they had under their garments, with a mighty cry, required Selim to be appointed for their emperor. Unto whom when Bajazet had answered, that he had assigned Acomates, they refused him, because he was fat, gross, and unable thereunto; but needs would have Selim, which was stout and warlike, to be made emperor; and withal they drew out their swords, crying, Selim, Selim. Then Bajazet, giving place to their fury, showed himself content to give them Selim; whom the Janizaries receiving, brought him into the palace; unto whom Bajazet his father giving place, willed him not to be so hasty and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heed what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to give place unto time, which revealeth all things, and think himself to be a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are; and thus speaking, he resigned his imperial throne and seat unto him, and went away all heavy, entering into a certain order of their religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people, saluting Selim as emperor. Who then taking the rule upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, destroying many of his nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poison, some by other cruel means, and advancing his own side with great honours and promotions.

Not long after that Selim was thus settled in his kingdom, Bajazet his father intending to see and prove how he behaved himself in his government, first entered into his treasure house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his armoury, where all the spoils gotten by war were likewise wasted; then he entered into the jewel house, where all his plate and gifts sent from kings and princes were kept, which likewise were dispersed and given away. At length he came into the stable, where also he seeing his principal horses to be lacking, sighing with himself, and crying vengeance upon him, he prepared himself, with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to sail over into Natolia unto his eldest son; and passing by an orchard near to the sea-side, where he had appointed to take ship, in the mean time, whilst the ships were in furnishing, he sat down under a tree, and began to curse his

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son, and to ask vengeance upon him, for that he had so despised his father, and was become so impious a wretch.

Selim, understanding of his father's departure, came into the orchard where his father was, seeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his father would so privily depart and go away, seeing that he desired not the government of the empire, but was contented only with the title thereof. "O father," said he, "do not thus privily depart away; do not procure this shame to your son, who so tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name only, and be you the emperor indeed. The end of your natural life most patiently I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue. And thus using many fair and flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet with many dainty junkets to be brought unto him, but tempered and infected with poison. Which as soon as Bajazet had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poison working in his body, he took his last farewell of his son, and going out of the city accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the streets, in the middle of his journey fell down and miserably died, in the year of our Lord 1512. Here mayest thou see, good reader, a cursed brood of this Turkish generation, where the father dieth in cursing the son, the son reigneth by poisoning his father.

Selim, the eleventh emperor of the Turks.

After that this wretched Selim had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his father, with like impiety he seeketh destruction of his brethren and their children, first beginning his murder with the five children his nephews, which were the sons of his three brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two brethren yet alive, Acomates and Corchutus, with their children, likewise to be destroyed. Of whom the one had three sons, whom the father sent to Selim his brother, and their uncle, with fair and gentle words, to entreat him to be good unto their father, offering to him their duty and service in all things, honouring him also as emperor. But cruel Selim commanded forthwith his said nephews to be strangled. The father hearing of the cruel murder of his sons, leaving house and home, went and hid himself in mountains, where he lived for a space with herbs and wild honey; but being betrayed by one of his men, he was brought to Selim, and so was strangled.

Christopherus Richerus, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith that Selim, after the death of his brother Corchutus, came to Bursia, where he, under the colour of making a great triumph, ordained a feast for his friends and kinsfolk, whereunto were called especially his nephews, who then at the end of the feast calling his nephews aside, as under the pretence of conferring with them secretly about his necessary affairs, committed them to his servants to be strangled and put to death. All this while Acomates his other brother, through the help and instruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrant's hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certain forged letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained, that Acomates, to revenge the great impiety and subdue the tyranny of Selim his brother, should show himself abroad; which if he would do, he shall find friends enow to take his part. Acomates, circumvented with these subtle trains, partly for hope of revengement, partly for desire of the empire, showed himself abroad with such power and strength as he had; who, being set upon incontinent by Selim his brother, was overcome in battle, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and gross, and his horse falling upon him, was so overpressed and slain.

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Touching the death of this Acomates, Munsterus somewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreover, and saith, That he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but sitting all dismayed upon a stone, and seeing no other remedy but death, desired the captain, taking his rings from his fingers, to deliver the same to his brother, desiring him that he might not be put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that he gently would suffer him to be let blood in the bath, and so to die. But Selim, being not ignorant of this, suborneth privy tormentors, who binding his hands behind him, with their feet cast him down upon the ground, and so twisting his neck with a cord, did strangle him. This Acomates had two sons, who hearing of the death of their father, did fly for succour, the one to Sophus in Persia, and the other to the sultan in Egypt.

By the means whereof, new occasion of war grew unto Selim, whereby he was kept in Asia, at home, to fight against the Persians and Egyptians; so that, through the Lord's providence, Christendom by that means was delivered from great danger and peril of the Turk's tyranny. For otherwise the Turk was wholly minded, with all his force and puissance, to invade the Christians, being in doubt whether first to begin with Rhodes, or whether to assault Pannonia, or else to set upon Italy, being then at great discord within itself; but this cause occupied the Turk's mind otherwise, and kept him at home. Such was then the providence of the Lord for the safeguard of his people.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the affairs and doings of this Turk were spent for the most part in the Turkish and heathenish countries, it shall not be greatly necessary to trouble our Christian stories therewith, but only shall suffice to contract them in a brief sum, declaring superficially what unquietness was amongst them there, which could never be quieted, but ever working some mischief either abroad or at home. Amurath, the Turk's nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained aid of Sophus, the king of the Persians, first invaded Cappadocia; not long after whom followed Ismael Sophus the Persian king. By reason whereof a great battle was fought betwixt the Persians and Selim, in the fields of Armenia Major. In the which battle Ismael Sophus, the Persian king, was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet, and so being carried out of the field, left the victory to Selim; who, albeit he had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, yet he in the same field lost about thirty thousand of his Turks. Which field was fought in the year of our Lord 1514. Selim, after this victory, went to Tauricia, the imperial city of the Persians, which he, by yielding, subdued.

In this mean time it happened that one Aladulus, a king of Armenia the Greater, was also a helper to Ismael against the Turk; whereupon Selim the Turk taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the Persians, fought against the said Aladulus, and in the end overcame him; and afterward being found in a cave in a wood, he was taken out and brought to Selim, and so beheaded; whose head, being first carried about Asia for a triumph, was afterward sent to the senate of Venice for a terror unto them. The eldest son of Aladulus, escaping the hands of his pursuers, fled into Egypt. This battle thus fought and ended, Selim, after he had divided the kingdom of Aladulus into three provinces, went to Lyconia, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the city of Samandria against the Christians in Hungary, but the Hungarians being soon repressed by Juno Bassa, the Turk's captain, great preparation began to be made by the Turks against the confines of Servia bordering upon Hungary. The terror whereof stirred up Maximilian the emperor, and Ladislaus, king of Hungary, and Sigismund, king of Poland, to consult together, and conjoin their power for defence of Christendom. But through new encumbrances incident, the Turk, leaving Europe, made haste again into Asia, to renew again his wars against the Persians, who had made a vow not to give over that war before Ismael was overthrown.

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But before he entered that war, first he sent his messengers to the sultan of Egypt, requiring him not to intermeddle in that war; for this sultan before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turk. The name of the sultan which reigned then in Egypt, was Campson, set up by the Mamalukes. These Mamalukes were a certain order amongst the Egyptians, much like to the Janizaries about the Turk, who, being the children of Christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the sultan's court; and being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkish barbarity, or rather became worse than Turks. This Campson unto the messengers of the Turk gave this answer again, That, unless he would leave off this war against Ismael, and restore the son of Aladulus, he would not lay down his armour.

Selim, being incensed not a little with this insolent answer of the sultan, leaving all other wars aside, with great celerity advanced his power against the sultan. Which sultan, partly through the falsehood of his captain, Cajerbeius, partly by the suddenness of the Turk's coming, not far from the city of Damascus, encountered with the Turk, and there overthrown from his horse, being a fat and gross body, and falling under his horse, and his horse also falling upon him, was quashed in pieces, and so died, which was the year of our Lord 1516.

The Mamalukes, of whom more than a thousand in this battle were slain, flying from thence to Memphis, set up Tomumbeius instead of Campson; whose captain, Gazelles, was overcome at the city of Gaza, and he afterward himself driven out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamalukes were destroyed. Then Tomumbeius, flying over the flood Nile, renewed his army again; but in the end was discomfited and chased into a marsh, where he was found standing in the water up to the chin: and so being brought to Selim, was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confess where Campson's treasures were; but when he would not declare, he was carried about the town with a halter about his neck, and hanged up upon a high gibbet for a spectacle to all Egypt; which was the year of our Lord 1517. And thus were the two sultans of Egypt destroyed with the Mamalukes, which there had borne the rule in Egypt the space of two hundred and forty-three years. The progeny of the which Mamalukes remaining of the wars, the Turk commanded in the prison-gates of Alexandria to be cut in pieces; Selim from thence triumphing, departed to Constantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians. But in that mean space he was stricken with a cankered sore rotting inward, and died, after he had reigned seven years, like a beast, in the year of our Lord 1520.

The reign of this Turk was but short in number of years; but in number of his murders and cruel bloodshed it might seem exceeding long, which lived more like a beast than a man; for he never spared any of his friends or kindred. His father first he poisoned, his brethren and all his cousins he quelled, leaving none of his kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal captains for small occasions he put to death, as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostang, his son-in-law, and Juno Bassa.

It is said moreover, that he intended the poisoning of his own son Solyman, sending unto him a shirt infected with poison, because he seemed something freely to speak against the cruel demeanour of his father; but by the means of his mother, the gift being suspected, was given to another, which was his chamberlain, who, putting on the shirt, was stricken with the poison thereof, and therewithal died.

As touching this Turk Selim, by the way here may be noted how the secret providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish wars at home, while that the reformation of Christian religion here in Europe, the same time begun by Martin Luther, might the more quietly

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take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the days of this Selim Martin Luther first began to write against the pope's indulgences, which was in the year of our Lord 1516.

130. Solyman, the Twelfth Emperor of The Turks.

Solyman, the only son of Selim, succeeded after his father's death, who in the first beginning seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meet for the Turkish government. Wherefore certain of his nobles, consulting how to depose him, intended to set up another emperor. In which conspiracy, especially are named Cajerbeius and Gazelles. This Cajerbeius was he that betrayed before Campson, the sultan of Egypt, to Selim, as is aforesaid; who now also being in consultation with Gazelles and other about this matter, detected them also unto Solyman. Wherefore the said Gazelles and his fellows, being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman, declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be, and as also by his acts afterward did more appear.

Solyman, after this execution done upon the conspirators, taking his voyage into Europe, first besieged Belgrade; which, being a city in Hungary, was the strongest fort of all the Roman empire, and the chief defence at that time of all Christendom; which also being assaulted before time by Amurath the Second, was valiantly defended by Johannes Huniades, as is above specified. But here now lacked such a one as Huniades was. For the kingdom of Hungary at that time was under the government of Ludovicus, a young king, unexpert and of a simple wit: whom other princes, and specially the covetous churchmen, did so pill and poll, that they left him nothing but only the bare name and title of his kingdom, whereby he, being unfurnished both of men and money, was unable to match with such an enemy.

Another vantage also the Turks had in besieging Belgrade: for the Christian princes at that time were in civil dissension and variance amongst themselves, and the pope, with his churchmen also, were so busy in suppressing of Luther, and of the gospel then newly springing, that they minded nothing else, except it were to maintain the wealth of their own bellies. Which pope, if he set his care, as his duty was, so much in stirring up princes against the common enemy, as he was bent to deface the gospel, and to persecute the true professors thereof, soon might he have brought to pass, not only that Belgrade might have been defended against the Turk, but also that to be recovered again which was lost before; and moreover, he might have stopped the great dangers and perils which now are like to fall upon the religion and church of Christ, which the Lord of his great mercy avert and turn away.

Certes, whatsoever the pope then did, this had been his duty, setting all other things apart, to have had an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost captives, which were fallen from their faith and religion, unto the misery and slavery of the Turk, and thralldom of the devil, and to have sought all means possible to have reduced them, as lost sheep, into the fold again. Which then might soon have been done, if prelates and princes, joining together in Christian concord, had loved so well the public glory of Christ, and souls of Christians, as they tendered their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels. And admit that the pope had conceived never so much malice against Luther, his quarrel also being good, yet the public church standing in such danger, as it then did by the invasion of the Turk, reason would, nature led, religion taught, time required, that a good prelate, forgetting lighter matters, should rather have laid his shoulder to the excluding of so great a danger, as then was imminent both to himself and the universal church of Christ; but now, his quarrel being unjust, and the cause of Luther being most just and

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godly, what is to be said or thought of such a prelate, who forbearing the Turk, whom in a time so dangerous he ought chiefly to have resisted, persecuted the truth which he should specially have maintained? But Christ for his mercy stands for his church, and stirs up zealous princes and prelates, if not to recover that that is lost, yet at least to retain that little which is left.

Solyman therefore, taking this occasion, and using the commodity of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themselves, without any resistance or interruption brought his army unto Belgrade, in the year of our Lord 1521. Which city, being but slenderly defenced, the Turk, through his underminers, guns, and other engines of war, without great difficulty, and with little loss of his soldiers, soon subdued and overcame.

After this victory, Solyman resting himself a whole year, and casting in his mind how to make all sure behind him, for fear of enemies to come upon his back, thought it expedient for his purpose if he might obtain the island of Rhodes; for that only remained yet Christian betwixt him and Asia; wherefore the next year following he brought his army of four hundred and fifty ships, and three hundred thousand men, to the besieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mighty and strong island, within the sea called Mare Mediterraneum. The inhabitants whereof at the first did manfully resist the Turk, sparing no labour nor pains for the defence of themselves and of all Christendom; but afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, seeing also no aid to come from the Christians, somewhat began to languish in themselves. The Turks in the mean time casting up two great mountains with strength of hand, two miles off from the city, like rolling trenches carried them before them near unto the city, in the tops whereof they planted their ordnance and artillery, to batter the city. The master of the knights of Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus, a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking that appertained to the defence of the city. The Rhodians likewise so valiantly behaved themselves upon the walls, that with their shot all the ditches about the city were filled with carcasses of dead Turks. Besides this, such a disease of the bloody flux reigned in the Turk's camp, that thirty thousand of them died thereof; and yet for all this Solyman would not cease from this siege begun; who, at length by underminers casting down the vaumures and uttermost parts of the city, won ground still more and more upon the Rhodians, and with mortar pieces so battered the houses, that there was no free place almost standing in all the city. And thus continued the siege for the space of five or six months, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the Christians. Wherefore they being out of all hope, through the advice of Villadamus, yielded themselves unto the Turk, upon condition that he would spare them with life and goods; which convention the Turk kept with them faithfully and truly.

Thus Solyman with his great glory, and utter shame to all Christian princes, and also ruin of all Christendom, got the noble isle of Rhodes, although not without great loss and detriment of his army, insomuch that at one assault twenty thousand Turks about the walls were slain with fire, sword, stones, and other engines. Whereby it may be conjectured what these Rhodians might or would have done, if succour had come to them from other Christian princes as they looked for. This city was won upon Christmas day, A. D. 1522.

This conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solyman, the fourth year after, bringeth back his army again into Hungary, where he found to resist him but only Ludovick the young king, who being accompanied with a small army, and nothing able to match with the Turk, yet of a hasty rashness and vain hope of victory, would needs set upon him; who if he had stayed but a little, had prospered the better; for Johannes Vaivoda, being a captain well exercised in Turkish wars before, was not far off, coming with a sufficient power of able soldiers. But Paulus, the

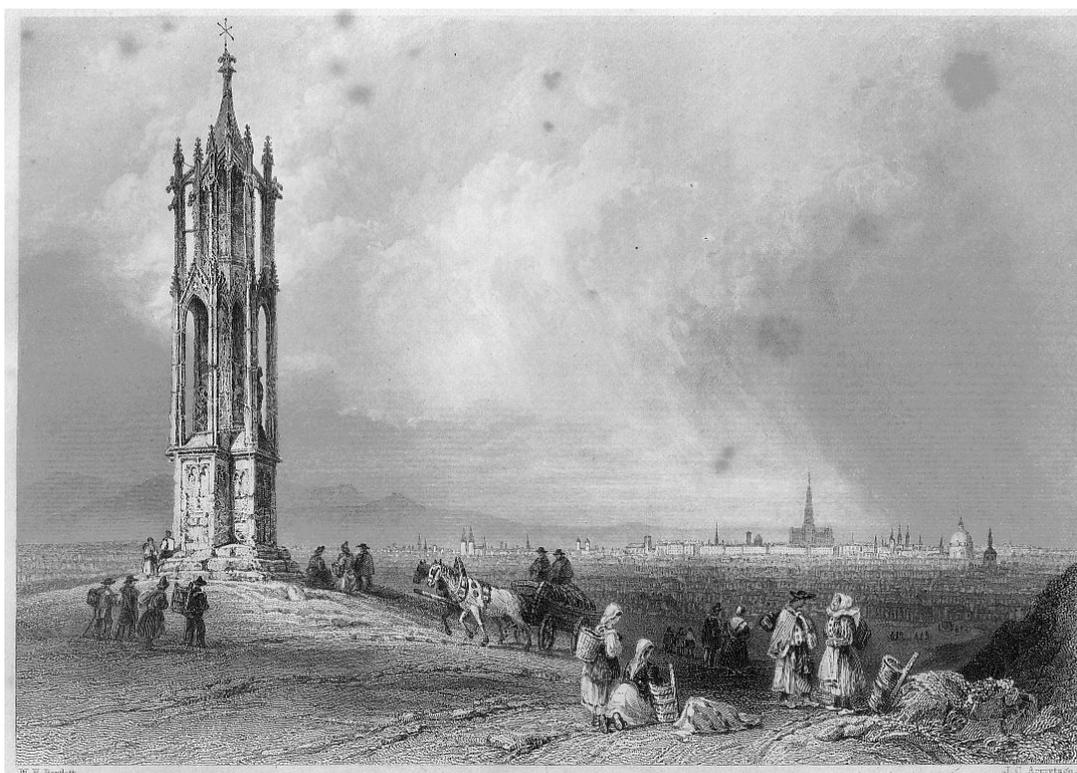
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archbishop of Colosse, a Franciscan friar, a man more bold than wise, with his temerity and rashness troubled all their doings. For the whole sum of the army of the Hungarians contained in all but only four and twenty thousand horsemen and footmen, who at length coming unto the battle, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turk's army, were brought into great distress. The Turks twice shot off their pieces against the Christian army; yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof; which was thought to be done of purpose, because they were Christians which had the ordering of the guns, for then the special gunners of the Turks were Christians, whom for the same cause they spared. Then the Turk's horsemen, coming back upon the Christian army, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude overcharged their horsemen. Amongst whom was slain the same time the archbishop friar above-said, with the bishops of Strigone and Varadine, and many other nobles beside. Also the king himself, being destitute of his necessary aid and succour, was compelled to fly into a marsh, where he falling from his horse, being heavy laden with the harness, was not able to rise again, but there miserably perished.

Solyman the Turk marvelled at the foolishness of Ludovick the king, who with so small an army would presume to encounter with such a great host of two hundred thousand. This battle in Hungary was fought A. D. 1526.

After the decease of Ludovick, Ferdinand succeeded in the kingdom, being duke of Austria and king of Hungary. Then Solyman, setting contention betwixt Johannes Vaivoda and Ferdinand for the kingdom of Hungary, sped his voyage to the city of Buda, which also in short time he made to be yielded unto him, upon condition that they should escape with their lives and goods; which condition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides Buda, divers places and munitions the said Turk, contrary to his league made before, did spoil and waste, as Varadinum, Quinque Ecclesias, and other forts and munitions more, bordering about the coasts of Hungary.

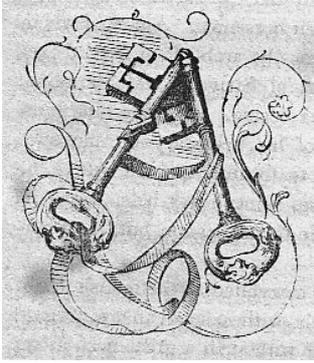
131. The Siege of Vienna



Vienna

In the year of our Lord 1529, Ferdinand, king of Hungary aforesaid, recovered divers holds gotten of the Turk before, and also warring against Johannes Vaivoda his enemy, with whom he had variance, (as ye heard before,) expelled him out of his kingdom. Whereupon Vaivoda, flying to the Turk, desired his aid. The Turk, glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addressed himself to return into Hungary, where he, recovering again the city of Buda, which Ferdinand had gotten from him a little before, removed his army into Austria, spoiling and destroying by the way all that came to his hands, showing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny most lamentable to hear and understand. For of some he put out their eyes, of some he cut off their hands, of some their ears and noses, and of their children he cut off their privy members. The maidens he corrupted, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such as were with child were ripped, and their children cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched Turk perpetrated by the way coming toward Vienna, a noble city in Austria, besides the captives which he took by the way and led into servitude most miserable, amounting to the number of thirty thousand.

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mong other holds by the way as the Turks came, there was a castle called Altenburch, strongly by nature situated, and by art defended; which castle the Turk intending not to overpass, because he would make all things sure behind him, began to make his assault, and lay his ordnance against it. The warders and keepers of the castle, so soon as the Turk began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanly cowardliness sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield themselves ready to do his commandment, and further him with their victual. Amongst whom were three hundred Bohemians, who were commanded to follow the host, that the Turk by them might learn what strength was in the city of Vienna; also where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

Of whom when the Turk had understanding how all things stood, and how that there were but twenty thousand men in Vienna able to bear armour, and that other cities of Austria would soon yield if that were gotten, and that Vienna was victualled but for two months, and that the king was of late in Bohemia; thus the Turk of all things certified, having no doubt in his mind of victory, made speed toward Vienna; and first coming to Neapolis, a city but eight miles distant from Vienna, he required them to yield themselves; who, notwithstanding, withstood them, and repulsed them valiantly. Then the Turks assigned a place for the pitching of their tents; which, because it seemed something too little for such a great multitude, they took in more ground to the compass of seven miles circuit. The multitude of his army, which he there planted, is accounted of some to extend to two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. The Turk thus being planted made daily excursions over all the country of Austria, especially about the city of Vienna, wasting and spoiling with great cruelty and murder amongst the poor Christians.

Moreover, to make all things more sure toward the preparation of the siege, scouts were sent abroad, and ambushments were laid about the river-side of the Danube, to provide that no aid nor victual should be brought to Vienna. So it pleased the providence of the Lord, (who disposeth all things,) that three days before the coming of the Turk, Frederic, the Earl Palatine, which was then assigned by the empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come down by the river Danube with fourteen thousand, and with a certain troop of horsemen well appointed and picked for the purpose. After the coming of this Frederic, provision also of victual was appointed to follow shortly after by the said river of Danube.

In the mean time, they who had the carriage and transporting thereof, hearing how the ways were laid, and all the passages ten miles about Vienna stopped by the Turks, although they knew the city to stand in great need of victual, yet seeing there was no other remedy, rather than it should come to the enemy's hand, thought it best to sink their boats with their carriage, and so they did. Whereby, albeit the Christians wanted their relief, yet were the Turks disappointed of their prey and purpose. The captains which had the keeping of the city, which were chiefly Frederic the Earl Palatine, William Rogendorf, and Nicholas earl of Salm, seeing themselves so straitened contrary to their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken; and seeing that the little city Neapolis, (above mentioned,) being eight miles distant from them, so valiantly withstood the Turks, that in one day they sustained seven grievous assaults against all the main force of the Turkish army; by their example and manful standing being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the uttermost before they would give over; and, first plucking down

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all the suburbs and buildings without the walls, whereby the enemy might have any succour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitants about the city to save themselves, and to bring in their goods within the walls. Such places as were weak within the walls, they made strong. About the towers and munition of the walls they provided ramparts and bulwarks, distant eighty feet one from another, to keep off the shot; and every man had his place and standing awarded to him upon the wall, and his office appointed what to do; but especially that side of the city which lieth to the river Danube they fortified after the best wise; for that way only now remained for victual to be transported from the Bohemians unto them. Wherefore eight ensigns were assigned to the keeping of the bridge, and in the plain, which was like an island enclosed within the river, a sufficient garrison of horsemen were placed, lying within gunshot of the city, to the intent that if any grain or victuals were sent from the Bohemians, they might provide the same safely to be brought into the city.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, Lord William Rogendorf, to assay the strength of the Turks, made divers roads out with his horsemen, albeit much against the minds of the Austrians; who, knowing the manner of the Turks, thought it better to suffer them, while either with time they might be over-wearied, or for lack of victuals consumed. Among many and sundry skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turks, one especially was to our men unprosperous; in which, certain of the horsemen, espying a small troop of the Turks scattered abroad from their company, made out after them, who suddenly and guilefully were enclosed and circumvented by the Turks, before they could recover the gates of the city, and so were all taken alive; of whom three were sent from the Turks into the city, to declare to the Viennians what strength they had seen in the camp of their adversaries, and to solicit them to yield their city for fear of punishment which would follow. The residue they reserved to torments and punishment, whom in the sight of the whole army, and of the Christians, which should tell the same to the citizens, they caused every man to be drawn each with four horses, and so to be dismembered and plucked asunder.

After this done, the barbarous Turk immediately sent his herald to talk with the captains of the city, whether they would yield the city upon honest conditions, or else would abide the arbitrement of war. If they would gently submit themselves, they should have all gentleness to them showed. If they would be stubborn, and stand to their defence, he would also stand to his siege begun, so that he neither would spare man, woman, or child. To this the captains answered again, that they were contented that Solyman should stand to his siege begun, and do his uttermost, what he would, or what he could; as for them, they were at a point to defend themselves and their city so long as they might; the event and fall of victory to be doubtful, and many times so to happen, that they which begin the war are wearied sooner than they which be provoked; neither again that they were so unmindful either of themselves, or of their country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germans; who use always first to assay the adversary, what he is able to do, and not rashly to commit themselves into their enemies' hands.

Solyman not a little disdainning at this answer, first burning and consuming all the villages, houses, and places round about the city, infecting also the springs and fountains which gave water into the city, and so stopping all passages that no relief should have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more near to the city, with three great camps; sending them word in scorn and contumely by one of his captains, that if they stood in need of help of soldiers, he would send unto them the three hundred Bohemians (mentioned a little before) to aid them in

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their defence. To whom the Palatine directed answer again, that they had more soldiers in the city than they needed. As for the Bohemians which had yielded themselves, he might do with them what he would, for Vienna stood in no great need of them.

In the mean time a messenger coming from Ferdinand was privily let in by night into the city, which brought word that they should play the men in keeping out the enemy awhile; for it would not be long, but both Ferdinand and Charles his brother, with the strength of all Germany, would be ready to rescue them. At which message the hearts of the soldiers began somewhat to be cheered, and to contemn the huge multitude of the adversaries, being so great as they never did behold, nor did ever almost hear of before. The largeness of whose army extended no less in compass, as is abovesaid, than of seven miles round about the city walls.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible siege, with all the parts and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this history, with fewer words than were stripes given at the siege thereof; this is to be judged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fierceness of the Turks, the absence of King Ferdinand, the lack of provision and victual within the city, the noise of the guns, the violence of the shot, the terror of the sight, and yet no succour sent unto them; that the custody of that city was no man's doing, but the arm only of the Lord God of hosts, according to the true saying of the Psalm, Unless the Lord do keep the city, the watchmen watch in vain which watch to save it: unless the Lord do build the house, the builder striveth in vain which taketh upon him to build it. Experience whereof in keeping this city may well appear.

First, Solyman, bending his shot and ordnance against the city, beat down to the ground the vaumures with all the uttermost suburbs of the city, and that in such a short moment of time, that the hearts of the Viennians, a little before refreshed, were now as much appalled again with fear, misdoubting with themselves, lest the Turk with the same celerity and violence would have prevailed against the inward walls, as he did in beating down the outward vaumures. And no doubt the same time the Turk had put the city in great hazard, had not night coming on broken off the siege for that day.

In the mean time the citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the walls, to make all things sure against the next assault. The next day early in the morning the Turks approaching the city again with a new assault, thinking to scale the walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the Germans, that scarcely any ditches about the walls could be seen for the bodies of the dead Turks, wherewith they were replenished; so that the Turks were fain to fight standing upon the bodies of them which were slain. By the which calamity the force of the enemy was not a little abated.

It happened the same time, that a company of the Turks being spied out of the city wandering out of order, the captain Rogendorf with two legions of horsemen issuing out of the city gate called Salmaria, and so passing closely under the hill's side, did so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them; the rest being driven to take the river, whom with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired back into the city again. By this victory the captain Rogendorf began to be terrible to the Turks. For in the same skirmish (as after was known) were slain of them so many, that of five thousand and three hundred horsemen and footmen scarce one hundred and forty escaped alive.

Solyman disdainng at this repulse thought to prove another way, and so bringing his power toward the gate called the king's gate, there making his trenches and bulwarks, planted his

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ordnance, with the violence whereof the walls were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the Turk, seeing two great breaches made in the wall, commanded his soldiers covertly in the dark smoke of the gunpowder to press into the city. The like also was done at the Scottish tower, whereby the city was invaded in two sundry places at one time. The Viennians at the first freshly began to withstand them, new soldiers still coming in the place of them that were slain and hurt; and so this assault continuing more than six hours together, our men began at length to languish and faint, not only in strength but also in courage; whereby the city had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid captains, Rogendorf in the one place, and the earl of Salm in the other place, manfully encouraged the soldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear out awhile the violence of the Turks, promising that immediately they should have aid from Ferdinand.

In the mean time the Turks came so thick for the greediness of the victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the walls, that had it not been for that press and throng of the great multitude of the Turks, coming so thick that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna that same day had been taken and utterly lost. But by the policy of the captains giving a sign within the city, as though new soldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turks' hearts to be discomfited.

When Solyman saw his army the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing by undermining to overthrow the city; in the which work especially he used the help of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his camp, expert in that kind of feat. These Illyrians beginning to break the earth at the gate Carinthia, and coming near to the foundations of the tower, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not work so closely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, which were skilful and expert in that kind of matter; who contrariwise undermining against them, and filling their trenches as they went with gunpowder, so conveyed their train, that when fire should be set unto it, the violence thereof should burst out by the trenches of the enemies; which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the tower did cleave asunder, and all the underminers of the Turks, working in their trenches. were smothered and destroyed; which came to the number (as it was supposed afterward) of eight thousand persons; insomuch that yet till this day a great number of dead men's skulls are found in the ground.

When Solyman saw that this way also would not serve, and had privy intelligence that the walls about the gates of Stubarium were negligently kept, and that he might have there more easy entrance; secretly he conveyeth about ten garrisons of fresh soldiers, in such sort as the townsmen should not perceive them; who came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their ditches, and were upon the top of the fortresses and munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For although there was no lack of soldiers within the city, yet forasmuch as the whole brunt of the siege did lie especially at the two gates aforesaid, from whence the soldiers which were there warding could not be well removed, for a shift the rescuers, which within the city were ready for all sudden adventures, were sent to the walls, by whose coming, those few which kept the enemies off before, being sore hurt and wounded, were succoured and sent to surgery; and thus the said assault continued terrible and doubtful, until the dark night coming upon them, they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turks to be slain more than five thousand.

Then the captain Rogendorf, commending the valiant standing of his soldiers, misdoubting with himself, as it happened indeed, that the Turks would not so give over, but

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would set upon him the next day with a fresh assault, providing with all diligence for the purpose, made up the breaches of the walls, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning following, which was something dark and misty, the Turks, thinking to prevent our men with their sudden coming, began again busily to bicker upon the top of the walls.

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distress and danger that the city those three days following was in; during all the which time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the enemies fighting against the city, either in our men in defending the same. For the Turks, besides the multitude of the great ordnance, wherewith, as with a great tempest of gunshot, they never ceased, still battering the walls and beating the munitions of the city, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the Turks to the scaling and climbing of the walls, that scarcely with all the ordnance and shot of the city, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminished; till at the last, the soldiers of the Turk, perceiving themselves able by no means to prevail, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselves, grudging and repining against their dukes and captains, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the city was yet untaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking; and so ceased the siege for that time.

After this, when Solyman had purposed in himself with his last and strongest siege to try against the city the uttermost that he was able to do, and had encouraged his soldiers to prepare themselves in most forcible wise thereunto; the soldiers showed themselves much unwilling to return again from whence they were so often repulsed before, by reason whereof great commotion began to rise in the Turk's camp. The rumour whereof when it came to Solyman's ears, he sendeth his grand captain to keep all the soldiers in order and obedience; or if they would be stubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandment. Who coming to the soldiers, showed to them the Great Turk's message, and to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time present was not to be neglected, neither could they now, without great shame, give over, after so many assaults attempted; who, if they would sustain but one brunt more, the victory were in their own hands. The townsmen, he said, were wasted, and their victuals spent; and the more to inflame their minds, he promised them not only great thanks and reward of their emperor, but also the whole spoil of the city, in recompence of their travail.

But when all this would not stir up the sturdy stomachs of the tired Turks, using compulsion where persuasion would not serve, he appointed a number of horsemen to be set at their backs, whereby to enforce them either to go forward, or if they denied, with guns and spears to destroy them. The Turks, seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried, it was to them like peril, yet would they not set forward except the captain would take the venture before them. Who warding forward in his array, thus spake unto his fellows, saying, "Do you forsake your faith and allegiance, and betray the emperor of Constantinople unto the Christians if you will, but I will discharge my duty towards the commonwealth and my emperor;" and with that word advanced his ensign, making toward the city walls. Whom when other followed, and still more and more pressed after, so it came to pass that whole routs of them were overthrown and slain of our men upon the walls, before it was known what they meant. Other, terrified by their example, gave back and left their array, and winding themselves by byways and under covert of hills, returned again into their tents; and so came it to pass, that the strength of the enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had less hope every day more than other of obtaining the city. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turks upon the walls, the

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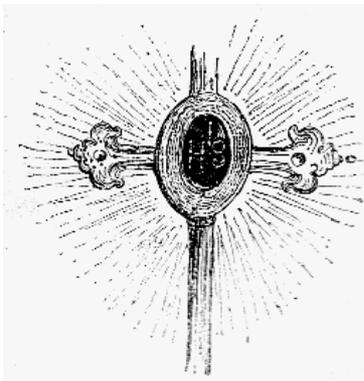
townsmen also, watching the foragers and purveyors of the Turks, as they ranged about for victual for the camp, ever as occasion served them did compass them about, and so encountered with them by that way, that of a whole legion scarcely the tenth part returned again to their fellows alive, by means whereof the courage of the enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby such a marvellous alteration happened, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the Turks began still more to droop and to languish with despair; so that at length scarce durst they appear without the bounds where they were intrenched, but only in light skirmishes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to show themselves.

Solyman perceiving his soldiers thus daily to go to wreck, of whom he had lost already more than eighty thousand, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, being also in lack of forage, for that the country about him was wasted, beginneth to consult with his captains and counsellors what remained best to be done. Of whom the most part advised him to raise his siege, and betime to provide for himself. Which to do, many causes there were that moved him. First, the loss of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides them which lay in his camp wounded, or sick, or famished. Secondly, lack of purveyance. Thirdly, the approaching near of winter. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard Frederic Palatine above mentioned, coming with a great army at Ratisbon towards Vienna, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the Turk's foragers, whom by the way he prevented, and so enclosed in the woods that he slew them. Whereof when Solyman had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the Palatine, made haste with bag and baggage to remove his camp and to retire; and first sending away his carriage before him, he made speed himself with his army to follow shortly after.

The Viennians, when they heard of the removing away of the Turks, although at the first they scarcely believed it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their removing, and also of the order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the city after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine with his army, if he had been there present, might have stood them in great stead, yet, notwithstanding, they took the opportunity of the time present, and, issuing out of the city, in most speedy wise set after them with their horsemen; and, first overpassing the tents, (where the Turks had pitched their stations or pavilions,) for haste of the way, they made such pursuit after them, that within little time they overtook the rearward or latter end of the army, whereof they made such havoc and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was never a shot of the pursuers, nor weapon drawn, nor stroke stricken, which was in vain. Which was no hard thing for our men to do. For as the Turks in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-rank (being so far off from jeopardy) return back to help their fellows, it was easy for our men, without resistance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet, notwithstanding, in long pursuit, when our men could not see the carriage of the Turks, which was wont in armies to come alway behind after the host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in privy wait behind them, to come betwixt them and home; they called themselves to retreat, and consulted upon the matter, thinking good first to send out certain scouts, to espy and bring them word where the enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof, when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the Turk's army was remaining in the tents behind, word was sent to their fellows in Vienna to issue out, and to join also with them against the tail of the Turks, which had entrenched themselves within the camp. Other were appointed to follow the chase, lest, peradventure, the Turks seeing our men to recoil back, might return again upon them and help their fellows. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the mean time, while part

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of the Viennians were hovering after the main army, the rest encountered with them that were left in the camp. Who, seeing themselves overmatched, first defended their camp with a deep ditch and bulwark, to delay the time until some help might come to them from the army. Secondly, they directed messengers to the Christians, to entreat for peace. Thirdly, they conveyed their privy letters unto Solyman for speedy aid and rescue. But all the ways and passages being stopped by the Christians, their letters were intercepted, and so the miserable Turks, being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedy, made out of their camp, to hazard and prove the uttermost for their defence: but, in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were enclosed about by our men on every side, and there put to the sword and slain, a few only excepted, who, escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellows as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behind them in their tents was distributed amongst the soldiers, only such things reserved as might serve for their public use and commodity of the city.



hus through the merciful protection and benefit of Almighty God, Austria was delivered from the fierce and barbarous hostility of the cruel Turks. Notwithstanding that neither Ferdinand the king, nor the emperor his brother, were there present, but only the power of God, through the valiantness of the worthy Germans, defended that city; in defence whereof consisted the safety and deliverance (no doubt) of all these west parts of Christendom. For the which, immortal praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of us most graciously and worthily deserved. Wherein by the way take this for a note, gentle reader, how and after what manner God's blessing goeth with the true reformers of his religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turks in so many battles and sieges heretofore were never so repulsed and foiled as at this present time, in encountering with the protestants and defenders of sincere religion. This city of Vienna was besieged and delivered the year of our Lord 1529. The assaults of the Turk against the city are numbered to be twenty, and his repulses as many. The number of his army which he first brought, was two hundred and fifty thousand, whereof were reckoned to be slain eighty thousand and above. During the time of his siege he led away, out of the country about, many captives; virgins and matrons he quelled, and cast them out naked, the children he stuck upon stakes.

132. Further Campaigns of Solyman

Solyman thus put from the hope of victory of Vienna, after he had breathed himself awhile at home, the second year after, which was A. D. 1531, repairing his host, returned again into Hungary, with no less multitude than before; where first he got the town called Gunza, being but slenderly kept with a small garrison. By reason whereof the townsmen and soldiers, yielding themselves unto the Turks, were constrained to agree upon unreasonable conditions.



elchoir Soiterus in his Second Book, writing *De bello Pannonico*, touching the aforesaid town of Gunza, or Gunzium, differeth herein something from Remus, declaring how this Gunza, being a small town in Hungary, and having in it but only a hundred soldiers (or, as Wolfgangus Drechslerus in his Chronicle reporteth, at the most but two hundred soldiers) under the valiant captain Nicolaus Jureschitz, defended themselves so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of two hundred thousand Turks, that they, being notwithstanding distressed with lack and penury of purveyance, and suddenly of the Turks invaded, yet with pure courage and promptness of heart sustained the uttermost force and violence of thirteen assaults of that great multitude, for the space of twenty-five days together.

Although the narration of the author may seem to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what time the great ordnance and battering pieces of the Turks were planted upon two mountains much higher than the town, whereby they within the town were oppressed both before and behind, insomuch that eight ensigns of the Turks were already within the town, yet by the reason of women and children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the town were congregated in a house together, such a noise and clamour went up to heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the Turks within the walls, supposing a new army of fresh soldiers to be sent into the town, for sudden fear voided the town, and leaped down from the walls again, (which before they had got,) whom no man either pursued or resisted; for never a soldier almost was left on the walls, which was not either slain or else wounded with the Turk's ordnance. At what time through the Lord's providence it so happened, that one Ibrahim Besse, near about the Turk, seeing both the town to be small, and the great destruction of the Turks in the siege thereof, and that the captain in no case would yield, persuaded so the Turk, declaring how the town being so little was not worth the loss of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow; whereby the Turk being persuaded did follow his counsel, which was this; that Nicolaus, the Christian captain, being called unto him, under pledges and safe-conduct, should receive the town as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should do no violence to his soldiers left behind and wounded, but should procure such means as he could for the recuring of them; and so he raising his siege departed. Another cause might be also, which moved him so suddenly to raise his siege, for that he heard the Palatine not to be far off in pursuing after him; and therefore taking his flight by the

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mountains of the Noricians, he returned with much spoil of Christian men's goods unto Constantinople.

For so it was provided the same time in Germany, after the council of Augsburg and Ratisbon, (at what time the controversy of religion between the protestants and the papists was deferred and set off to the next general council,) that Charles the Fifth and Ferdinand his brother, having understanding of the Turk thus ranging in Hungary, should collect of the Germans, Hungarians, and Spaniards, and others, an able army of eighty thousand footmen and thirty thousand horsemen, to repulse the invasions of the Turk. But Solyman having intelligence of this preparation of the Christian power coming toward him, whether for fear, or whether to espy further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our detriment, refused at that time to tarry their coming, and so, speeding his return unto Constantinople, retired with much spoil and prey sent before him, as is above premised; which was in the year of our Lord 1532.

Not long after, being the year of our salvation 1534, Solyman intending two wars at once, first sent Conradinus Barbarossa, the admiral of his navies into Africa, to war against the king of Tunis; whom then Barbarossa also dispossessed and deprived of his kingdom; but Charles the emperor, the year next following, A. D. 1535, restored the said king again into his kingdom, and delivered in the same voyage twenty thousand captives out of servitude.

The same time the Turk also sent another captain into Hungary, to war against Vaivoda, while he himself taking his course to Persia, planted his siege against the city Taurus, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the same; for Tahames, king of the Persians, suddenly coming upon the Turks unprepared, slew of them twenty thousand, and took his concubines, to the great foil and reproach of the Turk.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1537, Solyman, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning again out of Asia into Europe with 270 ships, great and little, set upon Corcyra, another island belonging to the Venetians, which he besieged ten days, wasting and burning the towns and fields as he went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slew, partly led away captives. From thence he sailed to Zacynthus and Cythara, another island not far off from Corcyra, bordering near to the coasts of Epirus and Grecia. Where he suddenly by night invading the husbandmen in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harm, drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his bondslaves; burning moreover their houses, and carrying away all the goods and cattle being without the said city of Zacynthus and Cythara.

From thence these hell-hounds turned their course to the siege and spoil of Egina, a rich and populous island, lying between Grecia and Asia. Where first the Eginians did manfully in battle resist them, and were like to have prevailed; but being wearied at length, and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh Turks, which still were sent in, to rescue the other which were overcome before, were compelled to fly unto the city of Egina. Which city the cruel Turks, or rather devils on earth, with much labour, and violence of their great ordnance brought out of their ships, subdued and cast down to the ground; the citizens and inhabitants whereof, the Turk, after he had burned their houses and ransacked their goods, commanded to be slain and killed every one. The women, both noble and un noble, with their infants, were given to the mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped unto Constantinople were led away to perpetual misery and slavery, which was in the year of our Lord 1537.

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In the same journey Solyman also took the isle in the said sea of Ægeum, called Paros; also the isle adjoining to the same named Naxos, and made them to him tributaries. The duke whereof was he which wrote the story both of these islands aforesaid, and also of the other islands, called Cyclades.

This done, Solyman directed his navy unto Apulia, where he set on land ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen, which spoiled likewise and wasted those parts, while the emperor, the pope, and the Venetians were together in war and dissension. Furthermore, the next year following, A. D. 1538, great attempts began in Stiria, but by the resistance of the inhabitants the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great spoils of men and cattle were carried from thence, and the country miserably spoiled. In the which year also the Turks turning into Hungary, gave battle unto the Christians in Savia; where through fraudulent falsehood of the captain Cassianerus, (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus,) being, as they say, corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, A. D. 1538.

After that the Turks had invaded the island of Corcyra, abovesaid, the Venetians with Solyman the Turk had joined truce for a certain time, for the which they gave the Turk three hundred thousand crowns, with the city Neapolis, and Malvasia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within four or five years, the Turk, to get a new stipend of the Venetians, brake his league, and invaded their dominions; whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions again with him.

In the year of our Lord 1540, the restless Turk making his return toward Hungary, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the town called Newcastle, being defended by the Spaniards. In the which town, because they refused to yield themselves, all the inhabitants and soldiers were put to the sword and slain every one. This Newcastle was a strong fort of the Christians, which being now in the Turk's power, he had great advantage over all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungary. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his power against the city of Buda.

This Buda was a principal city in Hungary, about which great contention had been (as ye have heard before) between Johannes Vaivoda and Ferdinand. By reason whereof the Turk, occasioned by Vaivoda, came into Hungary, and delivered the city to Vaivoda. This Vaivoda, living not long after, left behind him a son, whom, being an infant, he committed to the government of one Georgius Monachus, who, being left tutor unto the infant, reduced all Transylvania, Buda, Pesta, with other parts of Hungary, which belonged to Vaivoda before, to the subjection of the child. Ferdinand hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger levied an army to recover his lands in Hungary, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus, seeing his part weak, first sent his legate to Ferdinand, desiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to the behoof of them both. Whereupon both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their convention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties, according to the agreement, conventing together with their armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entered in communication, suddenly among Ferdinand's men happened a dag to be heard, which, by the heat of the day, (as is thought,) loosing of his own accord, gave a crack: the sound whereof coming to the ears of Monachus, he, supposing the same to have been discharged against him, in great anger drew out his sword, bidding Ferdinand avaunt with his doubling dissimulation, saying, that he would never any more trust the promises of Christians, and immediately upon the same sent to Solyman the Turk for aid against the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him free possession of Hungary, if he would come and

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vanquish the army of Ferdinand, lying about the siege of Buda. The Turk maketh no long tarrying, but taketh the occasion, and with a mighty power flyeth into Hungary, and eftsoons discharging the host of Ferdinand, and putting them off from the siege of Buda, getteth the city into his own hands, commanding the son of Vaivoda, with his mother, to follow after his camp.

In the history of Johannes Ramus it followeth, that when Solyman the Turk had thus prevailed against the city of Buda aforesaid, and against other parts more of Hungary, by the assent of the empire, one Joachimus, duke of Brandenburg, prince elector, was assigned, with a puissant army of chosen soldiers of all nations collected, to recover the city of Buda from the Turk, and to deliver the other parts of Christendom from the fear of the Turk, A. D. 1542. Which Joachimus, at his first setting forth, appeared so courageous and valiant, as though he would have conquered the whole world; but this great heat was so slaked in short time by the Turk, that before any great jeopardy was offered unto him, he was glad to be discharged of the voyage, and with shame enough returned home again. And would God he had left behind him in the fields no more but his own shame. For the enemies, having intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinking to work some point of mastery or victory before his going, did set upon the right wing of his army, (which chiefly consisted of Dutchmen of low Germany,) out of the which they took away with them above five hundred strong and valiant soldiers, not killing them, but carrying them away alive. For whom it had been much better to have stood to their weapon, and to have died manfully upon the Turks, than by yielding themselves to be disgarnished of weapon and armour, and so to be left to the cursed courtesy of the foul Turks: to whom what courtesy was showed, by the sequel did appear. For after the Turks had led them out of Hungary into their own dominions, after a most horrible and beastly sort they disfigured and mangled them, and so sent them abroad through all Grecia to be witnesses of the Turk's victory. Their kind of punishment was thus: first, they had their right arm thrust through with an iron red hot, whereby they should be unable and unmeet to all labour and warfare. Secondly, their heads were shaven to the very skulls, after the manner of our friars and monks, when they are newly shaven. Thirdly, they had all their privy members cut off from their bodies, to the intent to make them unfruitful for propagation; which wound was so grievous unto them, that the greatest part of them died thereupon, the few that recovered the torment thereof led a life more bitter and more miserable than death itself. And this kind of cruelty was executed in order upon them all. In much like sort did cruel Pharaoh exercise his tyranny against the people of God in Egypt; who, to destroy the generation of them, caused all the male children to be drowned in the river. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that seeing the tyranny of this Turkish Pharaoh is come to such an extremity, the merciful goodness of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other unto us for our speedy deliverance. This was by the cruel Turks done, A. D. 1542, witnessed by Johannes Ramus, which not only writeth the story, but by the testimony also of his own eyes recordeth the same to be true, beholding with his eyes one of the same number in the city of Vienna, who having wife and children in Brussels, either for shame or sorrow had no mind to return home to his own house.

But to return again to the city of Buda, from whence we have digressed, here is not to be pretermitted what falsehood and what cruelty the Turks used toward the Christians there after their victory. For after that Solyman the Turk, upon yielding and submission of the men of Buda, had given to them his promise of safety and life, within short time the said Turk picking a quarrel with them for selling oxen unto the Christians, and for bargaining with them, slew all the magistrates of the said city of Buda; like as in all other cities, wheresoever the Christians yielded

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unto him, he never, or very rarely, kept his promise with them, neither did ever any Christians speed better with the Turk, than they which most constantly did resist him.

And as his promise with the magistrates of Buda was false and wretched, so his cruelty with the soldiers thereof was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of Buda, amongst the rest which were slain, two cohorts or bands of Christian soldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at first to grant pardon of life, he commanded to put on their armour again, and to dispose themselves in order and battle array, after the warlike manner of the Christians. Which when they had accomplished readily, according to his commandment, and he, riding about the ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain space, at length he commanded them to put off their armour again. Which done, certain of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out, the residue he commanded, by his soldiers coming behind them with swords, to be cut in pieces and slain. Of the other, whom he had elected and chosen, some he set for marks and butts to be shot at; some he appointed to his two sons, for them to slash with their swords, and try their strength, which of them could give the deeper wound, and, as they termed it, the fairer blow, whereby the most blood might follow out of their Christian bodies.

After the winning of Buda, the Turk purposing not so to cease, before he had subdued and brought under his obedience all Hungary, proceeding farther with his army, first brought under a strong hold of the Christians, named Pestum, or Pesta, where a great number of Christian soldiers partly were slain, partly were led away to more cruel affliction.

Then he came to another castle called Walpo, situate in the confines of Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary. Which fort or castle he besieged three months, while no rescue or aid was sent unto them, neither from Ferdinand, king of Hungary, nor from any other Christian prince or princes. Whereupon at length the fort was given up to the Turk; but more through the false treachery or cowardly heart of the soldiers than of the captain. Wherein is to be noted an example not unworthy of memory. For when the cowardly soldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs surrender themselves and the place unto the Turk, contrary to the mind of the captain, which in no case would agree to their yielding; they, thinking to find favour with the Turk, apprehended their captain, and gave him to Solyman. But see how the justice of God, sometimes by the hands of the enemy, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of virtue and punishing of vice. For where they thought to save themselves by the danger of the faithful captain, the event turned clean contrary, so that the Turk was to the captain bountiful and very liberal; and the soldiers, notwithstanding that they had all yielded themselves, yet were all put to death, and commanded piteously to be slain.



Battle between Turks and Christians

There is in Hungary another town, bearing the name of Five-churches, called *Quinque-ecclesiæ*, which being partly spoiled before, as is above mentioned, which now through the loss of *Walpo*, and by the hugeness of the Turk's army, containing in it two hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, so discouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the bishop and chief nobles of the town fled before the jeopardy; the rest of the commons, which were partly prevented by the sudden coming of the Turks, partly for poverty could not avoid, sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield and surrender the town, upon promise of life, unto his hands. Whose promise how firm it stood, the story leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three days after the yielding of this *Quinque-ecclesiæ*, never a Turk durst enter the city, A. D. 1543.

The next fort or hold gotten by the Turks in Hungary was *Soclosia*. The town at the first invasion of the Turks was won, sacked, and fired. The castle within the town did something hold out for a time, and first requiring truce for fourteen days, to see what aid should be sent unto them, to deliberate upon the conditions that should be proposed unto them, after the fourteen

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days expired, they, trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong, began for a certain space stoutly to put back the enemy. But afterward seeing their walls to be battered, their foundations to shake, for the Turk had set twelve thousand under-miners under the ditches of the castle, and their strength to diminish, and misdoubting themselves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themselves, upon condition to escape with life and goods; which condition of saving their goods was the losing of their lives, especially of the richer sort. For the Turks perceiving by that condition that they were of wealth and substance, omitting the inferior or baser sort, fell upon the wealthy men for their riches, and slew them every one, A. D. 1543.

In the which history, this is also to be noted, that during the time while the castle of Soclosia was besieged, the villages and pagans [i. e. villagers] round about the same came of their own accord, submitting and yielding themselves unto the Turk, bringing in, as they were commanded, all kind of victual and forage into the Turk's camp. Which done, Solyman the Turk commanded all the head men of the pagans to appear before him; which humbly obeyed and came. Then the Turk warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his inferior retinue, and household servants. Which when they had with like diligence also according to his commandment accomplished, the Turk immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole army, to be slain, and so was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the bloody cruelty of the Turk, the more courage it may minister to our men, the more constantly to withstand him.

Another strong town there is in Hungary, named Strigonium, distant from Buda abovesaid the space of five Dutch miles, against the which the Turks made great preparation of ordnance, and all other instruments of artillery necessary for the siege thereof. Which city in like manner began also to be compassed and enclosed by the Turks, before it could be sufficiently prepared and garnished of our men, but that the archbishop only of Strigon privily conveyed unto them two hundred oxen. Such was then the negligence of Ferdinand, king of Hungary, which so slenderly looked unto the necessary defence of his towns and cities. Moreover, such was the discord then of Christian kings and princes, which in their civil dissension and wars were so occupied and hot in needless quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance to help in time there where true need required. Which slender care and cold zeal of the Christian rulers, not in tendering the public cause, while they contended in private trifles, hath caused the Turk to come so far as he hath, and yet farther is like, unless the mercy of the Lord do help more than our diligence. One of the chief captains within the city, was Martinus Lascanus, a Spaniard.

The Turks in the beginning of the siege, began first to tempt the citizens with fair words and accustomed promises, to yield and gently to submit themselves. But they, not ignorant of the Turk's promises, wisely refused, and manfully stood so long as they could to the defence of the city; now and then skirmishing with them in out-corners, and killing certain numbers of them; sometime with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the wheels of their guns, &c.

Three special means the Turks use in winning great forts and cities: great multitude of soldiers; great ordnance and mortar pieces; the third is by undermining. All which here in the siege of this city lacked not. This siege continued vehement a certain space; in which the Strigonians had borne out four strong assaults, and slew many thousands of the Turks, till at length the Turks either departing away, or else seeming to depart unto Buda, the people at last being so persuaded and made to believe of some chief rulers of the city, (peradventure not the truest men,) the citizens being erected with hope and comfort, and singing Te Deum, as though

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the city had been free from all danger, suddenly (by whose counsel it is unknown) conveyed themselves all out of the city; three hundred horsemen also passed over the river and departed. The Italians which were under Franciscus Salamanca, a Spanish captain, hardly could be persuaded by him to abide, which were in all scarce six hundred.

Within three days after, three hundred German soldiers, with two ships laden with shot, powder, and artillery, were privily let into the town; so that of our men in all there were scarce one thousand three hundred soldiers. Who, seeing the small quantity of their number, burning and casting down the town and suburbs, took them to the castle; from whence they beat off the Turks valiantly with their ordnance a good space, and with wild-fire destroyed great companies of them, till at last they seeing their walls to fail them, and the whole castle to shake by undermining, but especially by the working of a certain Italian surnamed Presbyter, they gave over. This Italian, whether for fear or, falsehood, secretly, unknown to the rest of the soldiers, accompanied with two other, conveyed himself down from the walls, and being brought into the tents of the next captain or Bassa of the Turks, there in the name of all his fellows convented with the Turks, to give up to them the castle; whereupon the Turks were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian shortly after with two other Turks was sent back to Salamanca his captain, with the Turk's message. The going out of this Italian being privy to the residue of his fellows, contrary to the laws and discipline of war, although it seemed to come of his own head; yet, forasmuch as the other soldiers were not so sure, but rather suspected lest the other Italians his countrymen had been in some part of consent therein, and would take his part; they neither durst offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well advise with themselves what was best to do, for fear of privy confederacy within themselves.

Thus while Lascanus, the chief captain of the Christians aforesaid, with his fellow soldiers, were in a maze what to do, or not to do; in the mean time came one running, who, giving a sign both to the Christians and to the Turks to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was against all law of war to fight after peace and truce taken; our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward tower. The Turks in the mean time had got into the castle, and occupied all the utter parts. Then was Salamanca, by the consent of the rest, sent out to the Turk, who there being stayed that night; the next morrow the Turk's bull or warrant was sent into the castle, permitting free liberty to the Christians to depart with bag and baggage. Who now being ready to depart, first were commanded by the Turks, compassing them round about, to cast from them their dags, lances, and battle-axes into the trench. Then coming to the gate to go out, their swords were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

At last when they were come a little further, other were sent to them to discharge them of their helmets, their targets, cuirasses, and whatsoever piece of harness was about them. Whereupon great fear came upon them, lest some great cruelty should be showed upon them. Solyman, after he had long deliberated with himself, whether to kill them or not, at last, contrary to all expectation, granted their lives; but before they should be dismissed, he first caused them, in derision of Christianity, to be baited with scorns and mocks throughout all the Turkish army, and so the next day commanded them, being stripped out of their coats and apparel, to be reduced again into the castle by companies, setting over them certain Turks with cudgels and bats to lay upon their backs and sides, causing them to bury the dead carcasses, and to gather up the rubbish broken down from the castle walls, and to scour the ditches. Which done, the next day following he demanded of them, by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horse and armour to serve him in his wars; which condition divers for fear were

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contented to take, seeing no other remedy to avoid present death. Some neither by menacing words, nor for fear of any death, could be compelled thereunto; of whom certain, which stood stoutly in refusing thereof, were presently slain, whom I may worthily recite in the number and catalogue of holy martyrs.

Of the aforesaid Christians, part were carried over the river Danube, not without great villany, and contumely most despiteful. For some had their wives taken from them, and carried away; some had their wives ravished before their face; and such as made or showed any resistance thereat, had their wives before them cast into the river and drowned; also their infants and young children, being appointed by the Turks to the abominable order of the Janizaries, mentioned before, their parents not consenting thereunto, were precipitated and thrown into the river and drowned. All which things are testified by John Martinus Stella, in his Epistles, in print extant, written to his two brethren, William and Michael, &c. Which Martin Stella moreover addeth and affirmeth this, That he himself, being the same time at Vienna, did see one of the aforesaid wives, who being holden fast by the hair of the head, yet notwithstanding, having her hair plucked off, cast herself into the river Danube for the singular love to her husband, and so swam to the ship where he was. And thus this miserable company of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians mixed together, macerated with labours, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours, and sorrow consumed, came at length to Schinda.

When the tidings thereof was noised at Vienna, partly with fear and dread, partly with indignation, all men's hearts were moved and vexed diversely. Some thought them not worthy to be received into their city, showing themselves so dastardly and cowardly. Others thought again that mercy was to be showed unto them, and commended their fact, for that they being so few, and unfurnished of aid, neither able to match by any means with such an innumerable multitude of the Turks, kept themselves till better time might serve them. But howsoever the matter was to be thought of, the captains brought the poor remnant of that rueful company unto Possidonium, where the said captains were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable story of Strigonium.



he Turk proceeding in his victories conducted his army next unto Tath, and to the parts lying near about Comaron. This Tath was also a strong hold in Hungary, wherein were placed certain garrisons, partly of the Germans, partly of the Italians. The chieftain of the Italians was one Annibal Tasso, constituted by Philippus Tornelius. This Tasso was a man well expert in prowess of war; but of a filthy, corrupt life, and also a foul swearer, and horrible blasphemer of God and his saints. To make the story short, this fort of Tath, before any siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the Turks; upon what conditions, or by whose means, the author showeth not. Thus much he showeth, that the said Annibal shortly upon the same, returning into Italy, was commanded by Tornelius, aforesaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

After the Turks had subverted and destroyed the fort of Tath, they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary, have been always wont there to be crowned and buried. This Alba is a little well-compacted city in Hungary, having on the one

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side a marsh somewhat boggy or fenny, which made the town less assaultable. But near to the same was a wood, from the which the Turks every day with six hundred carts brought such matter of wood, and trees felled for the same purpose, in the marsh, that within less than twelve days they made it apt and hard to their feet, which the townsmen thought never could be gone upon but only in the hard frosts of winter. At the first beginning of the siege there stood a little without the munitions, in the front of the city, a certain church or monastery, which the citizens pretending to maintain and keep against the Turks, had privily conveyed light matter easily to take flame, with powder, in secret places thereof, and had hid also fire withal. Which done, they (as against their wills being driven back) withdrew themselves within the munitions, waiting the occasions when this fire would take. Thus the Turks having the possession of the church, suddenly the fire coming to the powder, raised up the church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous Turks. This was not so soon espied of them within the town, but they issued out upon them in this disturbance, and slew of them a great number. Among whom divers of their nobles also the same time were slain, and one Bassa, a eunuch, which was of great estimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the same skirmish was taken one of those gunners which the French king is said to have sent to the Turk a little before. Which if it be true, let the Christian reader judge what is to be thought of those Christian princes, which not only forsaking the common cause of Christ's church, joined league with the Turk, but also sent him gunners to set forward his wars to the destruction of Christ's people, and to the shedding of their blood, for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I show mine author; if it be, then let the pope see and mark well how this title of Christianissimus can well agree with such doings.

But to let this matter sleep, although the Turks (as ye heard) had won the fen with their policy and industry, against the city of Alba, yet all this while the Albanians were nothing inferior to their enemies, through the valiant help and courageous endeavour of Octavianus Scruzatus, a captain of Milan: by whose prudent counsel and constant standing, the busy enterprises of the Turks did little prevail a long time, till at length suddenly arose a thick fog or mist upon the city, whereas round about besides the sun did shine bright. Some said it came by art magical, but rather it may appear to rise out of the fen or marsh, being so pressed down with men's feet and other matter laid upon it.

The Turks, using the occasion of this misty darkness, in secret-wise approaching the walls, had got up to a certain fortress where the Germans were, before our men could well perceive them; where they pressed in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the Christian soldiers, standing strongly to the defence of their lives, did what valiant men, in cases of such extremity, were able to do; yet being overmatched by the multitude of the Turks, and the suddenness of their coming, gave back, seeking to retire into the inward walls. Which when their other fellows did seek to rescue, then was there flying of all hands, every man striving to get into the city. There was between the outward walls, or vaumures, and inward gate of the city, a strait or narrow passage, cast up in the manner of a bank or causeway, ditched on both sides; which passage or ingress happened the same time to be barred and stopped. By reason whereof the poor soldiers were forced to cast themselves into the ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the city; where many of them sticking in the mud were drowned, one pressing upon another; many were slain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to resist. A few which could swim out, were received into the city, but the chief captains and warders of the town were there slain.

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The citizens, being destitute of their principal captains and warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves what to do, some thinking good to yield, some counselling the contrary. Thus while the minds of the citizens were distracted in divers and doubtful sentences, the magistrates minding to stand to the Turk's gentleness, sent out one of their heads unto the Turk, who in the name of them all should surrender to him the city, and become unto him tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of life and goods; which being to them granted, after the Turkish faith and assurance, first the soldiers which were left within the city, putting off their armour, were discharged and sent away. Who being but only three hundred left of four ensigns of Italians, and of one thousand Germans, by the way were laid for by the Tartarians for hope of their spoil, so that they, scattering asunder one one way, another another, to save themselves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought best. Of whom, some wandering in woods and marshes fainted for famine, some were taken and slain by the Hungarians, a few with bare and empty and withered bodies, more like ghosts than men, escaped and came to Vienna. And this befell upon the soldiers.

Now understand what happened to the yielding citizens. So in the story it followeth, that when the Turk had entered the town, and had visited the sepulchre of the kings, for three or four days he pretended much clemency toward the citizens, as though he came not to oppress them, but to be revenged of Ferdinand their king, and to deliver them from the servitude of the Germans. On the fourth day all the chief and head men of the city were commanded to appear before the Turk in a plain not far from the city, where the condemned persons before were wont to be executed, as though they should come to swear unto the Turk. At this commandment of the Turk, when the citizens in great number and in their best attire were assembled; the Turk, contrary to his faith and promise, commanded suddenly a general slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the citizens of Alba.

In the mean time, during the siege of Alba, the Hungarians, meeting sometimes with the horsemen of the Tartarians, which were sent out to stop their victuals from the city, slew of them at one bickering three thousand Turks. In which story is also reported and mentioned of mine author, a horrible sight and example of misery, concerning a certain captain, (a Christian belike,) who coming unto Vienna, was found to have in his scrip or satchel the half of a young child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before, A. D. 1543.

Next after this was expugned the castle of Pappa by the Turks. Let the castle now of Papa take heed lest one day it follow after.

The like fidelity the Turks also kept with the fort of Wizigradum, and the soldiers thereof. This Wizigradum is situate in the mid-way between Buda and Strigonium. Of the which fort or castle the highest tower so mounteth upon the hill, that unless it be for famine and lack of water, they have not to dread any enemy. Notwithstanding, so it happened, that the lower place being won, they in the higher tower abiding four days without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of life and goods, to yield themselves. But the devilish Turks, keeping no faith nor promise, slew them every one; only Petrus Amandus, the captain of the place, excepted; who privily was conveyed by the captain of the Turks out of the slaughter, A. D. 1544.

To these, moreover, may be added the winning of Novum Castellum, in Dalmatia, where he slew all that were within, both soldiers and other, for that they did not yield themselves in time. Thus the Turk, whether they yielded to him or not, never spared the people and flock of Christ.

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As the false and cruel Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pity of the Christians, and easily might then have prevailed and gone whither he would, for that Charles the emperor, and Francis the French king, were the same time in war and hostility, and also other Christian princes, as Henry, duke of Brunswick, against John Frederic, duke of Saxony, also princes and rulers were contending among themselves; behold the gracious providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, seeing the misery, and having pity of his poor Christians, suddenly, as with a snaffle, reined this raging beast, and brought him out of Europe into his own country again, by occasion of the Persians, who were then in great preparation of war against the Turks, and had invaded his dominion. By reason whereof the Turks were kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Which wars at length being achieved and finished, (wherein the said Turk lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turks,) he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evil disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the discord of Christian princes, to return again into Europe, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof unto his dominion. Whereunto when he had levied an army incredible of such a multitude of the Turks, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, see again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turk was thus intending to set forward with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a pestilence through all the Turk's army and dominions, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thrace to Macedonia and also to Hungary, that all the Turk's possessions seemed almost nothing else but as a heap of dead corpses, whereby his voyage for that time was stopped, and he almost compelled to seek a new army.

Besides this plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them than any war, other lets also and domestical calamities, through God's providence, happened unto Solyman, the great rover and robber of the world, which stayed him at home from vexing the Christians, especially touching his eldest son Mustapha.

This Mustapha being hated, and partly feared, of Rustanus the chief counsellor about the Turk, and of Rosa the Turk's concubine, and after his wife, was divers times complained of to his father, accused, and at length so brought into suspicion and displeasure of the Turk's by them aforesaid; that in conclusion, his father caused him to be sent for to his pavilion, where six Turks with visors were appointed to put him to death; who, coming upon him, put (after their manner) a small cord or bowstring full of knots about his neck, and so throwing him down upon the ground, not suffering him to speak one word to his father, with the twitch thereof throttled and strangled him to death, his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which fact being perpetrated, afterward when the Turk would have given to another son of his and of Rosa, called Gianger, the treasures, horse, armour, ornaments, and the province of Mustapha his brother; Gianger crying out for sorrow of his brother's death, "Fie of thee," saith he to his father, "thou impious and wretched dog, traitor, murderer, I cannot call thee father, take the treasures, the horse and armour of Mustapha to thyself;" and with that taking out his dagger, thrust it through his own body. And thus was Solyman murderer and parricide of his own sons; which was the year of our Lord 1552.

Wherein, notwithstanding, is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this Mustapha, as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practice of war, so had he a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the blood of Christians. Wherefore great cause have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God, for the happy taking away of this Mustapha. And no less hope also and good comfort we may conceive

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of our loving Lord hereby ministered unto us, to think that our merciful God, after these sore afflictions of his Christians under these twelve Turks before recited, now after this Solyman intendeth some gracious good work to Christendom, to reduce and release us out of this so long and miserable Turkish captivity, as may be hoped now by taking away these young imps of this impious generation, before they should come to work their conceived malice against us; the Lord therefore be glorified and praised. Amen.

133. Recent Defeats Of The Turks

Moreover, as I was in writing hereof, opportunely came to my hands a certain writing out of Germany, certifying us of such news and victory of late achieved against the Turk, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort us, touching the decay and ruin of the Turk's power and tyranny against us. Which news are these: That after the Turkish tyrant had besieged, with an army of thirty thousand men, the famous and strong town and castle of Jula in Hungary, lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river Danube, which city had by the space of six weeks sustained many grievous assaults; God, through his great mercy and goodness, so comforted the said town of Jula and the poor Christians therein, at their earnest prayers, that the Turk with all his host was driven back by the hands of the general, called Karetshim Laslaw, and his valiant company; who not only defended the said town, but also constrained the Turks to retire to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble; for the which the everlasting God be praised for ever.

The manner of the overthrow was this. As the aforesaid general did see his advantage, with Captain George and other horsemen of the Silesians and Hungarians, they set on the rearward of the Turks, and killed about eight thousand of them, and took also some of their artillery, and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to fly into a marsh ground, and to break the wheels of the rest of their artillery to save themselves, and therewith they got a very rich booty, rescuing besides and taking from the Turks a great number of Christian prisoners. Like thanks are also to be given to God for the prosperous success given to Magotschy the valiant captain of Erla; who making toward the Turks, and encountering with the Tartarians, slew of them about eight hundred.

Not long after this it happened, through the like providence of our God, a Turkish captain called Begen, accompanied with a thousand fresh horsemen, came newly out of Turkey, to go toward the city named Finffenkyrchen, with whom the earl of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the night setting upon him, killed the captain, and took eight camels, and eight mules laden with treasure, and also got two red standards, with a whole great piece of rich cloth of gold, and with another fair and strange jewel. The horse of this aforesaid Turkish captain was betrayed and decked most richly. The saddle whereof had the pommel and back part covered over with plate of fine Arabic gold, and the rest of the saddle, beside the sitting-place, was plated with silver very fair gilded. The seat of the saddle was covered with purple velvet; the trappers and bridle beset with little Turquoises and rubies: which horse was sent to Vienna unto the Emperor Maximilian for a present.

Although the earl would very fain have saved the captain, not knowing what he was, yet the Janizaries, labouring to carry away their captain, so stiffly defended themselves, that the earl with his company, was constrained to kill both them and their captain. From whom the said earl of Serin the same time got fifteen thousand Turkish and Hungarian ducats; which money was brought for the payment of the Turkish soldiers in the town aforesaid of Finffenkyrchen, &c. All which be good beginnings of greater goodness to be hoped for hereafter, through the grace of Christ our Lord, especially if our Christian rulers and potentates, first the churchmen and prelates for their parts, then the civil powers and princes for their parts, withholding their affections a

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little, will turn their brawls and variance into brotherly concord and agreement, which the Lord of peace put in their minds to do. Amen. Or otherwise, if it will so please the Lord that the Turk come further upon us, so as he hath begun, for our punishment and castigation, his grace then give to the flock of his poor Christians constancy of faith, patience in suffering, and amendment of life. For so I understand by public fame, although uncertainly rumoured by the voice of some, that the Turk's power of late, this present year of our Lord 1566, hath pierced the parts of Apulia within Italy, wasting and burning the space of a hundred miles toward Naples. Which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the Turk having thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetness of Italy, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also so far into Italy, that he will display his banners within the walls of Rome, and do with old Rome the like as Mahomet his great grandfather did with new Rome, the city of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

The causes why we have so to judge be divers; first, that the see of Rome hath been defended hitherto and maintained with much blood; and therefore it may seem not incredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with blood again, according to the verdict of the gospel; He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword, &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, where it is written, That great Babylon shall fall and be made an habitation of devils, and a den of unclean spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean birds: the fall whereof shall be like a millstone in the sea, that is, which shall not rise again. And this to come before the day of judgment, the text of the said chapter doth apertly declare; where the words do follow, showing that the kings of the earth, and the merchants which had to do with the whorish city, standing afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said city flaming and burning with fire, shall bewail and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What city this is, called great Babylon, which like a millstone shall fall and burn, and be made an habitation of unclean spirits and beasts, let the reader construe. This is certain and plain, by these her kings and merchants standing afar off for fear, and beholding her burning, that the destruction of this city (what city soever it be) shall be seen here in earth before the coming of the Lord's judgment, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances, that is, by the standing, the beholding, and bewailing of her merchants. By the which merchants and kings of the earth, peradventure may be signified the pope, the rich cardinals, the great prelates and fat doctors, and other obedienciaries of the Romish see, who at the coming of the Turks will not adventure their lives for their church, but will flee the city (no doubt) and stand afar off from danger; and when they shall see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, the city of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruel Turks, the sight whereof shall seem to them piteous and lamentable, to behold the great and fair city of Rome, the tall castle of St. Angel, the pope's mighty see, (where they were wont to fish out such riches, dignities, treasures, and pleasure,) so to burn before their eyes, and to come to such utter desolation, which shall never be re-edified again, but shall be made an habitation of devils and unclean spirits, that is, of Turks, and heathen sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c. This (I say) peradventure may be the meaning of that propheticall place of the Apocalypse; not that I have here any thing to pronounee, but only give my guess what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plain and manifest. For mystical prophecies lightly are never so well understood, as when the event of them is past and accomplished.

Another cause, concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of Paulus Jovius, who writing of the subversion of Rhodes, which was, as ye heard, A. D. 1522, upon Christmas day, saith, That it chanced suddenly the same day in Rome, that as Pope Hadrian the Sixth was

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entering into the church to his service, suddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the chapel door, which was of marble, immediately as the pope was entering, fell down, and slew eertain of his guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruin of Rome was not long after to follow the loss of Rhodes.

The fourth cause I borrow out of Johannes Aventinus, who in his third book alleging the names, but not the words, of Hildegard, Bridget, and other prophetical men, hath these words: "If the sayings and prophecies of Hildegard, of Bridget, and of other prophetical persons, be true, which being foretold long before, we have seen now in these our days accomplished, the town of Cologne, will we, nill we, must needs be the head city of the Turks," &c.

And this I wrote not as one pronouncing against the city of Rome what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to pass, (as I pray God it do not,) then shall the pope well understand, whither his wrong understanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering glossers upon the same, have brought him.

Wherefore my counsel is to the pope, and all his popish maintainers and upholders, to humble themselves, and to agree with their brethren betime, letting all contention fall; lest that while the bishop of Rome shall strive to be the highest of all other bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the bishop of Rome shall be found the lowest of all other bishops, or peradventure no bishop at all.

Whereunto also another cause may be added, taken out of Hieronymus Savanarola, who prophesieth, that one shall come over the Alps like unto Cyrus, and destroy Italy. Whereof see more before.

This Solyman, if he be yet alive, hath now reigned forty-six years, who began the same year in the which the emperor Charles the Fifth was crowned, which was A. D. 1520, and so hath continued by God's permission, for a scourge to the Christians, unto this year now present, 1556. This Solyman by one of his concubines had his eldest son, called Mustapha. By another concubine, called Rosa, he had four sons, Mahomet, Bajazet, Selim, and Gianger. Of the which sons, Mustapha and Gianger were slain, as ye heard before, by the means of their own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turks out of the authors hereunder written.

The authors of the Turks' stories.

Laconicus Chalcondyla.
Nicolaus Eboicus Episc. Saguntinus.
Johannes Ramus.
Andræas a Lucana.
Wolfgangus Drechslerus.
Johannes Crispus.
Johannes Faber.
Ludovicus Vives.
Bernardus de Breydenbach.
Mityleneus Archiepisc. Sabellicus.
Isidorus Rutherus.

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Marinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Jovius.
Johan. Martinus Stella.
Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
Nicolaus a Mogen Burgundus.
Sebast. Munsterus.
Baptista Egnatius.
Barthol. Peregrinus.

134. A Notice touching the miserable Persecution, Slaughter, and Captivity of the Christians under the Turks.

Hitherto thou halt heard, Christian reader, the lamentable persecutions of these latter days, wrought by the Turks against the people and servants of Christ. In the reading whereof such as sit quietly at home, and be far from jeopardy, may see what misery there is abroad: the knowledge and reading whereof shall not be unprofitable for all Christians earnestly to weigh and consider, for that many there be which, falsely deceiving themselves, imagine that Christianity is a quiet and restful state of life, full of pleasure and solace in this present world; when indeed it is nothing less, testified by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who rightly defining his kingdom, teacheth us that his kingdom is not of this world, premonishing us also before, that in this world we must look for affliction, but in him we shall have peace. Examples hereof in all parts of this history through all ages are plenteous and evident to be seen, whether we turn our eyes to the first ten persecutions in the primitive church, during the first three hundred years after Christ; or whether we consider the latter three hundred years in this last age of the church, wherein the poor flock of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed, and devoured, that it is hard to say whether have been more cruel against the Christians, the infidel emperors of Rome in the primitive age of the church, or else these barbarous Turks in these our latter times of the church now present.

Thus from time to time the church of Christ almost hath had little or no rest in this earth, what for the heathen emperors on the one side, what for the proud pope on the other side, on the third side what for the barbarous Turk; for these are and have been from the beginning the three principal and capital enemies of the church of Christ, signified in the Apocalypse by the beast, the false lamb, and the false prophet, from whom went out three foul spirits like frogs, to gather together all the kings of the earth to the battle of the day of the Lord God Almighty, Apoc. xvi. The cruelty and malice of these enemies against Christ's people hath been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in cruelty of persecution it is hard to say; but that it may be thought that the bloody and beastly tyranny of the Turks especially above the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that ever were seen in any age, or read of in any story. Insomuch that there is neither history so perfect, nor writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable tyranny of the Turks, is able to express or comprehend the horrible examples of their unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by these twelve Turkish tyrants upon poor Christian men's bodies, within the compass of these latter three hundred years. Whereof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed; yet to give to the reader some general guess or view thereof, let us first perpend and consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, strong holds, and forts, these Turks have surprised and won from the Christians. In all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place which the Turks ever came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part thereof into such captivity and slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or else so lived, that death almost had been to them more tolerable.

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Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Roman emperors, the saying was, that no man could step with his feet in all Rome, but should tread upon a martyr; so here may be said, that almost there is not a town, city, or village in all Asia, Grecia, also in a great part of Europe and Africa, whose streets have not flowed with the blood of the Christians, whom the cruel Turks have murdered. Of whom are to be seen in histories, heaps of soldiers slain, of men and women cut in pieces, of children stuck upon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turks most spitefully (and that in the sight of their parents) used to gore to death; some they drag at their horses' tails, and famish to death; some they tear in pieces, tying their arms and legs to four horses; other some they make marks to shoot at; upon some they try their swords, how deep they can cut and slash, as before ye have read. The aged and feeble they tread under their horses; women with child they spare not, but rip their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yield to them, or yield not, is no matter. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercy in them, but they make havoc of all.

So the citizens of Croja, after they had yielded and were all promised their lives, were all destroyed, and that horribly. In Mysia, after the king had given himself to the Turk's hand, having promise of life, Mahomet the Turk slew him with his own hands. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out with basins red hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turk, having the like assurance of life and safety; and yet, contrary to the league, the citizens were put to the sword and slain. At the winning and yielding of Lesbos, what a number of young men and children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and so thrust through! At the winning of the city of Buda, what tyranny was showed and exercised against the poor Christians, which had yielded themselves, and against the two dukes, Christopher Bisserer and Johannes Tranbinger, contrary to the promise and hand-writing of the Turk, is to be seen in the story of Melchior Soiterus, *De Bello Pannonico*.

The like also is to be read in the story of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who, writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a city in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter of the young men there slain, of old men trodden under the horses' feet, of matrons and virgins ravished, of women with child cut and rent in pieces, of the priests in the churches slain, and of the archbishop of that city, who, being an aged man and holding the cross in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, &c. The same Bernardus also, writing of the overthrow of Negropont, otherwise called Chalcides, A. D. 1471, describeth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised; where the Turk, after his promise given to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be pricked upon sharp stakes; some to be dashed against the hard stones, other some to be cut in sunder in the midst, and other more with other kinds of torments to be put to death; insomuch that all the streets and ways of Chalcides did flow with the blood of them which were there slain. In which history the aforesaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended. The story is told of the prætor's daughter of that city, who being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beauty, was saved out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahomet the Turk, to be his concubine. But she denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filthiness, was commanded therewith to be slain and murdered, and so died she a martyr, keeping both her faith and her body undefiled unto Christ her spouse.

The like cruelty also was showed upon them which kept the castle, and afterward yielding themselves upon hope of the Turk's promise, were slain every one. What should I speak

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of the miserable slaughter of Methone, and the citizens thereof dwelling in Peloponnesus; who, seeing no other remedy but needs to come into the Turk's hands, set the barn on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children? some women also with child voluntarily cast themselves into the sea, rather than they would sustain the Turk's captivity.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe, all the cruel parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreants against the Christians through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especially in Europe. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turk's sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponnesus; besides the island of Rhodes and other islands and Cyclades adjacent to the sea about, numbered to two and fifty; of the which also Patmos was one, where St. John being banished wrote his Revelation? Where did ever the Turks set any foot, but the blood of Christians there, without pity or measure, went to wreck? and what place or province is there almost through the world, where the Turks either have not pierced, or are not likely shortly to enter? In Thrace, and through all the coasts of the Danube, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Servia, Transylvania, Bosnia, in Hungaria, also in Austria, what havoc hath been made by them of Christian men's bodies, it will rue any Christian heart to remember. At the siege of Moldavia, at the winning of Buda, of Pesta, of Alba, of Walpo, Strigonium, Soclosia, Tath, Wizigradum, Novum Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgrade, Varadinum, Quinque Ecclesia; also at the battle of Verna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland, with all his army almost, through the rashness of the pope's cardinal, were slain; at the winning moreover of Xabiacchus, Lyssus, Dynastrum; at the siege of Gunza, and of the faithful town Scorad, where the number of the shot against their walls, at the siege thereof, were reckoned to two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine. Likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the Christian captives were brought before the whole army and slain, and divers drawn in pieces with horses; but especially at the winning of Constantinople, above-mentioned, also at Croja and Methone, what beastly cruelty was showed, it is unspeakable. For as in Constantinople Mahomet the drunken Turk never rose from dinner, but he caused every day, for his disport, three hundred Christian captives of the nobles of that city to be slain before his face; so in Methone, after that his captain Osmares had sent unto him at Constantinople five hundred prisoners of the Christians, the cruel tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided in sunder by the middle, and so being slain, to be thrown out into the fields.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writing of the same story, addeth moreover a prodigious narration (if it be true) of a brute ox, which being in the fields, and seeing the carcasses of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kind and nature; and afterwards, coming to the quarters of one of the dead bodies lying in the field, first took up the one half, and then coming again took up likewise the other half, and so (as he could) joined them both together. Which being espied of them which saw the doing of the brute ox, and marvelling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahomet, he commanded the quarters again to be brought where they were before, to prove whether the beast will come again; who failed not, (as the author recordeth,) but in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead corpse, laid them again together. It followeth more in the author, how that Mahomet, being astonied at the strange wonder of the ox, commanded the quarters of the Christian man's body to be interred, and the ox to be brought to his house, and much made of. Some said it to be the body of a Venetian; some affirmed, that he was an Illyrian; but whatsoever he was, certain it is, that the Turk himself was much more bestial than was the brute ox; which being a beast, showed more sense of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another.

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To this cruelty add moreover, that beside these five hundred Methonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Methone all the townsmen also were slain by the aforesaid captain Omares, and among them their bishop likewise was put to death.

John Faber, in his oration made before King Henry the Eighth, at the appointment of King Ferdinand, and declaring therein the miserable cruelty of the Turks toward all Christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the church, testifieth, how that in Mitylene, in Constantinople, and Trapezunda, what bishops and archbishops or other ecclesiastical and religious persons the Turks could find, they brought them out of the city into the fields, there to be slain like oxen and calves. The same Faber also writing of the battle of Solyman in Hungary, where Ludovicus the king of Hungary was overthrown, declareth, that eight bishops in the same field were slain. And moreover, when the archbishop of Strigon, and Paulus the archbishop of Colossensis, were found dead, Solyman caused them to be taken up, and to be beheaded and chopped in small pieces, A. D. 1526.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turks in Eubœa, where the said Faber testifieth that innumerable people were sticed and gored upon stakes, divers were thrust through with a hot iron, children and infants not yet weaned from the mother were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst?

But never did country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly tyranny of the Turks, then did Rasia, called Mysia inferior, and now Servia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Drechslerus) the prince of the same country being sent for, under fair pretence of words and promises, to come and speak with the Turk, after he was come of his own gentleness, thinking no harm, was apprehended, and wretchedly and falsely put to death, and his skin flayed off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out, &c.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed caitiffs it may seem that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them up to be the butchers of all Christian people, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the name and religion of Christ, that they, degenerating from the nature of men to devils, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blood or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitive age of the church, and in time of Dioclesian and Maximilian; when the devil saw that he could not prevail against the person of Christ which was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his silly servants, thinking by the Roman emperors utterly to extinguish the name and profession of Christ out from the earth; so in this latter age of the world Satan, being let loose again, rageth by the Turks, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he have brought, as he intendeth, the whole church of Christ, with all the professors thereof, under foot. But the Lord, I trust, will send a Constantine to vanquish proud Marentius; Moses, to drown indurate Pharaoh; Cyrus, to subdue the stout Babylonian.

And thus much hitherto touching our Christian brethren which were slain and destroyed by these blasphemous Turks. Now forasmuch as, besides these aforesaid, many other were plucked away violently from their country, from their wives and children. from liberty, and from all their possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme penury, it remaineth likewise to treat somewhat also concerning the cruel manner of the Turks handling of the said Christian captives. And first here is to be noted, that the Turk never cometh into Europe to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his army a great number of brokers or merchants, such as

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buy men and children to sell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great escheats. In the which chains they link them by fifty and sixty together, such as remain undestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoils of them that rob and spoil the Christian countries; which is lawful for any of the Turk's army to do, so that the tenth of their spoil or prey, whatsoever it be, be reserved to the head Turk, that is, to the great master thief.

Of such as remain for tithes, if they be aged, of whom very few be reserved alive, because little profit cometh of that age, they be sold to the use of husbandry or keeping of beasts. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certain places, there to be instructed in their language and arts, as shall be most profitable for their advantage, and such are called in their tongue Sarai: and the first care of the Turks is this, to make them deny the Christian religion, and to be circumcised: and after that they are appointed, every one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their laws, or else to learn the feats of war. Their first rudiment of war is to handle the bow, first beginning with a weak bow, and so as they grow in strength coming to a stronger bow, and if they miss the mark, they are sharply beaten; and their allowance is twopence or threepence a day, till they come and take wages to serve in war. Some are brought up for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizaries, that is, the order of the Turk's champions, which is the most abominable condition of all other. Of these Janizaries, see before. And if any of the aforesaid young men or children shall appear to excel in any beauty, him they so cut, that no part of that which nature giveth to man remaineth to be seen in all his body, whereby, while the freshness of age continueth, he is compelled to serve their abominable abomination; and when age cometh, then they serve instead of eunuchs to wait upon matrons, or to keep horses and mules, or else to be scullions and drudges in their kitchens.

Such as be young maidens and beautiful, are deputed for concubines. They which be of mean beauty serve for matrons to their drudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning and such other labours; but so, that it is not lawful for them either to profess their Christian religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them which fall to the Turk by tithes.

The other which are bought and sold amongst private subjects, first are allured with fair words and promises to take circumcision. Which if they will do, they are more favourably treated; but all hope is taken from them of returning again into their country, which if they attempt, the pain thereof is burning. And if such coming at length to liberty will marry, they may; but then their children remain bond to the lord, for him to sell at his pleasure; and therefore such as are wise amongst them will not marry. They which refuse to be circumcised are miserably handled; for example whereof, the author, which giveth testimony hereof, doth infer his own experience. Such captives as be expert in any manual art or occupation can better shift for themselves; but contrariwise, they which have no handicraft to live upon are in worse case. And therefore such as have been brought up in learning, or be priests or noblemen, and such other whose tender education can abide no hardness, are the least reputed, and most of all other neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth less profit to rise of them than of the other; and therefore no cost of raiment is bestowed upon them, but they are carried about barehead and barefoot, both summer and winter, in frost and snow. And if any faint and be sick in the way, there is no resting for him in any inn, but first he is driven forward with whips, and if that will not serve, he is set, peradventure, upon some horse; or if his weakness be such that he cannot sit, then is he laid athwart the horse upon his belly like a calf; and if he chance to die, they take off his garment such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

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In the way, moreover, beside the common chain which doth enclose them all, the hands also of every one are manacled, which is because they should not harm their leaders, for many times it happened that ten persons had the leading of fifty captives; and when night came their feet also were fettered, so that they lodged in no house, but lay upon the ground all night.

The young women had a little more gentleness showed, being carried in panniers in the day time. But when night came, pity it was to hear the miserable crying out of such as were enclosed within, by reason of the filthy injuries which they suffered by their carriers; insomuch that the young tender age of seven or eight years, as well of the one sex as of the other, could not save them from the most filthy villany of the bestial Turks.

When the morning cometh, they are brought forth to the market to sale, where the buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their garments vieweth all the bones and joints of their body; and if he like them he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miserable servitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to pasture their cattle, or some other strange kind of misery incredible to speak of; insomuch that the author reporteth, that he hath seen himself certain of such Christian captives yoked together like horses and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid servants likewise are kept in perpetual toil and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to have any talk with their fellow servants, &c. Such as are committed to keep beasts, lie abroad day and night in the wild fields, without house and harbour, and so, changing their pasture, go from mountain to mountain; of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beasts, other handy labour is exacted at spare hours, such as pleaseth their masters to put unto them.

Out of this misery there is no way for them to fly, especially for them that are carried into Asia beyond the seas; or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about harvest, when he may hide himself all the day time in the corn, or in woods or marshes, and find food; and in the night only he flieth, and had rather be devoured of wolves and other wild beasts, than to return again to his master. In their flying they use to take with them a hatchet and cords, that when they come to the sea-side they may cut down trees, and bind together the ends of them, and so where the sea of Hellespont is narrowest, about Sestos and Abydos, they take the sea, sitting upon trees, where, if the wind and tide do serve luckily, they may cut over in four or five hours. But the most part either perish in the floods, or are driven back again upon the coasts of Asia, or else be devoured of wild beasts in woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape over the sea alive into Europe, by the way they enter into no town, but wander upon the mountains, following only the north star for their guide.

As touching such towns and provinces which are won by the Turk, and wherein the Christians are suffered to live under tribute; First, all the nobility there they kill and make away, the churchmen and clergy hardly they spare. The churches, with the bells and all the furniture thereof, either they cast down, or else they convert to the use of their own blasphemous religion, leaving to the Christians certain old and blind chapels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repair them again for a great sum of money given to the Turk. Neither be they permitted to use any open preaching or ministration, but only in silence and by stealth to frequent together. Neither is it lawful for any Christian to bear office within the city or province, nor to bear weapon; nor to wear any garment like to the Turks. And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it never so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou bear it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speak one word against their religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumeised; and then if thou speak one word against Mahomet, thy punishment

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is fire and burning. And if it chance a Christian being on horseback to meet or pass by a Mussulman, that is, a Turkish priest, he must light from his horse, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the Mussulman; or if he do not, he is beaten down from his horse with clubs and staves.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gain to the Turk; beside the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for every poll within his family a ducat unto the Turk; which if the parents cannot do, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, go chained in fetters from door to door begging, to make up their payment, or else must lie in perpetual prison.

And yet, notwithstanding, when the Christians have discharged all duties, it remaineth free for the Turks to take up among the Christians' children whom they best like, and them to circumcise, and to take them away, being young, from the sight of their parents to far places, to be brought up for the Turk's wars, so that they may not return to them again; but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their parents; so that if they come again amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolks and parents.

This misery, passing all other miseries, no man is able with tongue to utter, or with words to express. What weeping and tears, with sorrow and lamentation, what groaning, sighs, and deep dolour, doth tear and rend asunder the woeful hearts of the silly parents at the plucking away of their babes and children! To see their sons and their own children, whom they have borne and bred up to the service of Christ Jesus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ! to see their babes, born of Christian blood, of Christians to be made Turks, and so to be plucked out of their arms, and out of their sight, without hope ever to return to them again! to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous Turks, and so become of the number of them which are called fatherless and motherless!

Albeit the same children afterward do greatly degenerate from the faith of Christ, yet very many of them have privily about them the Gospel written of St. John, *In principio erat Verbum, &c.*; which for a token or remembrance of their Christian faith they carry under their arm-hole, written in Greek and Arabic; who greatly desire, and long look for the revenging sword of the Christians to come, and deliver them out of their dolorous thralldom and captivity, according as the Turks themselves have a prophecy, and greatly stand in fear of the same. Whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the chapter following.

And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian brethren under the cruel tyranny and captivity of the Turks, passing all other captivities that ever have been to God's people, either under Pharaoh in Egypt, or under Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, or under Antiochus in the time of the Maccabees. Under the which captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his spouse, the church, to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of our Christian guides and leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our guides and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flock.

And these troubles and afflictions of our Christian brethren suffered by the Turks, I thought good and profitable for our country people here of England to know, forasmuch as by the ignorance of these and such-like histories worthy of consideration, I see much inconvenience doth follow. Whereby it cometh to pass, that because we Englishmen being far off from these

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countries, and little knowing what misery is abroad, are the less moved with zeal and compassion to tender their grievances, and to pray for them whose troubles we know not. Whereupon also it followeth, that we, not considering the miserable state of other, are the less grateful to God, when any tranquillity by him to us is granted. And if any little cloud of perturbation arise upon us, be it never so little, as poverty, loss of living, or a little banishment out of our country for the Lord's cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we go no further than our own country, and only feeling our own cross, do not compare that which we feel with the great crosses whereunto the churches of Christ commonly, in other places abroad, are subject. Which if we did rightly understand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessively forget ourselves in time of our prosperity given us of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled as we are in time of our adversity, and all because either we hear not, or else we ponder not, the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth upon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appear.

The world being divided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, Asia is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the other, and is divided into two portions, the one called Asia Major, the other called Asia Minor. And although the empire of the Turk extendeth unto them both; yet especially his dominion standeth in the other Asia, which is called Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coasts of Europe unto Armenia Major, beyond the river Euphrates.

Æneas Sylvius, otherwise Pope Pius the Second, in describing Asia Minor, chap. lxxiv., reciteth a certain fact of a worthy virgin, who, at what time the Turks were besieging a certain town in Lesbos, and had cast down a great part of the walls, so that all the townsmen had given over, putting on man's harness, stepped forth into the breach, where not only she kept the Turks from entering in, but also slew of them a great sort. The citizens seeing the rare courage and good success of the maiden, took to them again their hearts and harness, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turks were slain. The rest being repulsed from the land recoiled into their ships; who being then pursued by a navy of Calisa were worthily discomfited likewise upon the sea. And thus was the isle of Lesbos at that time, by a poor virgin, that is, by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weak creature, preserved from the Turks.

Beside these regions and countries of Asia Minor, above described, Sebastian Munster, in the fifth book of his *Cosmography*, declareth moreover, that the Turks and sultans have under their subjection, both Arabia, Persia, and also India exterior, wherein is Calcutta. The which Persia, although it be under the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turk, yet it is to be thought that he is a sultan, one of Turkish and Mahometan religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christ's gospel, as may appear by the primitive church. And thus have you the parts of Asia described, which in times past being almost all Christened, do now serve under the Turk.

After the description of Asia, let us next consider the parts and countries of Africa. Where, although the greatest part either consisteth in deserts desolate, or is possessed with Prester John, which professeth Christ and his gospel; yet the Turk hath there also no little portion under his dominion.

As I was writing hereof, a certain sound of lamentable news was brought unto us, how the Turk, whom we had hoped before to have been repulsed by the Emperor Maximilian out of Christendom, hath now of late, this present year, 1566, got the town of Gyula about Transylvania, after they had sustained sixteen of his most forcible assaults, destroying in the

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same most cruelly many thousand of our Christian brethren, men, women, and children; but because we have no full certainty, we will refer the story thereof to further information.

A table describing the times and years of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the story above prefixed.

| | YEARS |
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| A. D. 632. Began the kingdom of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of Mahomet the first ring-leader of the mischief, which Saracens, reigning in Babylon over Persia and Asia, continued about | 198 |
| A. D. 667. Jerusalem was taken of the Saracens. These Saracens, after they had subdued Ormisda, king of Persia, set up to themselves a new kingdom, calling their chief prince, caliph, which signifieth a general lord; and under him, seriphes, that is, an under prince; and again under him their soldan, which is, a ruler or captain; under the which soldans all the provinces were divided. And thus ruled they the space abovesaid of | 198 |
| A. D. 703. The Egyptians, being weary of their subjection under the Romans, called for help of the Saracen caliph; and so casting off the Romans, submitted themselves to the law of the Saracens, and had also their caliph and their Babylon, called Cairo, where their caliph continued unto Saraco, or Syracinus, | 447 |
| A. D. 810. Mauginetus, or Muchumetus, the chief sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbrael, the sultan of Babylon, sent for the aid of the Turks out of Scythia; by whom, when he had got the victory against the Babylonians, the said Turks shortly after conquered the Persians, and subdued their country, within the space of | 20 |
| A. D. 830. The Saracens being expelled out of Asia by the Turks, wandered about Africa, Spain, and Italy, and were in divers places dispersed, and so remain. | |
| A. D. 830. The Turks, after they had ex-pulsed the Saracens out of Asia, began to reign in Asia, in Persia, and in Arabia, and there reigned without interruption, till the coming of the Tartars, the space of | 192 |
| A. D. 1009. The Turks won the city of Jerusalem from the Saracens; which city the sultan of Egypt won again from the Turks shortly after, and possessed the same till the coming of Gotfridus. | |
| A. D. 1051. Began the first king of the Turks, called Zaduke, to reign in Asia, and joined league with the caliph of Egypt, and there reigned till the conquest of Gotfridus and the Christians, the space of | 46 |
| A. D. 1078. Solyman, nephew to Aspasalem the Turkish king in Asia, otherwise called Turquinia, subdued Cappadocia, which had continued now the space of | 500 |

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| <p>A. D. 1099. Gotfridus Bulion, duke of Lotharing, a Christian prince, taking his voyage into Asia with seven hundred thousand Christian soldiers, first got the city of Nicea against the sultan of the Turks; then Lycaonia, Silicia, Syria; afterward Mesopotamia, and Comagena; then Antiochia, A. D. 1098, and the next year recovered Jerusalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, which they a little before had won from the Turks, as is aforesaid. After this Gotfridus succeeded eight Christian kings, which kept the kingdom of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the Turks and Saracens, the space of</p> | <p>88</p> |
| <p>A. D. 1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the Greater, vanquished the Turks out of the kingdom of Persia, after they had cut their king in pieces. Whereby the Turks flying to Cappadocia, there remained under Salomon, and joined themselves to the soldan of Egypt, and waxed then strong in Asia Minor, called now Turquinia.</p> | |
| <p>A. D. 1170. When Almericus, the seventh king of Jerusalem after Gotfridus, had overcome the caliph or sultan of Egypt, the sultan being overcome, called for the help of Saracon the sultan of Syria. This Saracon, after he had expelled the Christians out of Egypt, turned his power against the sultan of Egypt, and vanquished him, took to himself the kingdom of Egypt; which kingdom he with his posterity did hold till the coming of the Tartarians, and the Mamalukes, about the space of</p> | <p>88</p> |
| <p>A. D. 1187. Saladin, the nephew of Saracon the sultan of Egypt, perceiving the dissension among the Christian states of Palestine, got Antioch, where he slew Raymund the prince with his own hands; then got Tiberias: from thence he went to Acre, where he took Guido, king of Jerusalem, and master of the Templars, prisoners; for whose ransom the Turk had Ascalon yielded up to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued Jerusalem, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of</p> | <p>88</p> |
| <p>A. D. 1189. Frederic the emperor, Philip French king, Richard king of England, made their voyage into Asia, where Frederic washing in a river at Cilicia, died. In this voyage, at the siege of Acre, Saladin won the field of our men, of whom two thousand were slain in the chase. Acre at length was got of the Christians. King Richard got Epirus. The two kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vain, and so returning homeward, was taken near to Vienna in Austria, after he had taken truce before with the soldan, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed had the popes, sending out against the Turks.</p> | |
| <p>A. D. 1215. There was another council holden at Rome by Pope Innocent the Third, where was enacted a new article of our faith for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to be turned into the body and blood of our Saviour. In this council also great excitation was made by the pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom to set forward for recovery of the Holy Land. A mighty army was collected of dukes, lords,</p> | |

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| <p>knights, bishops, and prelates, that if God's blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all Asia and India.</p> | |
| <p>A. D. 1219. The Christians after eighteen months' siege got a certain town in Egypt, called Damietta or Elipolis, with much ado, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian army of the pope's sending went about to besiege the city Cairo or Babylon, the sultan, through his subtle train, so entrapped and enclosed them within the danger of the Nile, that they were constrained to render again the city of Damietta with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the soldan's hand, and glad so with their lives to pass forward to Tyrus, A. D. 1221.</p> | |
| <p>In the mean time the Egyptian Turk caused the city of Jerusalem to be razed, that it should serve to no use to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that voyage, it doth not greatly appear in stories. Albeit Frederic the Second, emperor, was not unfruitfully there occupied, and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the bishop of Rome against him; whereby he was enforced to take truce with the sultan for ten years, and so returned. After which things done, not many years after, at length the last city of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolomais or Acre, was also taken from them by the sultan, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all Asia.</p> | |
| <p>A. D. 1230. Thus the Christians being driven out of Asia by the sultans and Turks, yet the said Turks and sultans did not long enjoy their victory. For eftsoons the Lord stirred up against them the Tartarians, who breaking into Asia by the ports of Caspius, subdued divers parts of Asia, namely about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. These Tartarians, as they had got many captives in their wars, so for gain they used to ship them over customably to Alexandria in Egypt to be sold; which servants and captives Melechsala the great sultan was glad to buy to serve him in his wars. Which captains and servants after they had continued a certain space in Egypt, and through their valiant service grew in favour and estimation with the said Melechsala, and began more to increase in number and strength; at length they slew him, and took to themselves the name and kingdom of the sultan. And thus ceased the stock of Saracon and Saladin aforementioned, which continued in Egypt about the space as is said of</p> | <p>100</p> |
| <p>A. D. 1240. After the death of Melechsala, the army of these aforesaid rascals and captives set up to themselves a king of their own company, whom they called Turquemenius. Who, to fill up the number of their company that it should not diminish, devised this order, to get or to buy Christian men's children, taken young from their parents, and the mother's lap; whom they used so to bring up, to make them to deny Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in Mahomet's law, and afterward to be trained in the feats of war; and these were called Mamalukes. Among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be king but out of their own number, or else chosen by them; neither that any should be made knights or horsemen, but only the children of Christians which should deny</p> | <p>260</p> |

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| <p>Christ before, called Mamalukes. Also it was among them provided, that to this dignity neither Saracens nor Jews should be admitted. Item, That the succession thereof should not descend to the children and offspring of these Mamalukes. Also that the succession of the crown should not descend to the children of the aforesaid sultan, but should go by voice and election. The Tartarians, with Turquemenius their king, about this time obtained Turquia, that is Asia Minor, from the Turks, and within two years after, prevailing against the Turks, expelled them from their kingdom; and so continued these Mamalukes reigning over Egypt, and a great part of Asia, till the time of Tomumbeius their last king, which was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Selim the Turk, father to this Solyman, as in his history is declared. These Mamalukes continued the space of</p> | |
| <p>A. D. 1245. These Tartarians ranging through the countries of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as far as Iconium, which was then the imperial city of the Turks.</p> | |
| <p>A. D. 1289. The soldan of Egypt and Babylon got from the Christians, Tripolis, Tyrus, Sidon, and Berithus in Syria.</p> | |
| <p>A. D. 1291. Lastly, Ptolomais, which also is called Acre, was surprised by the said soldan, razed and cast down to the ground, and all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slain. And this was the last city which the Christians had in Asia. So that now the Christians have not one foot (as is said before) left in all Asia. Thus the Egyptian soldans and the Tartarians reigned and ranged over the most part of Asia above the Turks, till the reign of Ottoman the great Turk, about the space of</p> | 80 |

And thus have ye the whole discourse of the Turkish story, with their names, countries, towns, dominions, also with their times, continuance, interruptions, and alterations, in order described, and in years distinguished; which, otherwise, in most authors and writers be so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is between the Saracens, Turks, Tartarians, the sultans or soldans, Mamalukes, or Janizaries; what is their caliph, their seriphes, their sultan or bashaw, in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of years they reigned. All which in this present table manifestly to thine eye may appear.

Wherein this thou hast moreover, gentle reader, to consider, which is worthy the noting, how the bishop of Rome all this season, from the first beginning of the Turk's reign, hath not ceased, from time to time continually, calling upon Christian princes and subjects, to take the cross, and to war against the Turks; whereupon so many great voyages have been made to the Holy Land, and so many battles fought against the Turk and soldan for winning the holy cross; and yet no lucky success hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that bishop hath been attempted against that great enemy of the Lord; insomuch that the Christians have lost not only all that they had in Asia, but also are scarce able to defend that little they have in Europe against his violence. What the cause is of this hard luck of the bishop's doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mind leadeth, and, as the gospel saith, He that hath eyes to see, let him see. This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the bishop of Rome, to stir men up to that business, so on the

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princes' behalf there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expenses, no supportation of charges, no furniture or habiliment of war, only the blessing of God seemeth to have lacked. The reason and cause whereof I would it were so easy to be reformed, as it may be quickly construed. For what man, beholding the life of us Christians, will greatly marvel why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the Turks? And if my verdict might here have place, for me to add my censure, there appeareth to me another cause in this matter, yet greater than this aforesaid; which to make plain and evident in full discourse of words, leisure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the sincere doctrine of Christian faith delivered and left unto us in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the Church of Rome, or if the bishop of Rome would yet reclaim his impure idolatry and profanations, and admit Christ the Lamb of God to stand alone, without our impure additions, to be our only justification, according to the free promise of God's grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this faith, grounding only upon Christ the Son of God, had both framed our lives into a better disposition; and also soon would, or yet will, bring down the pride of that proud Holofernes. But otherwise, if the bishop of Rome will not gently give place to the mild voice of God's word, I think not contrary, but he shall be compelled at last to give place and room to the Turk, whether he will or not. And yet, notwithstanding, when both the Turk and the pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of God's testament shall fructify and increase by such means as the Lord shall work, which beginneth already, praise to the Lord, to come graciously and luckily forward in most places.

A prayer against the Turks.

O eternal Lord God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator and disposer of all things, just, gracious, and wise only; in the name and reverence of thy Son Jesus, we prostrate ourselves, desiring thine omnipotent Majesty to look down upon these afflicted times of thy poor creatures and servants; relieve thy church, increase our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast given thine only begotten Son unto us, promising with him life to all that shall believe upon his name; so incline the obedience of our faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may be far off from all other sinful additions and profane inventions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promise. And grant, we beseech thee, to thy church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set up any other means or help of salvation, but only in him whom thou only hast sent and sealed. Reform thy church with perfect doctrine and faithful teachers, that we, seeing our own weakness, may put off ourselves, and put on him without whom we can do nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in us, but thy Son alone, in whom thou art only pleased. Renew in this thy church again the decayed faith of thy Son Jesus, which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves only, but fruits of Christian life. And forgive our wretched idolatry and blind fantasies past, wherewith we have provoked, manifold ways, thy deserved indignation against us. For our hearts have been full of idols, our temples full of images, our ways full of hypocrisy; thy sacraments profaned, and thy religion turned to superstition; because the lantern of thy word went not before us, therefore we have stumbled. Miserably we have walked hitherto, like sons, not of Sarah, but of Hagar, and therefore these Turkish Hagarenes have risen up against us. Many hard and strait ways we have passed, but the ways of the Lord we have not found. Much cost we have bestowed on bread that assuageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not tasted. We have sailed far and near in barks of our own building, but have not kept within the ark only

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of thy promise, and therefore these floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed temple, and therefore have not been heard. We have ploughed and tilled, but without thy heifer, and therefore this untidy ground of ours bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish apace, and that all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the boat, in our fishing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but because the ground-work is not surely laid upon the rock of thy promise, the east wind riseth and shaketh them all to shivers. We walk and have walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men, having a show of wisdom, but not a holding the Head, where lieth all our strength, and therefore these Philistine Turks have hitherto so prevailed against us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore we beseech thee, O Lord, put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right joint again. And finally, reduce this same thy mystical body again to his perfect and natural Head, which is thine only Son Jesus Christ, and none other; for him only hast thou anointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone; forasmuch as all other heads be sinful, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse than better. Only this thy well-beloved and perfect Son is he, in whom only dwelleth all our strength and fulness; him only we confess and acknowledge. For whom and with whom, we beseech thee, O Lord God of hosts, grant to thy church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turks, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of antichrist, enemies to thy Son Jesus our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and dissolve their kingdom, that the kingdom of thy Son, so long oppressed, may recover and flourish over all; and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced again into the fold of thy salvation, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and most merciful Advocate. Amen.

135. Persecution in England, 1500-1509

In this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath been described the grievous and tedious persecution of the Saracens and Turks against the Christians, thou hast to understand, good reader, and behold the image of a terrible antichrist evidently appearing both by his own doings, and also by the Scriptures, prophesied and declared to us before. Now in comparing the Turk with the pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater antichrist, it were easy to see and judge, that the Turk is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adversary to Christ and his members; or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian blood, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discuss, which do only write the history and the acts of them both. Wherefore, after the story of the Turks thus finished, now to re-enter again there where we left, in describing the domestical troubles and persecutions here at home under the bishop of Rome; after the burning of Babram in Norfolk above declared. I signified also of another certain aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, entitled Polychron, although I find not his name in the said Chronicle expressed, which suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was the year of our Lord 1500.

This aged father, I suppose, is he of whom I find mention made of certain old papers and records of William Cary, citizen, albeit the day of the month doth a little differ, wherein is thus testified, that on the twentieth day of July, A. D. 1500, upon the day of St. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for a heretic; and the same person, upon the tenth day before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the Lollard's Tower, and so falling out of the Tower, did foully hurt himself; whereupon he was carried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the aforesaid papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how in the year above prefixed, which was A. D. 1499, in the time of one Persevel, many were taken for heretics in Kent, and at Paul's Cross they bare faggots and were abjured; and shortly after, the same year, there went thirteen Lollards before the procession in Paul's, and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lad's mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bare faggots on their necks before the procession.

William Tylsworth, martyr.

Forasmuch as the world is come now to such a morosity and peevish insensibility in these contentious and cavilling days of ours, that nothing can be so circumspectly written and storied, but shall lie in danger of one sycophant or another, which never will credit there where they list not to like; neither will they ever like that which seemeth prejudicial to their faction, or not to serve the humour wherewith their fantasies be infected; therefore to stop the mouths of such carping cavillers with as much possibility as I may, be it known to all and singular such persons, who by evidence of truth and witness will be satisfied, that in the town of Amersham be yet alive both men and women, which can and do bear witness of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet alive, witness to the same.

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Also another named Agnes Wetherley, widow, being about the age of a hundred years, yet living and witness hereof; that in the days of King Henry the Seventh, A. D. 1506, in the diocese of Lincoln in Buckinghamshire, (William Smith being bishop of the same diocese,) one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Stanley, about sixty years ago. At which time one Joan Clerke, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father; and at the same time her husband, John Clerke, did penance at her father's burning, and bare a faggot, as did also

Bobert Bartlet.

Richard Bartlet.

John Bartlet.

Thomas Harding, and his wife.

Henry Harding.

Richard Harding.

Robert Harding.

John Milsent, and his wife.

William White.

John Mumbe, and his wife.

Richard Bennet.

Roger Bennet.

John Fip.

William Grinder.

Thomas Homes.

Yomand Dorman.

William Scrivener.

John Scrivener.

Thomas Chase.

John Cracher.

All these bare faggots, and afterward were compelled to wear certain badges, and went abroad to certain towns to do penance, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other towns more. And also divers of these men were afterward burned in the cheek, as William Page, which at this present is alive, and likewise did bear a faggot with the aforesaid. Furthermore, the aforesaid Agnes Wetherley testifieth, that at the burning of this William Tylsworth, sixty and above that were put to bear faggots for their penance, of whom divers were enjoined to bear and wear faggots at Lincoln the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who for his profession sake was put out of his farm and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashryge, where he wore on his right sleeve a square piece of cloth, the space of seven years together.

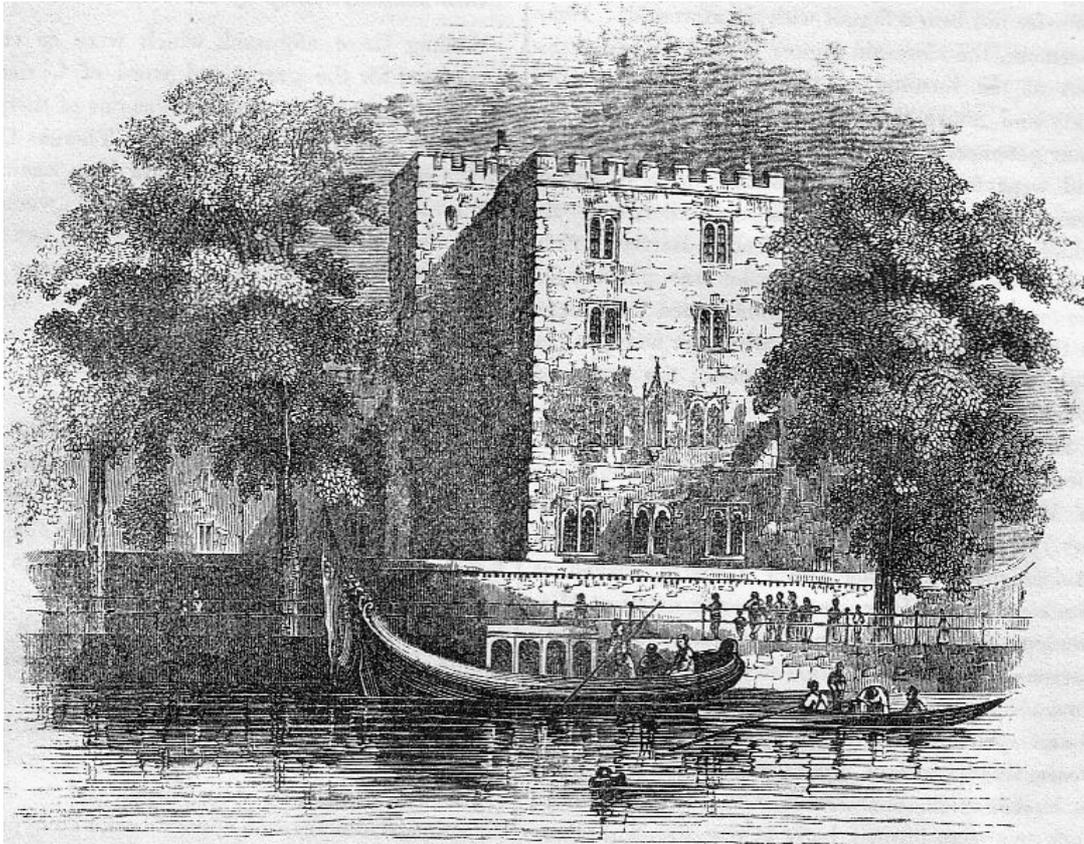
It followeth moreover, in the testimony of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth, (as the Amersham men do say,) or the next day after, as recordeth the aforesaid Agnes, was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelt at Missenden; and at his burning there were about twenty persons that were compelled to bear faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked Pharisees did compel them. After that, by the space of two or three years, was burned at Amersham, Thomas Bernard, a husbandman, and James Mordon, a labourer; they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William

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Littlepage, (who is yet alive,) compelled to be burned in the right cheek, and father Rogers, and father Rever, alias Reive, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the bishop's prison fourteen weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after his coming out of the said prison he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived, as can testify divers honest men that be now living. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek and bare faggots the same time. The cause was, that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the Holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this: their necks were tied fast to a post or stay with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stir, and so the iron, being hot, was put to their cheeks; and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

The cruel handling of Thomas Chase of Amersham, wickedly strangled and martyred in the bishop's prison at Woburn, under William Smith, bishop of Lincoln.

Among these aforesaid, which were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel and word of Christ, one Thomas Chase, of Amersham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled: which Thomas Chase, by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober, and honest behaviour, (whose virtuous doings do yet remain in memory,) and could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and took him, and brought him before the blind bishop, being at that time in Woburn, in the county of Buckingham; and as it is written, Acts xii., that wicked Herod did vex certain of the congregation, and killed James the brother of John with the sword, and because he saw that it pleased the Jews, &c.; he proceeded further, and had this same Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes; but what answer this godly man, Thomas Chase, made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christ's true religion and gospel, and to the extirpation of idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisy, for that the said Thomas Chase was commanded to be put in the bishop's prison, called Little Ease, in the bishop's house at Woburn, which prison had not been ministered unto him had not his answers been sound and upright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chains, gyves, manacles, and irons, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the bishop's alms was daily brought unto him by his chaplains; which alms was nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings, floutings, and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christ's promises, Matt. v., Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; and as followeth, Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you, &c. When the bishop, with his band of shavelings, perceived that by their daily practices of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he did tolerate and bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty ministered unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproar among the people. And as Richard Hun shortly about the year of our Lord 1514, even so these after was hanged or strangled in Lollards' Tower, blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and pressed to death this said Thomas Chase in prison, which most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit, as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in prison.



Lollard's Tower, Lambeth Palace

After that these stinging vipers, being of the wicked brood of antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make to cloak their shameful murder withal: at last, to blind the ignorant, silly people, these bloody butchers most slanderously caused it by their ministers to be bruited abroad, that the aforesaid Thomas Chase had hanged himself in prison; which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the prison was such that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman did declare that saw him dead, insomuch that they confessed that his heart was broken, by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him. And yet these holy catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen: and thus commonly are innocent men laid up by these clerkly clergymen. But He that is effectually true, of himself hath promised, at one time or at another, to clear his true servants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true word. No secret, saith he, is so close, but once shall be opened; neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be known clearly. Such a sweet Lord is God always to those that are his true servants. Blessed be his holy name therefore, for ever and ever. Amen.

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Thomas Harding, being one of this company, thus molested and troubled, as is aforesaid, in the town of Amersham, for the truth of the gospel, after his abjuration and penance done, was again sought for, and brought to the fire, in the days of King Henry the Eighth, and under Dr. Longland, then bishop of Lincoln, succeeding after Cardinal Wolsey; of whose death and martyrdom we shall likewise record, Christ willing and granting, in order, when we shall come to the time and year of his suffering.

After the martyrdom of these two, I read also of one Thomas Norice, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christ's gospel, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March, A. D. 1507.

In the next year following, which was A. D. 1508, in the consistory of London, was convented Elizabeth Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanbury, upon certain articles, and specially for speaking against pilgrimage and adoration of images, as the image of our Lady at Wilsdon, at Staines, at Crome, at Walsingham, and the image of St. Saviour of Bermondsey, and against the sacrament of the altar, and for that she had spoken these or like words; that our Lady of Wilsdon was but a burnt arse elf, and a burnt arse stock; and if she might have holpen men and women which go to her on pilgrimage, she would not have suffered her tail to have been burnt: and what should folk worship our Lady of Wilsdon, or our Lady of Crome? for the one is but a burnt arse stock, and the other is but a puppet: and better it were for the people to give their alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of St. Saviour, Sim Saviour with kit lips; and that she said she could make as good bread as that which the priest occupied, and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heaven and in earth at one time. For these and certain other articles, she was compelled to abjure before Master William Horsey, chancellor, the day and year above written.

Lamentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinite to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all them which have been slain by the rigour of the pope's clergy, for the true maintaining of Christ's cause, and of his sacraments. Whose memory being registered in the book of life, albeit it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the church, I thought it not unprofitable, the suffering and martyrdom of them to be notified, which innocently have given their blood to be shed in Christ's quarrel.

Laurence Ghest.

In the catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memorial of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the days of King Henry the Seventh: he was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise (as appeareth) not unfriended; for the which, the bishop and the close were the more loth to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they, thinking to expugn and persuade his mind, by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his aforesaid seven children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him religion overcoming nature, made his constancy to remain unmovable, in such sort, as when his wife began to exhort and desire him to favour himself, he again desired her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation; and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself to follow Christ. As he was in burning,

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one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face; whereat the brother of Laurence, standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise stayed.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one William Russell, an aged man dwelling of late in Coleman Street, who was there present the same time at the burning of Laurence, and was also himself burned in the cheek, and one of the persecuted flock in those days, whose daughter is yet living: the same is confirmed also with the testimony of one Richard Webb, servant sometime to Master Latimer, who, sojourning in the house of the said William Russell, heard him many times declare the same.

A faithful woman burned.

But amongst all the examples of God, whereof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I cannot tell if ever were any martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman, put to death in Chipping Sudbery, about the same time, under the reign of King Henry the Seventh.

The constancy of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold; so again the example of the bishop's chancellor, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example, which the living God grant they may. Amen. The name of the town where she was martyred was, as is said, Cheaping Sadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the chancellor who condemned her, was called Doctor Whittington. The time of her burning was in the reign and time of King Henry the Seventh, orderly therefore in this place and time to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this present history brought to my hands, and that in such convenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the aforesaid king's reign; so that it may appear to them which behold the opportunity of things, not to be without God's holy will and providence, that this aforesaid example should not lie hid and unremembered, but should come to light and knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

After this godly woman, and manly martyr of Christ, was condemned by the wretched chancellor above-named, Doctor Whittington, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresy, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about, (as the manner is in such times,) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the aforesaid Doctor Whittington the chancellor, there present, to see the execution done. Thus the faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth; committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her conscience clear and unreprouable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the mean time, that as the catholic executioners were busy in slaying this silly lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was as busy within the town slaying of a bull, which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher, (belike not so skilful in his art of killing beasts as the papists be in murdering Christians,) as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else how he smote I know not; this was

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certain, that the bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken down, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the street, the very same time as the people were coming in great press from the burning. Who seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild, (as it was no other like,) gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was. Against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns, and taking him upon the paunch, gored him through and through, and so killed him immediately, carrying his guts, and trailing them with his horns all the street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertain to God's only praise and providence; yet in this so strange and so evident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plain miracle of God's mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty.

Now for the credit of this story, lest I be said upon mine own head to commit to story things rashly, which I cannot justify; therefore, to stop such cavilling mouths, I will discharge myself with authority, I trust, sufficient, that is, with the witness of him which both was a papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the woman, whose name was Rowland Webb; which Rowland, dwelling then in Chipping Sudbery, had a son named Richard Webb, servant sometime to Master Latimer, who also enduring with him in time of his trouble six years together, was himself imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause. Unto the which Richard Webb, being now aged, then young, the aforesaid Rowland his father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of heresy, (as he then called it,) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withal added the story of the bull aforesaid, which he himself did see and testify.

And thus much concerning the state of the church. Wherein is to be understood, what storms and persecutions have been raised up in all quarters against the flock and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home within ourselves, by the bishop of Rome and his retinue. Where also it is to be noted in the days and reign of this King Henry the Seventh, how mightily the working of God's gospel hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women have suffered for the same with us in England, as by these stories above passed may be apparent.

Now these things declared, which to the church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to treat of the state likewise of the commonwealth, which commonly doth follow the state of the church. Where the church is quietly and modestly governed, and the flock of Christ defended by godly princes in peace and safety, from devouring and violence of bloody wolves; the success of civil estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the princes long continue, through God's preservation, in prosperous rest and tranquillity. Contrariwise, where either the church of Christ, through the negligence of princes, or, through their setting on, the poor members of Christ, be persecuted and devoured; shortly after ensueth some just recompence of the Lord upon those princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the commonwealth which they look for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other countries far off, or else of our own country near at home.

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And here not to wander in our story farther than to France only, let us a little behold the example of King Charles the Eighth, who living in this king's time, died also not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philippus Comineus, to be a moderate, valiant, and victorious prince, adorned with many special virtues to a prince appertaining. And yet the same king, because he was slack and remiss in defence of Christ's church, neither did use his authority, nor took his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reform the estate of the bishop and clergy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himself punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appear. For so it is of him recorded, that being marvellously excited and provoked, of his own mind (contrary to the counsel of most of his nobles) he took his journey into Italy, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the year being convenient thereunto. And that this may appear the better to proceed of the Lord's doing, to the intent he would have the Church and clergy of Rome reformed by the prince's sword, which so vexed all Christendom at that time, we shall hear what is testified in the Commentaries of the said Philip Comineus, writing in this wise.

"There was," (saith he,) "in the city of Florence the same time a Dominic Friar, named Hieronymus Savanarola, (of whom mention was made before,) a man of a right godly and approved life; who in the said city of Florence preached and prophesied long before, that the French king should come with an army into Italy, being stirred up of God to suppress the tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the city of Pisa, and the state of Florence should be altered: all which happened true. He affirmed moreover to be signified to him of the Lord, that the ecclesiastical state of the church must be redressed *per vim armorum*, i. e. by the sword, or force of arms. Many things also he prophesied of the Venetians, and of the French king, saying, that the king with some danger and difficulty should pass that journey, yet notwithstanding should overcome it and escape, albeit his strength were never so slender, for God would safely conduct him in that journey, and safely bring him home again. But because he had not done his office, in amending the state of the church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it should come to pass, (saith he,) and that shortly, that some incommodity or detriment should happen to the king; or if he should escape that danger of his sickness and recover health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poor and miserable, God would show mercy unto him," &c. And this the said Hieronymus declared before to Comineus, one of the king's counsellors, which was the writer of the story, and required him to signify the same unto the king, which so did; and he, moreover, himself coming to the presence of the king, declared no less.

All which things, as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the king, being but easily accompanied with a small power, entered into Italy, where first he came to Asta, then to Genoa, and to Pisa, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Petrus Medices, the duke, who had used great tyranny upon the subjects. From thence he removed toward Rome, where a great part of the city wall, at the coming of the French king, fell down.

Afterward, when the king was entered into the city, and the pope (who then took part with Alphonsus, king of Naples, against the French king) had immured himself within the mount of Adrian, the wall of the castle fell down of itself; whereby when the king was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his captains, to invade the pope, and to depose him, and to reform the Church of Rome, which he might then easily have done as it had pleased him, yet all these occasions, offered so opportunely of God, moved not the king to do his duty, and to help the poor church of Christ; wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Naples, either

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the same year, or the next year following, he was stricken with a sudden sickness at Amboise, as he was looking on them that played at tennis, and that in the most stinking place in all the castle, where he fell down and died within twelve hours, according to the forewarning of Hieronymus, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his son's death, and of his own, which was about the year of our Lord 1498.

Like examples we have many here also in this our realm of England. So long as King John kept out of the realm the pope's authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his nobles; but so soon as he brought the realm under tribute and subjection to that foreign bishop, God stirred up his nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble, and soon thereupon decayed.

Of all the kings of England, from William Conqueror to this King Henry the Seventh, were none which either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, than King Henry the Second, King Henry the Third, King Edward the First, King Edward the Third; of whom the first, how stout he was in withstanding Thomas Becket and Pope Alexander the Third, is sufficiently before comprehended.

The second, which was son of King John, albeit, through the wretchedness of that time, his power was not sufficient to repulse the pope's usurped jurisdiction out of the realm, yet his will was good: at last he so defended and provided for his subjects, that they took no great wrong at the pope's hands; who reigned one year longer than Augustus Cæsar, which hath not commonly been seen in any prince.

The third, which was King Edward the First, so vigilantly behaved himself for the public commodity and safety of his people, that he defended them from all foreign power and hostility, both of the Scots, (then our enemies, now our friends,) and also from the bishop of Rome, taking part with them against us, as may appear above. Furthermore, of the same king, and of his worthy nobles and house of parliament, how valiantly they stood in denial of the pope's subsidies, and also how the said king secluded out of his protection the bishops, and especially the Archbishop Pecham, for standing with the pope, read before.

Now as touching King Edward the Third, how little he regarded, how princely he, with his nobles, likewise resisted the pope's reservations and provisions, how he bridled the archbishop, John Stratford, and rejected the vain authority of the bishop of Rome, both in defence of his subjects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the realm of France, read before.

Not that I do here affirm or define, as in a general rule, that worldly success and prosperity of life always follow the godly, which we see rather to be given more often to the wicked sort; but speaking of the duty of princes, I note and observe, by examples of histories, that such princes as have most defended the church of Christ, committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the bishop of Rome, have not lacked at God's hand great blessing and felicity; whereas, contrariwise, they which either themselves have been persecutors of Christ's members, or have not shielded them by their protection from foreign tyranny and injuries, have lacked at God's hand that protection which the other had; as may appear by King Edward the Second, Richard the Third, King Henry the Fourth, King Henry the Fifth, King Henry the Sixth, &c.; who because either negligently they have suffered or cruelly caused such persecuting laws to be made, and so much Christian blood injuriously to be devoured, therefore have they been the less prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or if they

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flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not half the time of the other kings before named.

And therefore, as the state of the commonwealth doth commonly follow the state of the church, as ye heard before; so it had been to be wished, that this King Henry the Seventh, being otherwise a prudent and temperate prince, had not permitted the intemperate rage of the pope's clergy so much to have their wills over the poor flock of Christ, as then they had; according as by these persecutions above mentioned may appear. The which King Henry the Seventh, albeit he had a sufficient continuance, who had now reigned twenty-four years, yet, notwithstanding, here cometh the same thing to be noted, whereof I spake before; that when the church of Christ beginneth to be injured with violence, and to go to wreck through disorder and negligence, the state of the commonwealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and stroke of God's correction. But howsoever this mark is to be taken, thus lieth the story; that after the burning and vexing of these poor servants of Christ above recited, when the persecution began now in the church to be hot, God calleth away the king, the same year above mentioned, which was 1509, after he had reigned the term of twenty-four years. Who, if he had adjoined a little more pitiful respect, in protecting Christ's poor members from the fire of the pope's tyranny, to his other great virtues of singular wisdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; so much had he been comparable with the best of those princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few; but this defect which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily, blessed be the Lord, by his posterity succeeding after him. Of whom in the next volume following, Christ thereunto assisting us, we have to specify more at large.

Among many other things incident in the reign of this King Henry the Seventh, I have overpassed the history of certain godly persons persecuted in the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, as we find them in the registers of the diocese recorded, here following. The year of our Lord 1485, March the ninth amongst divers and sundry other good men in Coventry, these nine hereunder named, were examined before John, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, in St. Michael's church, upon these articles following in order.

"First, John Blomston was openly and publicly infamed, accused, reported, and appeached, that he was a very heretic, because he had preached, taught, holden, and affirmed, that the power attributed to St. Peter in the church of God, by our Saviour Jesus Christ immediately, did not flit or pass from him, to remain with his successors.

"Item, That there was as much virtue in a herb, as in the image of the Virgin Mary.

"Item, That prayer and alms avail not the dead; for incontinent after death he goeth either to heaven or hell, whereupon he concludeth there is no purgatory.

"Item, That it was foolishness to go on pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Doncaster, Walsingham, or of the tower of the city of Coventry; for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire-side in the kitchen, as in the aforesaid places; and as well might a man worship the blessed Virgin when he seeth his mother or sister, as in visiting the images, because they be no more but dead stocks and stones.

"Item, That he said in English, with a frowning countenance, as it appeared, A vengeance on all such whoreson priests, for they have great envy that a poor man should get his living among them.

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"Richard Hegham of the same city was accused, &c., to be a very heretic, because he did hold that a Christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his own works good and ill, and submit him to the mercy of God.

"Item, That it was fondness to worship the images of our Lady of Tower in the aforesaid city, or of other saints, for they are but stocks and stones.

"Item, That if the image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

"Item, That it were better to deal money unto poor folks, than to offer to the image of Christ and other saints; which are but dead stocks and stones.

"Robert Crowther of the same city was accused that he was a heretic, because he did hold, that whoso receiveth the sacrament of the altar in deadly sin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but bread and wine.

"Item, That neither bishop, nor priests or curates of churches, have power in the market of penance to bind and loose.

"Item, That pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Tower is foolishness, for it is but a stock or a stone.

"John Smith was accused to be a very heretic, because he did hold, that every man is bound toknow the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English, if he might for these false priests.

"Item, That whoso believed as the churchmen did believe, believe ill; and that a man had need to frequent the schools a good while, ere that he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

"Item, That no priest hath power to absolve a man, in the market of penance, from his sins.

"Roger Browne, of the same city, was also accused to be a heretic, because he did hold, that no man ought to worship the image of our Lady of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Hales, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatsoever he would ask.

"Item, That he held not up his hands, nor looked up, at the elevation of the eucharist.

"Item, That he promised one to show him certain books of heresy, if he would swear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

"Item, That he did eat flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

"Item, If any man were not shriven in his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confessed, and could not, if he had no more but contrition only, he should pass to joy without purgatory; and if he were confessed of any sin, and were enjoined only to say for penance one Pater-noster, if he thought he should have any punishment in purgatory for that sin, he would never be confessed for any sin.

"Item, Because he said all is lost that is given to priests.

"Item, That there was no purgatory that would pardon all sins, without confession and satisfaction.

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"Thomas Butler, of the same city, was likewise openly accused to be a very heretic, because he did hold, that there were but two ways, that is to say, to heaven and to hell.

"Item, That no faithful man should abide any pain after the death of Christ, for any sin, because Christ died for our sins.

"Item, That there was no purgatory, for every man immediately after death passeth either to heaven or hell.

"Item, That whosoever departeth in the faith of Christ and the church, howsoever he hath lived, shall be saved.

"Item, That prayers and pilgrimages are nothing worth, and avail not to purchase heaven.

"John Falkes was accused to be a very heretic, because he did affirm, that it was a foolish thing to offer to the image of our Lady, saying, Her head hall be hoar or I offer to her; what is it but a block? If it could speak to me, I would give it a halfpenny worth of ale.

"Item, That when the priest carrieth to the sick the body of Christ, why carrieth he not also the blood of Christ?

"Item, That he did eat cow milk upon the first Sunday of Lent.

"Item, That as concerning the sacrament of penance and absolution, no priest hath power to assoil any man from his sins, when he cannot make one hair of his head.

"Item, That the image of our Lady was but a stone or a block.

"Richard Hilmin was accused that he was a very heretic, because he did say and maintain, that it was better to part with money to the poor, than to give tithes to priests, or to offer to the images of our Lady, and that it were better to offer to images made by God, than to the images of God painted.

"Item, That he had the Lord's Prayer, and the salutation of the angel, and the Creed in English, and another book did he see and had, which contained the Epistles and Gospels in English, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be saved.

"Item, That no priest speaketh better in the pulpit than that book.

"Item, That the sacrament of the altar is but bread, and that the priests make it to blind the people.

"Item, That a priest, whilst he is at mass, is a priest; and after one mass done, till the beginning of another mass, he is no more than a layman, and hath no more power than a mere layman."

After they were enforced to recant, they were assoiled and put to penance.

"In the year of our Lord 1488, the third of April, Margaret Goyt, wife of James Goyt, of Ashburn, was brought before the aforesaid John, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, who was there accused that she said, that that which the priests lift over their heads at mass, was not the true and very body of Christ; for if it were so, the priests could not break it so lightly into four parts, and swallow it as they do; for the Lord's body hath flesh and bones, so hath not that which the priests receive.

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"Item, That priests, buying forty cakes for a halfpenny, and showing them to the people, and saying, that of every of them they make the body of Christ, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themselves.

"Item, Seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?"

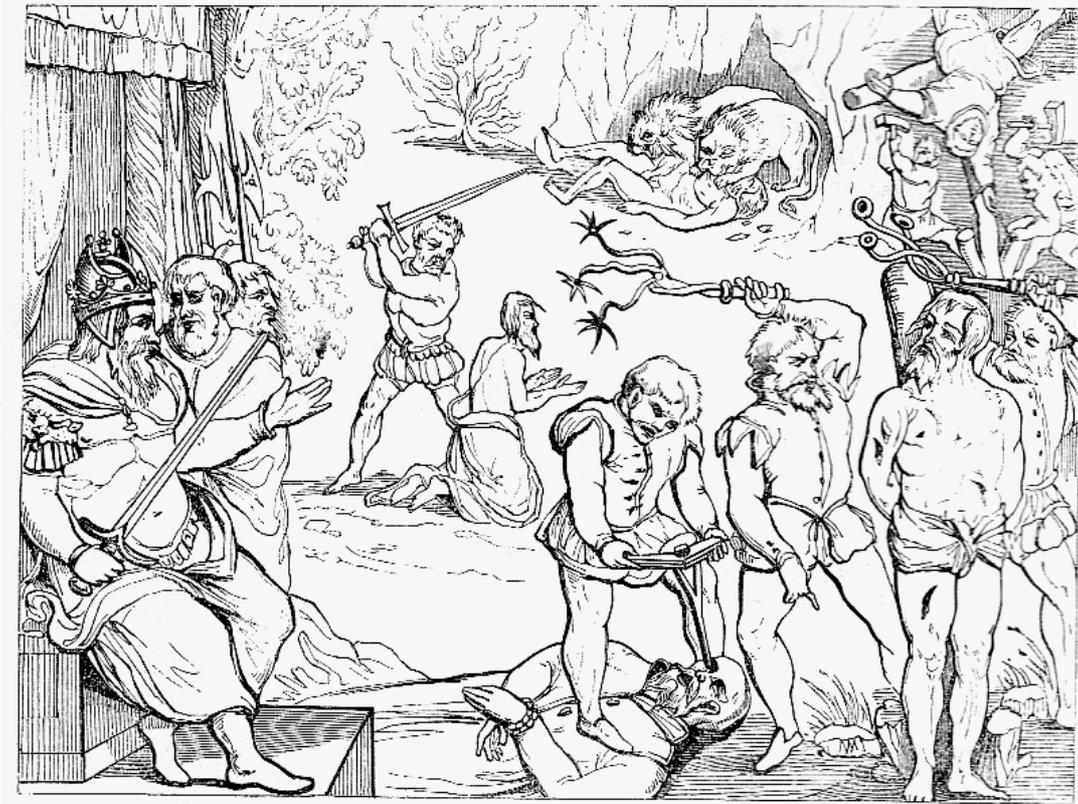
This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was she assoiled and did penance.

Thus much I thought good here to insert, touching these aforesaid men of Coventry, especially for this purpose, because our cavilling adversaries be wont to object against us the newness of Christ's old and ancient religion. To the intent, therefore, they may see this doctrine not to be so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the time and articles here objected against these aforesaid persons, as is above premised.

I should also in the same reign of King Henry the Seventh, have induced that story of Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before. This Picus, earl of Mirandula, being but a young man, was so excellently witted, and so singularly learned in all sciences and in all tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, that coming to Rome booted and spurred, he set up ninety conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendom, whosoever would come against him. Of which conclusions divers were touching the matter of the sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, privily and in corners certain of the pope's clergy, prelates, lawyers, and friars, by the pope appointed, consulted together to inquire upon his conclusions, whereupon they did articulate against him for suspicion of heresy. And thus the unlearned clergy of Rome privily circumvented and entangled this learned earl in their snares of heresy, against whom they durst never openly dispute. He died being of the age of thirty-two years, of such wit and towardness, as is hard to say whether ever Italy bred up a better. In his sickness, Charles the Eighth, then French king, moved with the fame of his learning, came to visit him. The furniture of his books cost him seven thousand florins. A little before his death his mind was to give all away, and to take a cowl, to go about and preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His story requireth a long tractation, which, if place do serve, we will not, peradventure, forget. With two popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander the Sixth, he had much vexation.

The names of the archbishops of Canterbury in this sixth book contained.

| | | |
|----|------------------|----|
| 62 | John Stratford. | 8 |
| 63 | John Kemp. | 3 |
| 64 | Thomas Bouchier. | 33 |
| 65 | John Morton. | 14 |
| 66 | Thomas Langhton. | |
| 67 | Henry Dene. | 2 |
| 68 | William Warham. | 28 |



Various Martyrdoms

136. The Proud Primacy of Popes

The proud primacy of popes described, in order of their rising up by little and little, from faithful bishops and martyrs, to become lords and governors over kings and kingdoms, exalting themselves in the temple of God, above all that is called God, c. 2 Thess. ii.

In the table of the primitive church above described, hath been, gentle reader, set forth and exhibited before thine eyes, the grievous afflictions and sorrowful torments which, through God's secret sufferance, fell upon the true saints and members of Christ's church in that time, especially upon the good bishops, ministers, and teachers of the flock; of whom some were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed; which days of woeful calamity continued (as is fore-shewed) near the space of three hundred years. During which time the dear spouse and elect church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, nor outward safety in this present world, but in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the cross, passed over their days, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reviled, famished, tormented, and martyred every where; who neither durst well tarry at home for fear and dread, and much less durst come abroad for the enemies, but only by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing psalms and hymns together. In all which their dreadful dangers and sorrowful afflictions, notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord left them not desolate, but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound; and the further off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude, to confirm and rejoice their souls. And though their possessions and riches in this world were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heavenly gifts and treasures from above, a hundredfold. Then was true religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianity not in outward appearance showed, but in inward affection received, and the true image of the church not in outward show pretended, but in her perfect state effectual. Then was the name and fear of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent, zeal ardent, prayer not swimming in the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then was no pride in the church, nor leisure to seek riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meet to pray together against the devil, author of all dissension. Briefly, the whole church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the further it was from the type and shape of this world, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of God's favour and supportation.

The first rising of the bishops of Rome.

Constantine the emperor embracing Christian bishops

After this long time of trouble, it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to look upon the saints and servants of his Son, to release their captivity; to release their misery, and to bind up the old dragon the devil, which so long vexed them, whereby the church began to aspire to some more liberty; and the bishops, which before were as objects, utterly contemned of emperors, through the providence of God, (which disposeth all things in his time after his own will,) began now of emperors to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as emperors grew more in devotion, so the bishops more and more were exalted, not only in favour, but also preferred unto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter-masters, but rather half emperors with emperors.

After this, in process of time, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the clergy, and that the devil had poured his venom into the church, (as the voice was heard the same time over Constantinople,) so true humility began to decay, and pride to set in his foot, till at last they played as the ivy doth with the oak tree, which first beginning with a goodly green show, embraceth him so long, till at length it overgroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his root fast in his bark, till at last it both stiflenth the stock, and killeth the branches,

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and so cometh to be a nest for owls and all unclean birds. Not untruly therefore it was said of Augustine, *Religio peperit divitias, et filia devoravit matrem*, that is, Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother. The verity whereof notoriously may appear above all other in the Church of Rome, and the bishops of the same. For after that the Church of Rome, through favour of emperors, was endowed with lands, donations, possessions, and patrimonies, so that the bishops thereof, feeling the smack of wealth, ease, and prosperity, began to swell in pomp and pride; the more they flourished in this world, the more God's Holy Spirit forsook them; till at last the said bishops, who at the first were poor, creeping low upon the ground, and were persecuted a long time, every man treading upon them in this world, now of persecuted people began to be persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of emperors, and to bring the heads of kings and princes under their girdle. And not only that, but, furthermore, through pride and riches, they were so far gone from all religion, that in the very end they became the great adversary of God, (whom we call antichrist,) prophesied of so long before by the Spirit of God to come, sitting in the temple of God, &c. Of whom thus we read in the Epistle of Paul, 2 Thess. ii., where he saith, We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed, even the son of perdition, that adversary which exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the temple of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were God, &c.

By which words of St. Paul, we have divers things to understand: First, that the day of the Lord's coming was not then near at hand. Secondly, the apostle giving us a token before, to know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, to show what adversary this shall be, he expreseth him not to be as a common adversary, such as were then in his time. For although Herod, Annas, and Caiaphas, the high priests and Pharisees, Tertullus, Alexander the coppersmith, Elymas, and Simon Magus, and Nero the emperor, in Paul's time were great adversaries; yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater than all the rest, not such a one as should be like to priest, king, or emperor, but such as far exceeding the state of all kings, priests, and emperors, should be the prince of priests, should make kings to stoop, and should tread upon the neck of emperors, and make them to kiss his feet. Moreover, where the apostle saith, that he shall sit in the temple of God, thereby is meant, not the personal sitting of the pope in the city only of Rome, but the authority and jurisdiction of his see exalted in the whole universal church, equal with God himself. For let men give to the pope that which he in his laws, decrees, and in his pontifical requireth, and what difference is there between God and the pope? If God set laws and ordinances, so doth he. If God have his creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of God's commandments are punished, much more be his. God hath his religion, the pope also hath his, yea, for God's one religion, he hath a hundred. God hath set up an Advocate, he hath a hundred. God hath instituted but a few holy days; for God's one, he hath instituted forty. And if the holy day that God hath appointed be *simplex*, the feast that the pope appointeth is *duplex et triplex*. Christ is the Head of the church; so is the pope. Christ giveth influence to his body; so doth the pope. Christ forgiveth sin; the pope doth no less. Christ expelleth evil spirits by his power; so pretendeth the pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went barefoot upon the bare ground; he with his golden shoes is carried on men's shoulders. And where Christ was called *sanctus sanctorum*; he is called *sanctorum sanctissimus*. Christ never practised but only the spiritual sword; he claimeth both

spiritual and temporal. Christ bought the church; he both buyeth and selleth the church. And if it be necessary to believe Christ to be the Saviour of the world, so it is necessary to believe the pope to be the head of the church. Christ paid tribute unto Cæsar; he maketh Cæsar pay tribute unto him. Finally, the crown of Christ was of sharp thorns; the pope hath three crowns of gold upon his head, so far exceeding Christ the Son of God in glory of this world, as Christ exceedeth him in the glory of heaven. The image and pattern of whose intolerable pride and exaltation, according as St. Paul doth describe him in his Epistle aforesaid, we have here set forth, not only in these tables to be seen, and by his own facts to be noted, but also in his own words and registers, Clementines, Extravagants, and Pontificals expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

The exaltation of popes above kings and emperors, out of histories.



Bishops of Rome advanced by emperors, Constantine, Theodosius, &c

First, after that Italy and the city of Rome were overrun by the Goths and Vandals, so that the seat of the empire was removed to Constantinople, then began John, patriarch of Constantinople, to put forth himself, and would needs be called universal bishop of the world; but the bishop of Rome in no case would suffer that, and stopped it. After this came the

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emperor's deputy, and exarch of Ravenna, to rule Italy; but the bishop of Rome, through aid of the king of Lombards, soon quailed him.

Not long after, about the year of our Lord 500, came Phocas the murderer, who slew the emperor of Constantinople, his master Mauritius, and his children. By which Phocas the bishops of old Rome aspired first to their pre-eminence, to be counted the head bishops over the whole church, and so together with the Lombards began to rule the city of Rome. Afterwards, when the Lombards would not yield unto him in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would needs require of the bishop the said city of Rome; he stirred up Pepin, but first deposed Childeric the king of France, and so thrusting him into an abbey, set up in his place Pepin and his son Charlemagne to put down the said king of Lombards, called Aistulphus. And so he translated the empire from Constantinople into France, dividing the spoil between him and them; so that the kings of France had all the possessions and lands which before belonged to the empire, and he to receive of them the quiet possession of the city of Rome, with such donations and lordships, which now they challenge unto them under the name of St. Peter's patrimony, which they falsely ascribe to that donation of Constantine the Great.

It followeth then in process of time, after the days of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis, (who had endowed these bishops of Rome, called now popes, with large possessions,) when the kings of France were not so appliable to their beck, to aid and maintain them against the princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the said bishops for their wrongful usurped goods, they practised with the Germans to reduce the empire to Otho first of that name, duke of Spain, referring the election thereof to seven princes, electors of Germany, which was about A. D. 1002; notwithstanding, reserving still in his hands the negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietness and security, and so did for a good space.



The Emperor kissing the pope's feet.

At length, when some of these German emperors also after Otho began a little to spurn against the said bishops and popes of Rome, some of them they accursed, some they subdued and brought to the kissing of their feet, some they deposed, and placed other in their possessions.

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So was Henry the Fourth by these bishops accused, the emperor himself forced, with his wife and child, to wait attendance upon the pope's pleasure three days and three nights in winter, at the gates of Canossus. Read before. Besides all this, the said pope raised up Rodolphus to be emperor against him; who, being slain in war, then the said Pope Gregory the Seventh, not resting thus, stirred up his own son, Henry the Fifth, to fight against his own natural father, and to depose him, which Henry the Fifth was also himself afterward accused and excommunicated, and the Saxons at last set up by the bishops to fight against him.



Henry the Fourth, emperor, waiting three days upon Pope Gregory the Seventh.

After this, the emperors began to be somewhat calmed, and more quiet, suffering the bishops to reign as they listed, till Frederic the First, called Barbarossa, came and began to stir coals against them. Howbeit they hampered both him and his son Henry in such sort, that they brought first the neck of Frederic, in the church of Venice, under their feet to tread upon; and after the said bishops, crowning Henry his son in the church of St. Peter, set his crown on his head with their feet, and with their feet spurned it off again, to make him know that the popes of Rome had power both to crown emperors, and depose them again. Whereof read before.



Pope Celestine the Fourth crowning the Emperor Henry the Sixth, with his feet

Then followed Philip, brother to Henry aforesaid, whom also the popes accursed, about the year of our Lord 1198, and set up Otho, duke of Saxony. But when the said Otho began to be so saucy, to dispossess the bishops of their cities and lands which they had encroached into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him beside the cushion. The like also fell upon Otho the Fourth, that followed after Philip, who was suffered no longer than four years to reign, about the year of our Lord 1209.

At this time Frederic the Second, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, above mentioned, was but young, whom the bishops of Rome, supposing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, advanced to be emperor after his father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he, perceiving the immoderate pomp and pride of the Roman bishops, which he could in no case abide, so nettled them and cut their combs, and waxed so stout against them, intending to extirpate their tyranny, and to reduce their pompous riches to the state and condition of the primitive church again, putting some of them to flight, and imprisoning some of their

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cardinals, that of three popes, one after another, he was accursed, circumvented by treason, at last deposed, and after that poisoned, and at last forsaken and died.

After this Frederic followed his son Conrad, whom the aforesaid bishops, for his disobedience, soon despatched, exciting against him in mortal war the landgrave of Thuringia, whereby he was at length driven into his kingdom of Naples, and there deceased.

This Conrad had a son called Conradinus, duke and prince of Suevia. When this Conradinus, after the decease of his father, came to enjoy his kingdom of Naples, the said bishops stirred up against him Charles, the French king's brother, in such sort, that through crafty conveyance, both Conradinus, which descended of the blood of so many emperors, and also Frederic, duke of Austria, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miserable endurance, unseeming to their state, at length were both brought under the axe by the pope's procurement, and so both beheaded. And thus ended the imperial stock of Frederic the First, surnamed Barbarossa.

The like as happened to Frederic the emperor, had almost also fallen upon Philip the French king, by Pope Boniface the Eighth, who, because he could not have his commodities and revenues out of France after his will, sent out his bulls and letters patent to displace King Philip aforesaid, and to possess Albert, king of Romans, in his room.

And thus hitherto in foreign stories. Now touching our country princes here in England, to speak somewhat likewise of them: did not Pope Alexander the Third, presumptuously taking upon him where he had nothing to do, to intermeddle with the king's subjects, for the death of Becket the rebel, albeit the king sufficiently cleared himself thereof, yet, notwithstanding, did he not wrongfully bring the said King Henry the Second to such penance as it pleased him to enjoin, and also violently constrained him to swear obedience to the see of Rome? The like also was showed before in this story to happen to King John his son. For when the said king, like a valiant prince, had held out the tyranny of those bishops seven years together, were not all the churches in England barred up, and his inheritance with all his dominions given away, by Pope Innocent the Third, to Louis the French king, and he afterward compelled to submit both himself, and to make his whole realm feudatory to the bishops of Rome, and moreover the king himself driven also to surrender his crown to Pandulph, the pope's legate, and so continued as a private person five days, standing at the pope's courtesy, whether to receive it again at his hands or no. And when the nobles of the realm rose afterward against the king for the same, was not he then fain to seek and sue to the aforesaid pope for succour, as by his own letter, taken out of the rolls, may appear?

And yet, all this notwithstanding, that the said King John did so yield to the pope, he was both pursued by his nobles, and also in the end was poisoned by a subject of the pope's own religion, a monk of Swinstead; as I have sufficiently to prove, not only by William Caxton, above in my story alleged, but also have testimony of the most part of Chronicles for the same, (a few only excepted,) as of Thomas Gray, in his French Chronicle; also of another French Chronicle in metre; of Ranulphus Cestrensis. Thomas Rudburn also doth witness the same; so doth Richard Bede, in *Novo Chronico ad Tempora Henr. 6.* The like also doth the chronicle called *Eulogium Monachi Cant.* The words of Walter Gisborn, an ancient historiographer, be plain. No less is to be found in Joan. Major. *de Gestis Scotorum, libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56,* where he not only maketh mention of the monk and of the poison, but also of the abbot, of his absolution, and of the three monks every day singing for the said monk's soul. To these I could also annex

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divers other writers both English and Latin, without name, which witness that King John was poisoned; one beginneth thus, "Here beginneth a book in the English tongue, called Brute," &c. Another beginneth, "Because this book is made to tell what time any thing notable," &c. The third in English beginneth, "The reign of Britain that now is called England," &c. Of Latin books which have no name, one beginneth thus, *Britannia, quæ et Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen est sortita*, &c.; another hath this beginning, *Adam pater generis humani*, &c.

Besides this King Henry the Second, and King John his son, what kings have here reigned in England since their time, until the reign of King Henry the Eighth; who although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in providing against the proud domination of these bishops, yet were forced at length, sore against their wills, for fear, to subject themselves, together with their subjects, under their usurped authority, insomuch as some of them (as Matthew Paris writeth by King Henry the Third) were fain to stoop and kiss their legate's knee.

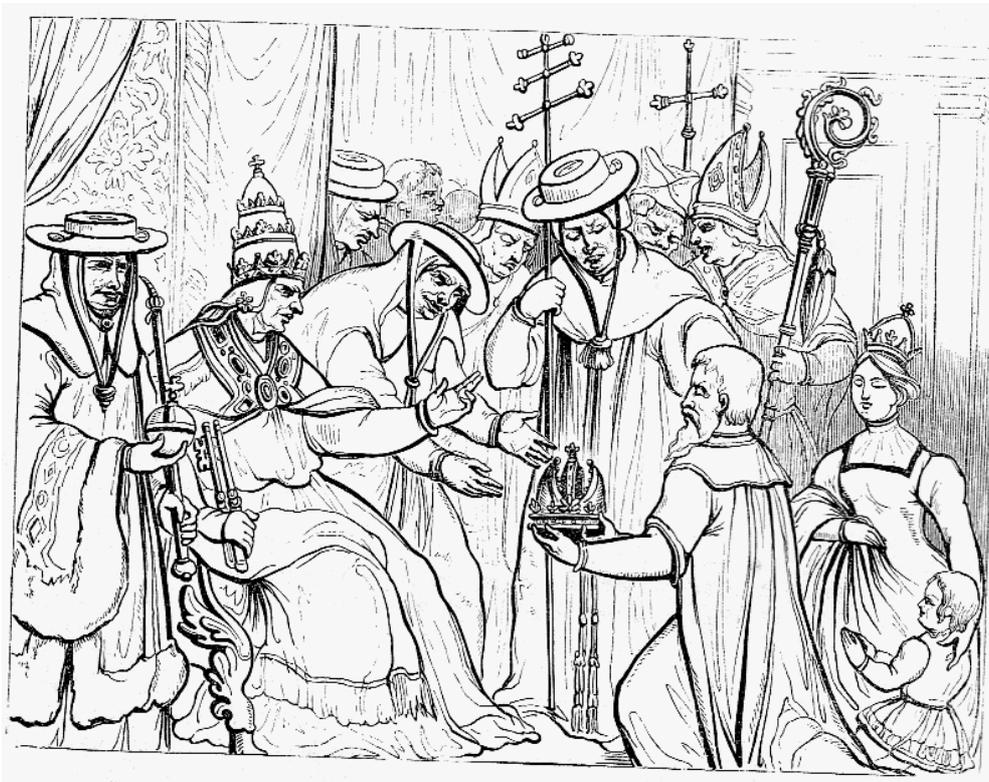


King Henry the Second kissing the knee of the pope's legate coming into England

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King John offering his crown to Pandulph the pope's legate



Henry the Fourth, emperor, surrendering his crown to the pope

The image of antichrist, exalting himself in the temple of God, above all that is named God, out of his men Decrees, Decretals, Extravagants, Pontificals, &c., word for word, as it is out of the said books here alleged and quoted.



ORASMUCH as it standeth upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject unto me the pope of Rome, it shall be therefore requisite and necessary for all men that will be saved, to learn and know the dignity of my see and excellency of my domination, as here is set forth according to the truth and very words of mine own laws, in style as followeth. First, my institution began in the Old Testament, and was consummate and finished in the New; in that my priesthood was prefigured by Aaron, and other bishops under me were prefigured by the sons of Aaron, that were under him. Neither is it to be thought that my Church of Rome hath been preferred by any general council, but obtained the primacy only by the voice of the gospel, and the mouth of the Saviour. And hath in it neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such like thing. Wherefore as other seats be all inferior to me, and as they cannot absolve me; so have they no power to bind me or to stand against me, no more than the axe hath power to stand or presume above him that heweth with it, or the saw to presume above him that ruleth it. This is the holy and apostolic mother church of all other churches of Christ. From whose rules it is not meet that any person or persons should decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the will of his Father, so must you do the will of your mother the church, the head whereof is the Church of Rome. And if any other person or persons shall err from the said church, either let them be admonished, or else their names taken, to be known who they be that swerve from the customs of Rome. Thus then forasmuch as the holy Church of Rome, whereof I am governor, is set up to the whole world for a glass or example, reason would, what thing soever the said church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be received of all men for a general and a perpetual rule for ever. Whereupon we see it now verified in this church, that was foreprophesied by Jeremy, saying, Behold, I have set thee up over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant, &c. Whoso understandeth not the prerogative of this my priesthood, let him look up to the firmament, where he may see two great lights, the sun and the moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night; so in the firmament of the universal church God hath set two great dignities, the authority of the pope, and of the emperor. Of the which two, this our dignity is so much more weightier, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for kings of the earth, and the laws of men. Wherefore be it known to you emperors, which know it also right well, that you depend upon the judgment of us; we must not be brought and reduced to your will. For, (as I said,) look what difference there is betwixt the sun and the moon, so great is the power of the pope ruling over the day, that is, over the spirituality, above emperors and kings ruling over the night, that is, over the laity. Now seeing then the earth is seven times bigger than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth; it followeth, that the pope's dignity fifty-six times doth surmount the estate of the emperor's. Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce, that Constantine the emperor did naught setting the patriarch of Constantinople at ins feet on his left hand. And although the said emperor wrote to me, alleging the words of St. Peter, commanding us to submit ourselves to every human creature, as to kings, dukes, and other, for the cause of God, &c., I Pet. ii., yet in answering again in my decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of St. Peter to

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pertain to his subjects, and not his successors, willing the said emperor to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of Peter had been there to debase the order of priesthood, and to make us underlings to every human creature, then every Jack might have dominion over prelates, which maketh against the example of Christ, setting up the order of priesthood to bear dominion-over kings, according to the saying of Jeremiah, Behold, I have set thee up over kings and nations, &c. And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto Constantine, so now I say to all other emperors, that they, receiving of me their approbation, unction, consecration, and crown imperial, must not disdain to submit their heads under me, and swear unto me their allegiance. For so you read in the decree of Pope John, how that princes heretofore have been wont to bow and submit their heads unto bishops, and not to proceed in judgment against the heads of bishops. If this reverence and submission was wont to be given to bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me, being superior, not only to kings, but emperors! and that for two causes: first, for my title of succession, that I, pope of Rome, have to the empire, the room standing vacant; also for the fulness of power that Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in the person of Peter. By reason whereof, seeing my power is not of man, but of God, who by his celestial providence hath set me over his whole universal church, master and governor, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortal sin of every Christian man; whereby all criminal offences, as well of kings as all other, be subject to my censure, in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of person at any time, either before the sentence given, or after, shall appeal to me, it shall be lawful for him so to do. Neither must kings and princes think it much to submit themselves to my judgment; for so did Valentinian, the worthy emperor, so did Theodosius, and also Charles. Thus you see, all must be judged by me, and I of no man. Yea, and though I, pope of Rome, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable or hurtful, either to myself or others; yea, if I should draw with me innumerable souls by heaps to hell, yet may no mortal man be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous to reprove me, or to say to me, Sir, why do you so? For although you read that Balaam was rebuked of his ass, by the which ass our subjects, by Balaam we prelates, are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. And though we read in the Scripture, that Peter, who received power of the kingdom, and being chief of the apostles might by virtue of his office control all other, was content to come and give answer before his inferiors, objecting to him his going to the Gentiles; yet other inferiors must not learn by this example to be checkmate with their prelates, because that Peter so took it at their hands, showing thereby rather a dispensation of humility, than the power of his office; by the which power, he might have said to them again in this wise, It becometh not sheep, nor belongeth to their office, to accuse their shepherd. For else why was Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedon? not for any cause of his faith, but only for that he durst stand against Pope Leo, and durst excommunicate the bishop of Rome; for who is he that hath authority to accuse the seat of St. Peter? Albeit, I am not ignorant what St. Jerome writeth, that Paul would not have reprehended Peter, unless he had thought himself equal unto him. Yet Jerome must thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equality betwixt Peter and Paul consisteth not in like office of dignity, but in pureness of conversation. For who gave Paul his licence to preach but Peter, and that by the authority of God, saying, Separate to me Paul and Barnabas, &c. Wherefore be it known to all men, that my Church of Rome is prince and head of all nations; the mother of the faith, the foundation cardinal, whereupon all churches do depend as the door doth depend by the hinges; the first of all other seats, without all spot or blemish; lady, mistress, and instructor of all churches; a glass and a spectacle unto all men, to be

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followed in all whatsoever she observeth; which was never found yet to slide or decline from the path of apostolic tradition, or to be entangled with any newness of heresy. Against which Church of Rome, whosoever speaketh any evil, is forthwith a heretic; yea, a very pagan, a witch, an idolater or infidel; having fulness of power only in her own hands in ruling, deciding, absolving, condemning, casting out, or receiving in; albeit I deny not but other churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying. To the which Church of Rome it is lawful to appeal for remedy, from all other churches. Although it was otherwise concluded in the general council of Millevitane, that no man should appeal over the sea under pain of excommunication, yet my gloss cometh in here with an exception, Except the appeal be to the see of Rome, &c. By the authority of which Church of Rome all synods and decrees of councils stand confirmed. And hath always full authority in her hands to make new laws and decreements; and to alter statutes, privileges, rights, or documents of churches; to separate things joined, and to join things separated upon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally or generally. Of the which Church of Rome I am head, as a king is over his judges; the vicar of St. Peter; yea, not the vicar of Peter properly, but the vicar of Christ properly, and successor of Peter; vicar of Jesus Christ, rector of the universal church, director of the Lord's universal flock; chief magistrate of the whole world; *cephas*, i. e. *caput*, the head and chief of the apostolic church; universal pope, and diocesan in all places exempt, as well as every bishop is in places not exempt; most mighty priest; *lex animata in terris*, i. e. a living law in the earth, judged to have all laws in the chest of my breast; bearing the room of no pure man, being neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing betwixt both; having both swords in my power, both of the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; so far surmounting the authority of the emperor, that I of mine own power alone, without a council, have authority to depose him, or to transfer his kingdom, and to give a new election, as I did to Frederic and divers other. What power then or potentate in all the world is comparable to me, who have authority to bind and loose both in heaven and earth? that is, who have power both of heavenly things, and also of temporal things; to whom emperors and kings be more inferior, than lead is inferior to gold. For do you not see the necks of great kings and princes bend under our knees, yea, and think themselves happy and well defenced, if they may kiss our hands? Wherefore the sauciness of Honorius the emperor is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who with his laity would take upon him to intermeddle, not only with the temporal order, but also with matters ecclesiastical, and election of the pope. But here perchance some will object the examples and words of Christ, saying, That his kingdom is not of this world; and where he, being required to divide betwixt two brethren their heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power. For if Peter, and I in Peter, if we, I say, have power to bind and loose in heaven, how much more then is it to be thought, that we have power in earth to loose and to take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where we will? And if we have authority over angels, which be the governors of princes, what then may we do upon their inferiors and servants! And for that you shall not marvel that I say angels be subject to us, you shall hear what my blessed clerk Antoninus writeth of the matter, saying, that our power, of Peter and me, is greater than the angels in four things; 1. In jurisdiction, 2. In administration of sacraments, 3. In knowledge, 4. And in reward, &c. And again, in Bulla Clementis, do I not there command in my bull the angels of paradise, to absolve the soul of man out of purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of paradise? And now, besides my heavenly power, to speak of mine earthly jurisdiction, who did first translate the empire from the Greeks to the AImains, but I? And not only in the empire am I emperor, the place being empty, but in all ecclesiastical

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benefices have full right and power to give, to translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement. Did not I, Zacharias, put down Childeric the old king of France, and set up Pepin? Did not I, Gregory the Seventh, set up Robert Wysard, and make him king of Silieia, and duke of Capua? &c. Did not I, the same Gregory, also set up Rodulph against Henry the Fourth, emperor? And though this Henry was an emperor of most stout courage, who stood sixty-two times in open field against his enemies, yet did not I, Gregory, bring him *coram nobis*, and made him stand at my gate three days and three nights bare-foot and bare-leg, with his wife and child, in the deep of winter, both in frost and snow, entreating for his absolution, and after did excommunicate him again; so that he was twice excommunicated in my days? Again, did not I, Paschal, after Gregory, set up the son of the said Henry against his father in war, to possess the empire, and to put down his father, and so he did? Item, did not I, Pope Alexander, bring under Henry the Second, king of England, for the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to go barefoot to his tomb at Canterbury with bleeding feet? Did not I, Innocent the Third, cause King John to kneel down at the feet of Pandulph my legate, and offer up his crown to his hands; also to kiss the feet of Stephen Langton, bishop of Canterbury, and besides merced him in a thousand marks by year? Did not I, Urban the Second, put down Earl Hugo, in Italy, discharging his subjects from their oath and obedience to him? Did not I, Paschal, excommunicate also his son Henry the Fifth, and get out of his hands all his right and title of elections and donations of spiritual promotions? Did not I, Gelasius the Second, bring the captain of Cintius under, unto the kissing of my feet? And after Gelasius, did not I, Calixtus the Second, quail the aforesaid Emperor Henry the Fifth, and also bring in subjection Gregory, whom the said emperor had set up against me to be pope, bringing him into Rome upon a camel, his face to the tail, making him to hold the tail in his hand instead of a bridle? Further, did not I, Innocent the Second, set up and make Lotharius to be emperor for driving out Pope Anacletus out of Rome? Did not I, the said Innocent, take the dukedom of Sicily from the empire, and make Roger to be king thereof, whereby afterward the kingdom became the patrimony of St. Peter? Did not I, Alexander the Third, suspend all the realm and churches of England for the king's marriage? A. D. 1159. But what do I speak of kings? did not the said Alexander bring the valiant Emperor Frederic the First to Venice, by reason of his son Otho, there taken prisoner, and there in St. Mark's church made him fall down flat upon the ground while I set my foot upon his neck, saying the verse of the Psalm, *Super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis?* &c.



Frederic the First, emperor, corrected for holding Pope Adrian's stirrup on the wrong side

Did not I, Adrian, pope, an Englishman born, excommunicate William, king of Sicily, and refuse his peace, which he offered? and had not he overcome me in plain field, I would have shaken him out of his kingdom of Sicily, and dukedom of Apulia. Also, did not I, the said Adrian, control and correct the aforesaid Frederic, emperor, for holding the left stirrup of my horse, when he should have holden the right? and afterward did not I excommunicate and curse him, for that he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? And although a poor fly afterward overcame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoop. Did not I, Innocent the Third, eject Philip, brother to Frederic, from the imperial crown, being elected without my leave, and after set him up again? and also set up Otho of Brunswick, and after did excommunicate and also depose the same four years, setting up the French king to war against him. Then was Frederic the Second set up by me, and reigned thirty-seven years; and yet, five years before he died, did not I, Honorius, interdict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? Whom also Gregory the Ninth did excommunicate twice together, and raised the Venetians against him. And at length Innocent spoiled him of his empire; after that he caused him to be poisoned, at length to be strangled by one Manfred, and did excommunicate his son Conrad after him, not only depriving him of his right inheritance, but also caused him, with Frederic duke of Austria, to be beheaded. Thus then did not I excommunicate and depose all these emperors in order? Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, Frederic the First, Philip, Otho the Fourth, Frederic the Second, and Conrad his son? Did not I interdict King Henry the Eighth, and all his kingdom of England? And had not his prudence and power prevented my practice, I had displaced him from his kingdom also. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of my power and of my seat? For by me only, general councils take their force and confirmation, and the interpretation of the said councils, and of all other causes hard and doubtful, ought to be referred and stand to my determination. By me the works of all writers, whatsoever they be,

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either be reprov'd or allow'd: then how much more ought my writings and decrees to be preferred before all other! Insomuch that my letters and epistles decretal be equivalent with general councils? and whereas God hath ordain'd all causes of men to be judg'd by men, he hath only reserv'd me, that is, the pope of Rome, without all question of men, unto his own judgment. And therefore, where all other creatures be under their judge, only I, which in earth am the judge of all, can be judg'd of none, neither of emperor, nor the whole clergy, nor of kings, nor of the people. For who hath power to judge upon his judge. This judge am I, and that alone, without any other assistance of any council join'd to me. For I have power upon councils; councils have no power upon me. But if the council determine amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I wish without any council. And all for the pre-eminence of my predecessor, blessed St. Peter, which by the voice of the Lord he received, and ever shall retain. Furthermore, and whereas all other sentences and judgments, both of councils, person or persons, may and ought to be examined, for that they may be corrupted four ways, by fear, by gifts, by hatred, by favour, only my sentence and judgment must stand, as given out of heaven by the mouth of Peter himself, which no man must break nor retract, no man must dispute or doubt of. Yea, if my judgment, statute, or yoke, seem scarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of St. Peter it must be humbly obeyed. Yea, and moreover obedience is to be given, not only to such decrees set forth by me in time of my popedom, but also to such as I do foresee and commit to writing before I be pope. And although it be thought by some writers, to be given to all men to err, and to be deceiv'd, yet neither am I a pure man. And again, the sentence of my apostolic seat is always conceiv'd with such moderation, is concoct and digested with such patience and ripeness, and deliver'd out with such gravity of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessary to be alter'd or detract'd; wherefore it is manifest, and testified by the voice of holy bishops, that the dignity of this my seat is to be reverenc'd through the whole world, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it as to the head of the whole body. Whereof it is spoken to me by the prophet, speaking of the ark; If this be humbled, whither shall you run for succour, and where shall your glory become? Seeing then this is so, that so holy bishops and Scriptures do witness with me, what shall we say then to such as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute of me, to whom all other are subject? Against the first sort the Scripture speaketh, Deut. Thou oughtest not to put thy scythe into another man's corn; which thing to attempt against me, what is it but plain sacrilege? According to my canonists, which thus define sacrilege to consist in three things; either when a man judgeth of his prince's judgment; or when the holy day is profan'd; or when reverence is not given to laws and canons. Against the second sort maketh the place of the Book of Kings, where we read the ark of God was brought from Gaba to Jerusalem, and in the way the ark inclining by reason of the unruly oxen, Ozias the Levite put to his hand to help, and therefore was stricken of the Lord. By the ark is signified the prelates; by the inclination thereof, the fall of prelates; which also be signified by the angels that Jacob did see going up and coming down the ladder; also by the prophet, where he saith, He bowed down the heavens and came down, &c. By Ozias, and by the unruly oxen, are meant our subjects. Then like as Ozias was stricken for putting his hand to the ark inclining, no more must subjects rebuke their prelates going awry. Albeit, here may be answer'd again, that all be not prelates which so be call'd; for it is not the name that maketh a bishop, but his life. Against the third sort, of such as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular men, maketh the New Testament, where Peter was bid to give the groat in the fish's mouth, but not the head nor the body of the fish; no more is the head or body of the church subdued to kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the external things of the

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church. And yet not they neither; for so we read in the Book of Genesis, that Pharaoh in time of dearth subdued all the land of the Egyptians, but yet he ministered to the priests, so that he took neither their possessions from them, nor their liberty. If then prelates of the church must be neither judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the same, which am the bishop of bishops, and head of prelates for it is not to be thought that the case betwixt me and other prelates, betwixt my see and other churches, be like. Although the whole catholic and apostolic church make one bride chamber of Christ; yet the catholic and apostolic Church of Rome had the pre-eminence given over all other by the mouth of the Lord himself, saying to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c. Thus a discretion and difference must be had in the church as it was betwixt Aaron and his children; betwixt the seventy-two disciples and the twelve apostles; betwixt the other apostles and Peter; wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of degrees in the church betwixt powers superior and inferior; without which order, the universality of the whole cannot consist. For as amongst the angelical creatures above in heaven there is set a difference and inequality of powers and orders, some be angels, some archangels, some cherubims and seraphims; so in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church militant in the earth, priests must not be equal with bishops, bishops must not be like in order with archbishops, with patriarchs, or primates, who contain under them three archbishops, as a king containeth three dukes under him. In the which number of patriarchs cometh in the state also of cardinals or principals, so called, because as the door turneth by his hinges, so the universal church ought to be ruled by them. The next and highest order above these is mine, which am pope, differing in power and majority, and honour reverential, from these and all other degrees of men. For the better declaration whereof, my canonists make three kinds of power in earth; *Immediata*, which is mine immediately from God; *Derivata*, which belongeth to other inferior prelates from me; *Ministralis*, belonging to emperors and princes to minister for me. For the which cause the anointing of princes and my consecration doth differ; for they are anointed only in the arms or shoulders, and I in the head, to signify the difference of power betwixt princes and me. This order therefore of priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and other, as a thing most convenient, my Church of Rome hath set and instituted through all churches, following therein, not only the example of the angelical army in heaven, but also of the apostles. For amongst them also there was not a uniform equality or institution of one degree, but a diversity or distinction of authority and power. Albeit they were all apostles together, yet it was granted notwithstanding to Peter, themselves also agreeing to the same, that he should bear dominion and superiority over all the other apostles. And therefore he had his name given him Cephas, that is, head or beginning of the apostlehood, whereupon the order of priesthood first in the New Testament began in Peter, to whom it was said, Thou art Peter, and upon thee I will build my church, And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And thou being converted, confirm thy brethren. I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail. Wherefore seeing such power is given to Peter, and to me in Peter, being his successor, who is he then in all the world that ought not to be subject to my decrees, which have such power in heaven, in hell, in earth, with the quick and also the dead? commanding and granting in my bull of lead sent to Vienna, unto all such as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the pain of hell should not touch them: and also that all such as took the holy cross upon them should every one, at his request, not only be delivered himself, but also deliver three or four souls whomsoever he would, out of purgatory. Again, having such promise and assurance that my faith shall not fail, who then will not believe my doctrine? For did not Christ himself first pray for Peter that his faith should not fail? Also have I not a sure promise of Paul's own mouth, writing to my church by these

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words; God is my witness whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers? Rom. i. Wherefore as I condemn all such worthily, which will not obey my decrees, to be dispossessed of all their honour without restitution. So all they that believe not my doctrine, or stand against the privilege of the church, especially the Church of Rome, I pronounce them heretics. And as the other before is to be called unjust, so this man is to be called a heretic. For why, he goeth against the faith which goeth against her who is the mother of faith. But here may rise perchance a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continual prayer of St. Paul; whether is it true, or is it to be granted that any other should excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of Holy Scripture? For look whose knowledge is grounded on most reason, his words would seem to be of more authority. Whereunto I answer and grant, that many there be, and have been, more abundantly endued with fuller grace of the Holy Ghost and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of Augustine, Jerome, and others ought to be preferred before the constitutions of divers popes; yet I say in determination of causes, because they have not the virtue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they stand inferior to my authority. By virtue of which authority, both they themselves be allowed for doctors, and their works approved, and also all other matters be ruled, through the power of the keys which is given to me immediately of Christ. Although I deny not but the same keys be also committed to other prelates, as they were to other apostles besides Peter, yet it is one thing to have the keys, another thing to have the use of the keys. Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of keys, after the mind of my school doctors: one key which is called *clavis ordinis*, having authority to bind and loose, but not over the persons whom they bind and loose; and this authority they take not immediately of Christ, but mediately by me the vicar of Christ. The other key is called *clavis jurisdictionis*, which I, the vicar of Christ, take immediately of him, having not only authority to bind and loose, but also dominion over them on whom this key is exercised. By the jurisdiction of which key the fulness of my power is so great, that whereas all other are subjects, yea, and emperors themselves ought to subdue their executions to me; only I am subject to no creature; no, not to myself, except I list *in foro pœnitentiæ* to my ghostly father submitting myself as a sinner, but not as pope. So that my papal Majesty ever remaineth unpunished; superior to all men, whom all persons ought to obey, and follow; whom no man must judge nor accuse of any crime, either of murder, adultery, simony, or such-like; no man depose, but I myself. No man can excommunicate me, yea, though I communicate with the excommunicate, for no canon bindeth me. Whom no man must lie to; for he that lieth to me is a church robber; and who obeyeth not me is a heretic, and an excommunicate person. For like as all the Jews were commanded to obey the high priest of the Levitical order, of what state or condition soever they were; so are all Christian men more and less bound to obey me, Christ's lieutenant in earth. Concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom ye have in Dent. xvii., where the common gloss saith, that he who denieth to the high priest *obedientiam*, lieth under the sentence of condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his *omnipotentiam*. Thus then it appeareth, that the greatness of my priesthood, begun in Melchisedec, was solemnized in Aaron, continued in the children of Aaron, perfected in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the universal jurisdiction, and manifested in Silvester, &c. So that through this pre-eminence of my priesthood, having all things subject to me, it may seem well verified in me that was spoken of Christ, Psal. viii., Thou hast subdued all things under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all cattle of the field, the birds of heaven, and fish of the sea, &c. Where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Jews

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and heretics, by cattle of the field, pagans, be signified. For although as yet they be out of the use of my keys of binding and loosing, yet they be not out of the jurisdiction of my keys, but if they return I may absolve them. By sheep and all cattle, are meant all Christian men both great and less, whether they be emperors, princes, prelates, or other. By birds of the air you may understand the angels and potentates of heaven, who be all subject to me, in that I am greater than the angels; and that in four things, as is before declared; and have power to bind and loose in heaven, and to give heaven to them that fight in my wars. Lastly, by the fishes of the sea, are signified the souls departed in pain, or in purgatory, as Gregory by his prayer delivered the soul of Trajanus out of hell, and I have power to deliver out of purgatory whom I please. Lastly, by the fishes of the sea are signified such as be in purgatory; insomuch that they stand in need and necessity of other men's help, and yet be in their journey, passengers, and belonging to the court of the pope; therefore they may be relieved out of the storehouse of the church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as some do object that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was said to Peter, Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth; and therefore seeing they are not upon earth, they cannot be loosed of me: here I answer again by my doctors, that this word, upon the earth, may be referred two manner of ways; first to him that is the looser, so that he which shall loose shall be upon the earth; and so I grant that the pope being dead can loose no man. Also it maybe referred to him that is loosed, so that whosoever is loosed must be upon the earth, or about the earth; and so the souls in purgatory may be loosed, which albeit they are not upon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at least they be not in heaven. And because oftentimes one question may rise upon another, and the heads of men now-a-days are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliver out of purgatory, will ask here a question, Whether I be able also to empty all purgatory at once, or not? To whom my canonist, August. de Ancho., doth answer by a triple distinction: *Quantum ad absolutam meam jurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem*. First, touching my absolute jurisdiction, he saith, I am able to rid out all purgatory together, for as many as be under my jurisdiction, as all be, except only infants unbaptized, in limbo, and men departed only with the baptism of the Spirit, and such as have no friends to do for them that wherefore pardons be given; these only excepted. For all other besides, the pope, he saith, hath power to release all purgatory at once, as touching his absolute jurisdiction. Albeit Thomas Aquinas, part 4, denieth the same, forasmuch as Christ himself, he saith, when he came down, did not utterly at once release all purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution, they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly, as concerning the Divine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they say) is unknown unto them, and to every creature, yea, and to the pope himself.



The order of the pope's riding, the emperor holding his bridle, and kings going before him.



The pope carried on men's shoulders, the emperor and king going before him.

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And to the intent I would all men to see and understand that I lack not witnesses more besides these, if I list to bring them out, you shall hear the whole choir of my divine clergy brought out, with a full voice, testifying in my behalf in their books, tractations, distinctions, titles, glosses, and summaries, as by their own words here followeth. The pope (say they) being the vicar of Jesus Christ through the whole world, in the stead of the living God, hath that dominion and lordship which Christ here in earth would not have, although he had it *in habitu*, but gave it to Peter *in actu*, that is, the universal jurisdiction both of spiritual things, and also of temporal, which double jurisdiction was signified in the two swords in the gospel, and also by the offering of the wise men, who offered not only incense, but also gold, to signify not only the spiritual dominion, but also the temporal, to belong to Christ and to his vicar. For as we read, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; as Christ saith, All power is given to him both in heaven and earth: so it is to be affirmed inclusive, that the vicar of Christ hath power on things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; which he took immediately of Christ; all other take it immediately by Peter and the pope. Wherefore such as say that the pope hath dominion only on spiritual things in the world, and not of temporal, may be likened to the counsellors of the kings of Syria, 1 Kings xx., which said, That the gods of the mountains be their gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let us fight against them in the low meadows, and in valleys, where they have no power, and so we shall prevail over them. So evil counsellors now-a-days, through their pestiferous flattery, deceive kings and princes of the earth, saying, Popes and prelates be gods of mountains, that is, of spiritual things only, but they be not gods of valleys, that is, they have no dominion over temporal things; and therefore let us fight with them in the valleys, that is, in the power of the temporal possessions, and so we shall prevail over them. But what saith the sentence of God to them, let us hear. Because, saith he, the Syrians say that the god of mountains is their god, and not the god of valleys, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the majesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord; of the Lord, I say, and of no man? For whereas Constantine the emperor gave to Silvester, endowing him with this possession and patrimony; that is so to be expounded and taken, not so much for a donation, as to be counted for a restitution made of that which tyrannously was taken from him before. And again, whereas I have given at sundry times to Louis and other emperors, of my temporal lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognising of homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to emperors no due obedience that they can claim; but they owe to me as to their superior. And, therefore, for a diversity betwixt their degree and mine, in their consecration, they take the unction on their arm, I on the head. And as I am superior to them, so am I superior to all laws, and free from all constitutions. Which am able of myself, and by my interpretation, to prefer equity not being written before the law written; having all laws within the chest of my breast, as is aforesaid. And whatsoever this my see shall enact, approve, or disprove, all men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting, or retracting. Such is the privilege given of Christ, in the behalf of Peter, to the Church of Rome, that what country soever, kingdom, or province, choosing to themselves bishops and ministers, although they agree with all other Christ's faithful people in the name of Jesus, that is, in faith and charity, believing in the same God, and in Christ his true Son, and in the Holy Ghost, having also the same creed, the same evangelists and Scriptures of the apostles; yet, notwithstanding, unless their bishops and ministers take their origin and ordination from this apostolic seat, they are to be counted not of the church. So that succession of faith only is not

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sufficient to make a church, except the ministers take their ordination by them which have their succession from the apostles. So their faith, supremacy, the chair of Peter, keys of heaven, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the Church of Rome; so that it is to be presumed, that God always providing, and St. Peter helping the bishopric and diocese of Rome, it shall never fall from the faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed, that the bishop of that church is always good and holy. Yea, and though he be not always good, or be destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of St. Peter, predecessor of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his posterity. Yea, though he fall into homicide or adultery, he may sin, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the murders of Samson, the thefts of the Hebrews, the adultery of Jacob. And likewise, if any of his clergy should be found embracing a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to bless her. Furthermore, the pope (say they) hath all the dignities, and all power of all patriarchs. In his primacy, he is Abel; in government, the ark of Noah; in patriarchdom, Abraham; in order, Melchisedec; in dignity, Aaron; in authority, Moses; in seat judicial, Samuel; in zeal, Elijah; in meekness, David; in power, Peter; in unction, Christ. (Nay, thou art antichrist.) My power (they say) is greater than all the saints. For whom I confirm, no man may infirm: I may favour and spare whom I please, to take from one and to give to another. And if I be enemy to any man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid them so to do. All the earth is my diocese, and I the ordinary of all men, having the authority of the King of all kings upon subjects. I am all in all, and above all; so that God himself, and I the vicar of God, have both one consistory, and I am able to do almost all that God can do, *Clave non errante*.

Item, it is said of me, that I have a heavenly arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, and of nothing to make things to be; and of a sentence that is nothing to make it stand in effect; in all things that I list, my will to stand for reason. For I am able by the law to dispense above the law, and of wrong to make justice, in correcting laws and changing them. You have heard hitherto sufficiently out of my doctors. Now you shall hear greater things out of mine own decrees. Read there Dist. 96. Satis. Also 12. Cans. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus. Also 12. q. 1. cap. Futuram. Do you not find there expressed, how Constantine the emperor, sitting in the general council of Nice, called us prelates of the church, all gods? Again, read my canon Decretal De transl. Episc. cap. Quanto. Do you not see there manifestly expressed, how not man, but God alone, separateth that which the bishop of Rome doth dissolve and separate? Wherefore, if those things that I do be said to be done not of man, but of God, what can you make me but God? Again, if prelates of the church be called and counted of Constantine for gods, I then, being above all prelates, seem by this reason to be above all gods. Wherefore no marvel, if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate laws, to dispense with all things, yea, with the precepts of Christ. For where Christ biddeth Peter put up his sword, monishing his disciples not to use any outward force in revenging themselves, do not I, Pope Nicolaus, writing to the bishops of France, exhort them to draw out their material swords in pursuing their enemies, and recovering their possessions, setting against the precept of Christ, the prophet saying, *Dissolve colligationes impietatis, &c.*? Item, where Christ was present himself at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, do not I, Pope Martinus, in my Distinction inhibit the spiritual clergy to be present at marriage feasts, and also to marry themselves? Item, where matrimony by Christ cannot be loosed but only for whoredom, do not I, Pope Gregory, Junior, writing ad Bonifacium, permit the same to be broken for impotency or infirmity of body? Item, against the express caution of the Gospel, doth not Innocent the Fourth permit *vim vi repellere*? Likewise

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against the Old Testament I do dispense in not giving tithes. Item, against the New Testament, in swearing, and that in these six causes: *Pax, fama, fides, reverentia, cautio damni, defectus veri, poscunt sibi magna caveri.*

Wherein two kinds of oaths are to be noted. Whereof some be *promissoria*, some be *assertoria*, &c. Item, in vows, and that *ex toto voto*, whereas other prelates cannot dispense *ex toto a voto*, I can deliver *ex toto a voto*, like God himself. Item, in perjury, if I absolve my absolution standeth; where also note, that in all swearing always the authority of the superior is excepted. Moreover, where Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gain, do not I, Pope Martin, give dispensation for the same? and notwithstanding the council of Turin enacted the contrary, yet with two bulls I disannulled that decreement. What should I speak of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to slay them that be excommunicated. Likewise, against the law of nature. Item, against the apostle. Also, against the canons of the apostles I can and do dispense. For where they in their canon command a priest for fornication to be deposed, I through the authority of Silvester do alter the rigour of that constitution, considering the minds and bodies also of men to be weaker than they were then. Briefly, against the universal state of the church I have dispensation, *scilicet quando status ecclesiae non decoloratur*. And for marriage in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity, between the brethren's children, although not *inæquali linea*, so that the uncle may not marry his niece, unless for an urgent and weighty cause. As for all such contracts betwixt party and party, where that matrimony is not yet consummated by carnal copulation, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withal. *In summa*, if ye list briefly to hear the whole number of all such cases as properly do appertain to my papal dispensation, which come to the number of one and fifty points, that no man may meddle withal, but only I myself alone, I will recite them in English, as they be set forth in my canonical doctors.

Cases papal, to the number of one and fifty, wherein the pope hath power only to dispense, and none else besides, except by special licence from him.

- First, determination of doubts and questions belonging to faith.
- Translation of a bishop elect, or confirmed: likewise of abbots exempted.
- Deposition of bishops.
- The taking of resignation of bishops.
- Exemptions of bishops, not to be under archbishops.
- Restitution of such as be deposed from their order.
- The judicial definition, or interpretation of his own privileges.
- Changing of bishoprics, or dismissal of convents, &c.
- New correction of bishops' seats, or institution of new religions.
- Subjection or division of one bishopric under another.
- Dispensation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.
- Dispensation for the vow of chastity, or of religion, or of holy orders.
- Dispensation against a lawful oath, or vow made.
- Dispensation against divers irregularities, as in crimes greater than adultery, and in such as be suspended for simony.
- Dispensation in receiving into orders him that had two wives.
- Dispensing with such as being within orders do that which is above their order, as if a deacon should say mass, being not yet priest.
- To receive into order such as be blemished or maimed in body.

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- Dispensation with murder, or with such as willingly cut off any member of man's body.
- Dispensation to give orders to such as have been under the sentence of the greater curse or excommunication.
- Dispensation with such as being suspended with the greater curse do minister in any holy order.
- Dispensation with such as be unlawfully born to receive orders or benefices.
- Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.
- Dispensation to make a man bishop before he be thirty years old.
- Dispensation to give orders under age.
- The pope only hath power to make and call a general council.
- The pope only hath power to deprive an ecclesiastical person, and give away his benefice being not vacant.
- The pope alone is able to absolve him that is excommunicate by name.
- The pope only is able to absolve him whom his legate doth excommunicate.
- The pope both judgeth in the causes of them that appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none may appeal from him.
- Only he hath authority to make deacon, and priest, whom he made subdeacon, either upon Sundays, or upon other feasts.
- Only the pope, and none else, at all times, and in all places, weareth the pall.
- The pope only dispenseth with a man, either being not within orders, or being unworthy to be made bishop.
- He only either confirmeth or deposeth the emperor when he is chosen.
- A man being excommunicated, and his absolution referred to the pope, none may absolve that man but the pope alone.
- The same hath authority in any election, before it be made, to pronounce it none, when it is made.
- He doth canonize saints, and none else but he.
- Dispensation to have many dignities and personages in one church, and without charge and cure of soul, belongeth only to the pope.
- To make that effectual which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongeth only to the pope.
- To pluck a monk out of his cloister both against his own will and the abbot's, pertaineth only to the pope.
- His sentence maketh a law.
- The same day in which the pope is consecrate, he may give orders.
- He dispenseth in degrees in consanguinity and affinity.
- He is able to abolish laws, quoad utrumque forum, that is, both civil and canon, where danger is of the soul.
- It is in his dispensation to give general indulgences to certain places or persons.
- Item, to legitimate what persons soever he please, as touching spiritualties; in all places, as touching temporalties, as honours, inheritance, &c.
- To erect new religions, to approve or reprove rules, or ordinances, and ceremonies in the church.
- He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the church.
- Item, to dispense and to discharge any subject from the bond of allegiance, or oath made to any manner of person.

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No man may accuse him of any crime, except of heresy, and that neither, except he be incorrigible.

The same is also free from all laws, so that he cannot incur into any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularity, or into the penalty of any crime, but in the note of crime he may well.

Finally, he by his dispensation may grant, yea, to a simple priest, to minister the sacrament of confirmation to infants; also to give lower orders, and to hallow churches and virgins, &c.

These be the cases wherein I only have power to dispense, and no man else, neither bishop, nor metropolitan, nor legate, without a licence from me.

After that I have now sufficiently declared my power in earth, in heaven, and in purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulness thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and undoing, &c., I will treat now a little of my riches likewise, and great possessions, that every man may see by my wealth and abundance of all things, rents, tithes, tributes, my silks, my purple, mitres, crowns, gold, silver, pearls and gems, lands and lordships, how God here prospereth and magnifieth his vicar on the earth. For to me pertaineth first the imperial city of Rome; the palace of Lateran, the kingdom of Sicily is proper to me; Apulia and Cappua be mine. Also the kingdom of England and Ireland, be they not, or ought they not to be, tributaries to me? To these I adjoin also, besides other provinces and countries, both in the occident and orient, from the north to the south, these dominions by name: as Surrianum, Montembordon, et Lunæ insulam, Corsicæ regnum, Parvam Mantuam, Montemselete, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Histriæ, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennæ, Faventiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Tiberiatum, Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capiniæ seu Olympicum, Castrum exforii, Robin, Eugubin, Urbin, forum Sempronii, Galli, et Senogalli, Anconam, Cosam, Ducatum Perusii, Urbenetam, et Tudertum, Castrum, Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Selernum, Sorenti insulam, Cardinam insulam, Anciciæ insulam, Territorium Cutisan, Territorium prænestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, Terram fundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianan, Terram Camisinam, Terram Fabinensem, Terram Siram, Terram portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinensem, Civitatem Lamentum, et Sufforariam, Civitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim, with divers other more, which Constantine the emperor gave unto me, not that they were not mine before he did give them; for in that I took them of him, I took them not in gift (as is before mentioned) but as a restitution; and that I rendered them again to Otho, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace sake. What should I speak here of my daily revenues, of my first-fruits, annats, palls, indulgences, bulls, confessionals, indults and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, privileges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such-like, which come to no small mass of money! Insomuch, that for one pall to the archbishop of Mentz, which was wont to be given for ten thousand florins, now it is grown to twenty-seven thousand florins, which I received of Jacobus the archbishop, not long before Basil council: besides the fruits of other bishoprics in Germany, coming to the number of fifty, whereby what vantage cometh unto my coffers, it may partly be conjectured. But what should I speak of Germany, when the whole world is my diocese, as my canonists do say, and all men are bound to believe, except they will imagine, as the Manichees do, two beginnings, which is false and heretical; for Moses saith, In the beginning God made heaven and earth, and not in

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the beginnings. Wherefore as I begun, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject to me.

137. Martin Luther — Introduction



Portrait of Martin Luther

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Here beginneth the Reformation of the church of Christ, in the time of Martin Luther.



Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with tongue or pen of man, into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter days; yet partly by the reading of these stories afore past, some intelligence may be given to them which have judgment to mark, or eyes to see, in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned, during the space of these four hundred years heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayest understand, gentle reader, how the religion of Christ, which only consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholly turned into outward observations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many saints we had, so many gods; so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages; as many churches, as many relics forged and feigned we had again, so many lying miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones: in place of Christ immortal, we adored mortal bread: instead of his blood, we worshipped the blood of ducks. How the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. 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 Paul, the Master of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was less known; and as the end of the law was unknown, so the difference between the gospel and the law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended: through the ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world as with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel; for where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this: The promise of God in the blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising life unto all that believe in him: giving (saith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us: and that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christ's sake; and not conditionally for our merit's sake.

Furthermore, freely (saith the Scripture) by grace, that the promise might be firm and sure; and not by the works that we do, which always are doubtful. By grace (saith the Scripture) through promise to all and upon all that believe; and not by the law, upon them that do deserve. For if it come by deserving, then is it not of grace: if it be not of grace, then is it not of promise, and contrariwise, if it be of grace and promise, then is it not of works, saith St. Paul. Upon this foundation of God's free promise and grace first builded the patriarchs, kings, and prophets: upon this same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church: upon the which foundation the apostles likewise builded the church apostolical or catholical.

This apostolical and catholic foundation so long as the church did retain, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the apostles' time. But after, in process of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the church, so soon as this foundation began to be lost, came in new builders, which would build upon a new foundation a new church more glorious, which we call now the Church of Rome; who, being not contented with the old foundation, and the Head-cornerstone, which the Lord by his word had laid, in place thereof they laid the groundwork upon the condition and strength of the law and works. Although it is not to be denied, but 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 of all men; yet is it not that foundation whereupon our salvation consisteth: neither is that foundation able to bear up the weight of the

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kingdom of heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the foundation; which foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of St. Paul, saying, "No man can lay any other foundation beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus," &c.

But this ancient foundation, with the old ancient church of Christ, as I said, hath been now of long time forsaken; and instead thereof, a new church with a new foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's promise, and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon merits and deserts of men's working. And hereof have they planted all these their new devices, so infinite, that they cannot well be numbered; as masses-trecenaries, dirges, obsequies, matins, and hours-singing-service, vigils, midnight-rising, bare-foot-going, fish-tasting, Lent-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 chastity, wilful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgencies, penance, and satisfaction, with auricular confession, founding of abbeys, building of chapels, giving to churches: 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 to note, that as this new-found Church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, so no less was it corrupted in order of life and deep hypocrisy, doing all things only under pretences and dissembled titles. So, under the pretence of Peter's chair, they exercised a majesty above emperors and kings. Under the visor of their vowed chastity, reigned adultery; under the yoke of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporalty; under the title of being dead unto the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world; under the colour 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 loosed what them listed. And finally, when they had brought the whole world under their subjections, yet did their pride neither cease to ascend, neither could their avarice be ever satisfied. And if the example of Cardinal Wolsey and other cardinals and popes cannot satisfy thee, I beseech thee, gentle reader! turn over the aforesaid book of "the Ploughman's Tale" in Chaucer, above-mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their demeanour than I have here described.

In these so blind and miserable corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good reader! I doubt not, how necessary it was, and high time, that reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work, through the merciful and no less needful providence of Almighty God; who, although he suffered his church to wander and start aside, through the seduction of pride and prosperity a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodness to respect his people, and to reduce his church into the pristine foundation and frame again, from whence it was piteously decayed. Whereof I have now consequently to treat; 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 by little and little unto this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

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And herein we have first to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For as the first decay and ruin of the church before began of 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, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Huss and Jerome. Printing being opened, incontinently ministered unto the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge; which were good books and authors which before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God; which stirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment: by which light darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth from error, religion from superstition, to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the invention of printing.

Furthermore, after these wits stirred up of God, other more, increasing daily more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge; who now were able not only to discern in matters of judgment, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter also with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbarity; of verity against error; of true religion against superstition. In number of whom, against many other here unnamed, were Picus, and Franciscus Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Franciscus Petrarcha, Doctor de Wesalia, Revelinus, Grocinus, Doctor Colet, Rhenamus, Erasmus, &c. And here began the first push and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the pope's pretended church; who, after that, by their learned writings and laborious travail, they had opened a window of light unto the world, and had made, as it were, a way more ready for others to come after; immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with other after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of his church, as by their acts and proceedings hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) more amply to be declared.

And now coming to the time and story of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint to be the principal organ and minister under him, to reform religion; to subvert the see of the pope; first, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, to infer such prophecies and forewarnings as were sent before of God, by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, which foretold and prophesied of this reformation of the church to come.

Prophecies going before Martin Luther.

And first to begin with the prophecy of John Huss and Jerome, it is both notable, and also before mentioned, what the said John Huss, at the time of his burning, prophesied unto his enemies, saying: That after "a hundred years come and gone, they should give account to God and to him." Where is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415, (in the which year John Huss was burned,) or from the year 1416, (when Jerome did suffer,) unto the year 1516, (when Martin Luther began first to write,) we shall find the number of a hundred years expired.

Likewise to this may be adjoined the prophetic vision or dream, which chanced to the said John Huss, lying in the dungeon of the Friars in Constance, a little before he was burned. His dream, as he himself reporteth it in his epistles writing to Master John Clum, and as I have

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also before recorded the same, so will I now repeat the same again, in like effect of words as he wrote it himself in Latin, the effect of which Latin is this:

"I pray you expound to me the dream which I had this night. I saw that in my church at Bethlehem (whereof I was parson) they desired and laboured to abolish all the images of Christ, and did abolish them. I, the next day following, rose up, and saw many other painters, who painted both the same, and many more images, and more fair, which I was glad to behold. Whereupon the painters, with the great multitude of the people, said, Now let the bishops and priests come, and put us out these images if they can. Which thing done, much people rejoiced in Bethlehem, and I with them. And rising up, I felt myself to laugh."

This dream Master John of Clum first expounded. Then he, in the next epistle after, expounded it himself to this effect:

"The commandment of God standing, that we must observe no dreams, yet, notwithstanding, I trust that the life of Christ was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his word, in the hearts of men; the which preaching they went about in Bethlehem to destroy, first, in commanding that no preaching should be, neither in the church of Bethlehem, nor in the chapels thereby: secondly, that the church of Bethlehem should be thrown down to the ground. The same life of Christ shall be painted up again by more preachers much better than I, and after a much more better sort, so that a great number of people shall rejoice thereat; all such as love the life of Christ: and also I shall rejoice myself, at what time I shall awake, that is, when I shall rise again from the dead."

Also in his forty-eighth epistle he seemeth to have a like prophetic meaning, where he saith; that he trusted that those things, which he spake then within the house, should afterwards be preached above on the house-top, &c.

And because we are here in hand with the prophecies of John Huss, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain treatise, *De Sacerdotum et Monachorum carnalium abominatione*, thus prophesying of the reformation of the church.

"The church," he saith, "cannot be reduced to his former dignity, and reformed, before all things first be made new (the truth whereof appeareth by the temple of Solomon); as well the clergy and priests, as also the people and laity. Or else, except all such as now be addicted to avarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and renewed, as well the people as the clerks and priests, things cannot be reformed. Albeit, as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new clerks and priests shall come forth and be taken, who all shall hate covetousness and glory of this life, labouring to a heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding, all these things shall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth, and will do, of his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his patience and sufferance, giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lain in their sins, to amend and flee from the face of the Lord's fury, until at length all shall suffer together, and until both the carnal people, and priests, and clerks, in

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process and order of time, shall fall away and be consumed, as is the cloth consumed and eaten of the moth," &c.

With this prophecy of John Huss above-mentioned, speaking of the hundred years, accordeth also the testimony of Jerome, his fellow martyr, in these words: "And I cite you all to answer before the most high and just Judge, after a hundred years."

This Jerome was burnt, A.D. 1416; and Luther began to write, A.D. 1516, which was just a hundred years, according to the right account of Jerome's prophecy.

Philip Melancthon, in his Apology, testifieth of one John Hilton, a monk in Thuringia, who, for speaking against certain abuses of the place and order where he lived, was cast into prison. At length being weak and feeble through imprisonment, he sent for the warden of the convent, desiring and beseeching him to have some respect of his woeful state and pitiful case. The warden rebuking and accusing him for what he had done and spoken; he answered again and said, That he had spoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their monkery, or against their religion: but there should come one, (and assigned the year 1516,) who should utterly subvert all monkery, and they should never be able to resist him, &c.

Long it were to induce here all prophecies that be read in histories: certain I mind briefly to touch and pass over. And first to omit the revelations of Briget, (whereunto I do not much attribute,) who, prophesying of the destruction of Rome, Book iv. cap. 17, saith:

"Rome shall be scoured and purged with three things — with sword, fire, and the plough. Resembling, moreover, the said Church of Rome to a plant removed out of the old place into a new: also to a body condemned by a judge to have the skin flayed off; the blood to be drawn from the flesh; the flesh to be cut out in pieces; and the bones thereof to be broken; and all the marrow to be squeezed out from the same; so that no part thereof remain whole and perfect," &c.

But to these speculations of Briget I give no great respect, as neither I do to the predictions of Katharine de Senis.

And yet, notwithstanding, Antoninus, writing of the same Katharine in his third part, reciteth her words thus (prophesying of the reformation of the church) to Friar Reymund, her ghostly father:

"By these tribulations," saith she "God, after a secret manner unknown to man, shall purge his holy church; and after those things shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, and such a renovation of the holy pastors, that only the cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirit to rejoice in the Lord. And, as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse, which is now all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches and brooches; and all the faithful shall be glad and rejoiced to see themselves so beautified with so holy pastors. Yea, and also the infidels, then allured by the sweet savour of Christ, shall return to the catholic fold, and be converted to the true Bishop and Shepherd of their souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give a great calm." &c.

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Of the authority of this prophetess I have not to affirm or judge, but rather to hear what the catholic judges will say of this their own saint and prophet. For if they do not credit her spirit of prophecy, why then do they authorize her for a pure saint among the sisters of dear St. Dominic? If they warrant her prophecy, let them say then, When was this glorious reformation of the church ever true, or like to be true, if it be not true now, in this marvellous alteration of the church in these our latter days? or when was there any such conversion of Christian people in all countries ever heard of, since the apostles' time, as hath been since the preaching of Martin Luther?

Of Hieronimus Savonarola I wrote before, showing that he prophesied, that one should pass over the Alps, like to Cyrus, who should subvert and destroy all Italy: which may well be applied to God's word, and the gospel of Christ, spreading now abroad since Luther's time.

Theodoric, bishop of Croatia, lived near about the time when Huss and Jerome were martyred; who, in the end of his prophetic verses, which are extant in print, declareth,

"That the see of Rome, which is so horribly polluted with simony and avarice, shall fall, and no more oppress men with tyranny, as it hath done, and that it shall be subverted by its own subjects; and that the church and true piety shall flourish again more than ever it did before."

Noviomagus testifieth, that he, A.D. 1620, heard Ostendorpius, a canon of Daventer, say, that when he was a young man, Doctor Weselus, a Friesian, which was then an old man, told him, that he should live to see this new school divinity of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, to be utterly forsaken and exploded of all true Christians.

In a book of Charles Boville, mention is made of a certain vision which one Nicholas, a hermit of Helvetia, had; in which vision he saw the pope's head crowned with three swords proceeding from his face, and three swords coming towards it. This vision is also printed in the books of Martin Luther, with his preface before it.

Nicholas Medler, being of late superintendent of Brunswick, affirmed and testified,

"That he heard and knew a certain priest in his country, which told the priests there, that they laid aside Paul under their desks and pews; but the time would come, when Paul should come abroad, and drive them under the desks and dark stalls, where they should not appear," &c.

Matthius Flaccius, in the end of his book entitled, *De Testibus Veritatis*, speaketh of one Michael Stifelius:

This Michael, being an old man, told him, that he heard the priests and monks say many times, by old prophecies, that a violent reformation must needs come against them: and also that the said Michael heard Conrad Stifelius his father many times declare the same: who also, for the great hatred he bare against this filthy sect of monks and priests, told to one Peter Pirer, a friend and neighbour of his, that he should live and see the day; and therefore desired him, that when the day came, besides those priests which he should kill for himself, he would kill one priest more for his sake.

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This Stifelius thought, belike, that this reformation should be wrought by outward violence, and force of sword; but he was therein deceived; although the adversary useth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the gospel always beginneth with peace and quietness.

In the table of Amersham men I signified a little before, how one Haggar of London, speaking of this reformation to come, declared, that the priests should make battle, and have the upper hand a while, but shortly they should be vanquished and overthrown for ever.

In the time of Pope Alexander the Sixth, and about A.D. 1500, as is before specified, the high angel which stood on the top of the pope's church and castle of St. Angelo, was thrown down with a terrible thunder into the river Tiber: whereby might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of the popedom.

To this may be adjoined, which in certain chronicles, and in John Bale, is recorded; which saith, that in the year of our Lord 1516, (which was the same year when Martin Luther began,) Pope Leo the Tenth did create one and thirty cardinals: in the which year and day of their creation, there fell a tempest of thunder and lightning in Rome, which so struck the church where the cardinals were made, that it removed the little child Jesus out of the lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand: which thing many then did interpret to signify and foreshow the subversion and alteration of the see of Rome.

Hitherto pertaineth also a strange portent and a prodigious token from heaven, A.D. 1505, in the which year, under the reign of Maximilian the emperor, there appeared in Germany, upon the vestures of men, as well of priests as laymen; upon women's garments also, and upon their rocks as they were spinning, divers prints and tokens of the nails, of the sponge, of the spear, of the Lord's coat, and of bloody crosses, &c.: all which were seen upon their caps and gowns, as is most certainly testified and recorded by divers which both did see, and also did write upon the same. Of whom first was Maximilian the emperor, who both had and showed the same to Franciscus Mirandula, who wrote thereupon a book in Latin metre called Staurosticon.

Of this also writeth John Carion, Functius, Philip Melancthon, Flaccius, with divers other more. These marks and tokens, as they were very strange, so they were diversely expounded of many; some thinking that they portended affliction and persecution of the church to draw near; some, that God by that token did admonish them, or foreshowed unto them the true doctrine of their justification, which only is to be sought in the cross and passion of Christ, and in no other thing. This I marvel, that Christianus Masseus, and others of that profession, do leave it out. Belike they saw something in it that made not to their liking. For, whether it signifieth persecution to come upon the Germans, they cannot be evil that suffer and bear the cross with Christ: or whether it signifieth the true doctrine of Christ coming to the Germans, it cannot otherwise be, but that the doctrine of the bishop of Rome must needs be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath stirred up in Germany.

By these and such-like prophecies, it is evident to understand, the time not to be far off, when God, of his determinate providence, was disposed to reform and to restore his church. And not only by those prophecies the same might well appear, but also, and much rather, by the hearts

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of the people at that time; whose minds were so incensed and inflamed with hatred against the pomp and pride of Rome, both through all nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of popish prelacy would have a fall. Such disdain there was, such contempt and derision began to rise on every side then, against the pope and the court of Rome, that it might soon appear, by the hearts of the people, that God was not disposed to have it long stand.

For neither were their detestable doings so secret, that men did not see them, neither did any man behold them, having any sparkle of godliness, that could abide them. And thereupon grew these proverbs to their derision, in every country, as in Germany it hath been a proverb amongst them.

"What is this, to see the world now round about,
That for these shaveling priests no man that once may rout?"

"As soon as a clerk is shorn into his order, by and by the devil entereth into him."

"In the name of God, beginneth all evil;" alluding to the pope's bulls, which commonly so begin.

"Item, When bulls come from Rome, bind well your purses."

"The nearer Rome, the farther from Christ."

"Item, He that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked man:

"He that goeth twice, learneth to know him:

"He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him."

"Item, The court of Rome never regardeth the sheep without the wool."

"Once were wooden chalices, and golden priests: "Now we have golden chalices, and wooden priests."

"Once Christian men had blind churches, and light hearts:

"Now they have blind hearts, and light churches."

"Item, Many are worshipped for saints in heaven, whose souls be burning in hell."

In France, Gallus Senonensis, writeth four hundred years ago, that amongst them it was an old saying, "That Satan was let loose at Rome to destroy the whole church."

Thomas Becket himself, in his time, writing to the college of cardinals, denieth it not but to be a common word both through town and city, "That there is no right in Rome."

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To these may be adjoined also the A, B, C, which we find in the margin of a certain old register to be attributed to William Thorpe, whose story we have comprehended before.

"Awake, ye ghostly persons, awake, awake,
Both priest, pope, bishop, and cardinal!
Consider wisely, what ways ye take,
Dangerously being like to have a fall.
Every where the mischief of you all,
Far and near, breaketh out very fast;
God will needs be revenged at the last.
How long have ye the world captived,
In sore bondage of men's traditions?
Kings and emperors ye have deprived,
Lewdly usurping their chief possessions:
Much misery ye make in all regions.
Now your frauds be almost at their latter cast,
Of God sore to be revenged at the last.
Poor people to oppress ye have no shame,
Quaking for fear of your double tyranny.
Rightful justice ye have put out of frame,
Seeking the lust of your god, the belly.
Therefore I dare you boldly certify,
Very little though you be thereof aghast,
Yet God will be revenged at the last."

By these and such-like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be seen what hearts and judgments the people had in those days of the Romish clergy; which thing, no doubt, was of God as a secret prophecy, that shortly religion should be restored; according as it came to pass about this present time, when Dr. Martin Luther first began to write; after Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, and last of all Erasmus of Rotterdam, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the monks' houses. But Luther gave the stroke, and plucked down the foundation, and all by opening one vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the touchstone of all truth and doctrine, as the only principal origin of our salvation, which is, our free justifying by faith only, in Christ the Son of God. The laborious travails, and the whole process, and the constant preachings of this worthy man, because they are sufficiently declared in the history of John Sleiden, I shall the less need to stay long thereupon; but only to run over some principal matters of his life and acts, as they are briefly collected by Philip

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Martin Luther's Birth-Place

Martin Luther, after he was grown in years, being born at Eisleben in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was set to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurt. In this university of Erfurt, there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Augustines (who is thought to be Weselus above mentioned) with whom Luther, being then of the same order, a friar Augustine, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the article of remission of sins; the which article the said aged father opened unto Luther after this sort: declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to David, or such good men alone; but that God's express commandment is, that every man should particularly believe his sins to be forgiven him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of Bernard, and showed him the place, in the sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: "But add thou that thou believest this, that by him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the

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testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. 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 of the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence, "We are justified by faith." And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpose of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before of the schoolmen. And so, reading by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of faith by force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then began he to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable sentences: among other, in the exposition of the Psalms, and specially in the book of the "Spirit and Letter," which confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the sententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracensis. Also he read the books of Ocham, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Scotus. He read also and revolved Gerson: but above all the rest, he perused all over St. Augustines works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his study at Erfurt the space of four years in the convent of the Augustines.

About this time one Staupitz, a famous man, who, ministering his help to further the erection of a university in Wittenberg, and endeavouring to have schools of divinity founded in this new university; when he had considered the spirit and towardness of Luther, recalled him from Erfurt, to place him in Wittenberg, A.D. 1508, and of his age twenty-six. There his towardness appeared in the ordinary exercise, both of his disputations in the schools, and preaching in churches; where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther, especially Dr. Mellarstad.

This Mellarstad would oftentimes say, that Luther was of such a marvellous spirit, and so ingenious, that he gave apparent signification; that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was used.

There first he expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his study in theology. Three years after he went to Rome, about certain contentions of the monks: and returning the same year, he was graded doctor, at the expense of the elector Frederic, duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of schools: for he had heard him preach; well understood the quietness of his spirit; diligently considered the vehemency of his words; and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitz, against his will, enforced upon him; saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him. And though these words were spoken merrily, yet it came so to pass anon after; as many predictions or presages prove true before a change.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and, subsequently, the Psalms: where he showed the difference betwixt the law and the gospel. He also confounded the error that reigned then in schools and sermons, teaching that men may merit remission of sins by their proper works, and that they be just before God by outward discipline; as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Son of God; and as John Baptist demonstrated

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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 say, expressly showed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

These happy beginnings of so good matters, got him great authority, considering his life was correspondent to his profession, the consideration whereof allured to him marvellously the hearts of his auditors, and also many notable personages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows. He meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as most principal of all others to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, of true comfort in times of adversity. Every man received good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets and apostles, to come forth into light out of darkness; whereby they began to understand the difference betwixt the law and the gospel; betwixt the promises of the law, and the promise of the gospel; betwixt spiritual justice, and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, nor such-like school-clerks.

It happened, moreover, about this time, that many were provoked, by Erasmus's learned works, to study the Greek and Latin tongues; who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical doctrine; and especially such as were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and property of the tongues, and drawn the doctrine from the very fountains, he might give more sound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was A.D. 1516, Leo the Tenth of that name, succeeding after Julius the Second, was pope of Rome, who, under pretence of war against the Turk, sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all Christian realms and dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure; the gatherers and collectors whereof persuaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatsoever they would have him, according to the saying, Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, the same 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 the pope's merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions, so it came also to Germany, through the means of a certain Dominic friar named Tetzl, who most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Whereupon Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the first tome of his works, and set them openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of All Saints, A.D. 1517.

This beggarly friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, assembled certain monks, and sophistical divines of his convent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And while he would not himself seem to be dumb, he began not only to inveigh in his sermons, but to thunder against Luther; crying, "Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted

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with fire." And besides this, he burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote of indulgences. This rage and furious fury of this friar, enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter.

And thus rose the beginnings of this controversy; wherein Luther, neither suspecting nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falsely accuse him, which blaze, that he began with plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the end that in process of time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or other.

And certes, he was not suborned or stirred up by them of the court, (as the Duke of Brunswick wrote,) insomuch that the Duke Frederic was sorely offended that such competition and controversy should arise, having regard to the sequel thereof.

And as this good Duke Frederic was one, of all the princes of our time, that loved best quietness and common tranquillity, neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his counsels to the common utility of all the world, (as it is easy to be conjectured divers ways,) so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often represented semblance of heaviness and sorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himself, that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things: neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately to repugn the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly prince should do, he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilian the emperor, Charles, king of Spain, and Pope Julius, had given commandment to the said Duke Frederic, that he should inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture by him alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged sincere. And yet neither did he this trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquisitive to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged and learned; in the number of whom 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 would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth; and therefore he desired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated of the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the dukes request, saying, that in Luther 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 in no case are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, thus he said, that Luther did well in detecting errors, and that reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the church: and added moreover, that the effect of his doctrine was true; but only that he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling. Whereupon Duke Frederic shortly after wrote to Luther, seriously exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his style. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor, where also Huttenus,

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Aloisius, Marlianus, Ludovicus Vives, Halonius, with other learned men, were assembled together, waiting upon the emperor.

Furthermore, the same Erasmus, the next year following that, wrote up to the archbishop of Mentz a certain epistle touching the cause of Luther; in which epistle thus he signifieth to the bishop:

"That many things were in the books of Luther condemned of monks and divines for heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read for sound and godly. That the world is burdened with men's institutions, with school doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of Begging Friars; which friars, when they are but the pope's servants and underlings, yet they have so grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the pope himself, and to all princes; who, so long as the pope maketh with them, so long they make him more than a God; but if he make any thing against their purpose or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or fantasy. Once it was counted a heresy when a man repugned against the gospel, or articles of the faith. Now he that dissenteth from Thomas Aquinas is a heretic: whatsoever doth not like them, whatsoever they understand not, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy, or to speak more finely than they do, that is with them heresy."

And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

Review of Luther's conduct and writings.

It is also apparent, that Luther promised the Cardinal Cajetan to keep silence, provided also his adversaries would do the like. Whereby we may gather, that at that time he determined not to stir any new debates, but rather coveted the common quietness, and that he was provoked by little and little to other matters, through the provoking of unlearned writers.

Then followed disputations of the difference betwixt Divine and human law; also of the horrible profanation of the supper of our Lord, in selling and applying the same for other purposes. Here he was forced to express the cause of the sacrifice, and to declare the use of the sacraments.

Now the godly and faithful Christians, closed in monasteries, understanding that images ought to be eschewed, began to abandon that wretched thraldom, in which they were detained. Now Luther, the plainer to express the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, and of indulgences, added also to these matters, the difference of Divine and human laws, the doctrine of the use of our Lord's supper, of baptism, and of vows; and these were his principal conflicts. As touching the question of the Roman bishop's power, Eckius was the author thereof; and for no other respect, than to inflame the fiery wrath of the pope and princes against Luther. The symbol of the apostles, also of Nice and Athanasius; he conserved in their integrity.

Further, he sufficiently declareth in divers of his works what innovation is to be required in the ceremonies and traditions of men; and wherefore they ought to be altered. And what form of doctrine and administration of the sacraments he required and approved, is apparent by the confession which the elector, John, duke of Saxony, and Prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse,

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presented to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, A.D. 1530, in the assembly at Augsburg. It is manifest also by the ceremonies of the church in this city, and the doctrine that is preached in our church, the sum whereof is fully comprised in this confession. I allege this, that the godly may consider not only what errors he hath corrected and reprov'd, but also they may understand that he comprehended also the whole doctrine necessary for the church; he hath set the ceremonies in their purity, and given examples to the faithful to reform the churches, and it is necessary for posterity to know what Luther hath approved.

I will not here rehearse, who were the first that published both parts of the supper of our Lord, who first omitted private masses, and where first the monasteries were abandoned: for Luther disputed very little of these before the assembly which was made in the town of Worms, A.D. 1521: he changed not the ceremonies, but in his absence Carolstadt and others altered them. Then Luther returning, (after Carolstadt had devised and done certain things rather to breed muttering than otherwise,) manifested by evident testimonies, published abroad touching his opinion, what he approved, and what he misliked.

We know that politic men evermore detested all changes: and we must confess, there ensueth some evil upon dissensions, and yet it is our duty evermore in the church, to advance God's ordinance above human constitutions. The eternal Father pronounced this voice of his Son: This is my well beloved Son, hear him! And he menaced eternal wrath to all blasphemers, that is, such as endeavour to abolish the manifest verity. And therefore Luther did as behoved a Christian faithfully to do, considering he was an instructor of the church of God. It was his office, I say, to reprehend pernicious errors, which the rabble of epicures most impudently heaped one upon another, and it was expedient his auditors dissented not from his opinion, since he taught purely. Wherefore, if alteration be hateful, and many perils grow of dissension, as we certainly see many, whereof we be right sorry, they are partly in fault that spread abroad these errors, and partly they that with devilish disdain presently maintain them. I do not recite this to defend Luther and his auditors, but also that the faithful may consider now, and in time to come, what is the governance of the true church of God, and what it hath always been: how God hath gathered to himself one eternal church, by the voice of the gospel, of this lump of sin, and filthy heap of human corruption; among whom the gospel shineth as a spark in the dark. As in the time of the Pharisees, Zachary, Elizabeth, Mary, and many others, revered and observed the true doctrine; so have many gone before us, who purely invocated God, some understanding more clearly than others the doctrine of the gospel. Such a one was the old man of whom I wrote, that oftentime comforted Luther, when his astonysings assailed him; and after a sort declared unto him the doctrine of the faith. And that God may preserve henceforth the light of his gospel, shining in many, let us pray with fervent affection, as Isaiah prayeth for his hearers: Seal the law in my disciples. Further, this advertisement showeth plainly that coloured superstitions are not permanent, but abolished by God: and since this is the cause of changes, we ought diligently to endeavour, that errors be neither taught, nor preached in the church.

But I return to Luther. Even as at the beginning he treated of this matter, without any particular affection, so, though he was of a fiery nature, and subject to wrath, yet he always remembered his office, and prohibited wars to be attempted, and distinguished wisely offices wherein was any difference; as the bishop, to feed the flock of God; and the magistrates, by authority of the sword committed unto them, to repress the people subject unto them. Wherefore

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when Satan contendeth by slanders to dissipate the church of God, and contumeliously to rage against him, and delighteth to do evil, and rejoiceth to behold us wallow in the puddle of error and blindness, smiling at our destruction; he laboureth all he can to inflame and stir up mischievous instruments and seditious spirits to sow sedition; as Monetarius and his like. Luther repelled boldly these rages, and not only adorned, but also ratified, the dignity and bands of politic order and civil government. Therefore, when I consider in my mind how many worthy men have been in the church, that in this erred, and were abused; I believe assuredly that Luther's heart was not only governed by human diligence, but with a heavenly light; considering how constantly he abode within the limits of his office.

Luther held not only in contempt the seditious doctors of that time, as Monetarius and the Anabaptists; but especially these horned bishops of Rome, who, arrogantly and impudently, by their devised decrees, affirmed, that St. Peter had not the charge alone to teach the gospel, but also to govern commonweals, and exercise civil jurisdiction. Moreover, he exhorted every man to render unto God that which appertained unto God, and to Cæsar that which belonged unto Cæsar; and said, that all should serve God with true repentance, knowledge, and maintaining of his true doctrine, invocation, and works, wrought with a pure conscience: and as touching civil policy, that every one should obey the magistrates under whom he liveth, in all civil duties and reverences, for God's sake. And such a one was Luther. He gave unto God what belonged unto God: he taught God; he invoked God; and had other virtues necessary for a man that pleaseth God. Further, in politic conversation he constantly avoided all seditious counsels. I judge these virtues to be such excellent ornaments, that greater and more divine cannot be required in this mortal life. And albeit that the virtue of this man is worthy of commendation, and the rather for that he used the gifts of God in all reverence; yet our duty is to render condign thanks unto God, that by him he hath given us the light of the gospel, and to conserve and enlarge the remembrance of his doctrine. I weigh little the slander of the epicures and hypocrites, who scoff at and condemn the manifest truths; but I stay wholly hereupon, that the universal church hath consented perpetually to this very doctrine, which is preached in our church, whereunto we must frame our life and devotion conformably. And I believe that this is the doctrine whereof the Son of God speaketh, If any love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and plant our dwelling with him. I speak of the sum of the doctrine, as it is understood and explained in our churches, by the faithful and learned ministers. For albeit that some one oftentimes expoundeth the same more aptly and elegantly than some other; yet, as touching the effect, the learned and faithful do agree in all points.

Then weighing and perpending with myself long time, the doctrine that hath been of all times, it seemeth unto me, that since the apostles there have been four notable alterations after the first purity of the gospel. Origen had his time; albeit there were some of a sound and sacred opinion, as Methodius, who reproveth certain suspected doctrines of Origen, that he converted the gospel into philosophy in the hearts of many; that is to say, he advanced this persuasion, that the moral discipline deserveth remission of sins, and that this is that justice, whereof is said, The just shall live by faith. That age lost almost the whole difference of the law and the gospel, and forgot the words of the apostles; for they understood not the natural signification of these words: Letter, Spirit, Justice, Faith. Now when the propriety of words was lost, which he notes of the very things, it was necessary that other things should be contrived.

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Out of this seed sprang the error of Pelagius, which wandered largely abroad: and therefore, albeit the apostles had given unto the church a pure doctrine, as clear and wholesome fountains, yet Origen intermixed the same with some corruption in that part. Then, to correct the errors of that time, or at least some part of them, God raised up St. Austin, who purged in some part the fountains; and I doubt not, if he were judge of dissensions at this day, but he would speak for us, and defend our cause. Certainly, as concerning free remission, justification by faith, the use of the sacraments and indifferent things, he consenteth wholly with us. And, albeit that in some places he expoundeth more eloquently and aptly what he will say than in others, yet if in reading any do carry with them a godly spirit and quick understanding, all evil judgment ceaseth; they shall soon perceive that he is of our opinion. And whereas our adversaries sometimes do cite sentences selected out of his books against us, and with clamour provoke us to the ancient fathers, they do it not for any affection they bear unto the truth or antiquity, but maliciously to cloak them with the authority of the ancient fathers, which antiquity never knew of any of these horned beasts and dumb idols, as we have known in these days. Nevertheless it is certain, there were seeds of superstition in the time of the fathers and ancient doctors; and therefore St. Austin ordained something of vows, although he wrote not thereof so strangely as others: for the best sometimes shall be spotted with the blemish of such follies as reign in their age. For as naturally we love our country, so fondly we favour the present fashions, wherein we be trained and educated. And very well alluded Euripides to this effect:

"What customs we in tender youth
By nature's lore receive;
The same we love and like always,
And loath our lust to leave."

But would to God, that such as vaunt they follow St. Austin, would always represent one like opinion and mind, as St. Austin: certainly they would not so clip his sentences, to serve their purposes. The light restored by St. Austin's works hath much profited posterity; for Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, and some other like writers, that governed studies to St. Bernard's time, have for the most part imitated the rule of St. Austin. And this, while the regiment and riches of the bishops still increased: and thereof ensued a monstrous regiment; profane and ignorant men governed the church, among whom, certain were instructed in sciences and practices of the Roman court, and some others exercised in pleadings.

Then the orders of Dominican and Franciscan friars began; who, beholding the excess and riches of the bishops, and contemning their ungodly manners, determined to live in more modest order, or, as I might say, to enclose them in the prisons of discipline: but first ignorance increased the superstitions. Then after, when they considered men's minds wholly addicted to the study of the civil laws, (for pleading at Rome advanced many to great authority, and enriched them,) they endeavoured to revoke men to the study of divinity. but they missed of their purpose, and their counsel failed them. Albert, and such like, that were given to Aristotle's doctrine, began to convert the doctrine of the church into profane philosophy.

The fourth age not only corrupted the fountains of the gospel, but also gave out poison, that is to say, opinions manifestly approving all idolatries. Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and their like, have brought in so many labyrinths and false opinions, that the godly and sound sort of divines have always desired a more plain and purer kind of doctrine: neither can we deny without

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great impudency but it was expedient to alter this kind of doctrine, when it is manifest that such as employed their whole age in this manner of teaching, understood not a great part of the sophisms in their disputations. Further, it is plainly idolatry confirmed, when they teach the application of sacrifice by work wrought; when they allow the invocation of saints; when they deny that sins be freely remitted by faith; when of ceremonies they make a slaughter of consciences. Finally, there are many other horrible and pernicious devices, that when I think on them, Lord! how I tremble and quake for fear.

Now to return, and to treat something orderly of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. After that Tetzal, the aforesaid friar, with his fellow monks and friarly fellows, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the pope's indulgences; and that Luther again, in defence of his cause, had set up propositions against the open abuses of the same, marvel it was to see how soon these propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter increasing between them, Luther was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwise he thought; which was A.D. 1517.

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as afterwards did follow; but only hearing that he was accused to the bishop of Rome, he did write humbly unto him: in the beginning of which writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of those his pardon-mongers, who so excessively did pill and poll the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his Holiness. And so proceeding, in the end of the said his writing thus he submitteth himself:

"Wherefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your Holiness, with all that I am, and 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 you speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be contented to die: for the earth is the Lord's, and all the fulness thereof, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen."

This was A.D. 1518.

After that Martin Luther, provoked thus by Tetzal, 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 steppeth up one Silvester de Priero, a Dominic friar, who first began to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answered again, first alleging the place of the apostle in 1 Thess. v., that we must prove all things. Also the place in Gal. ii., that if an angel from heaven do bring any other gospel than that we have received, he ought to be accursed. Item, he alleged the place of Austin unto Jerome, where the said Austin saith, That he was wont to give this honour only to the books of canonical Scripture, that whosoever were the writers thereof, he believeth them verily not to have erred. But as touching all other men's writings, were they never so holy men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, because they so say; but in that respect as they do agree with the canonical Scripture, which cannot err. Item, he alleged the place of the canon law; wherein he proved, that these pardon-sellers, in their setting forth of the pope's indulgences, ought to go no further by the law, than is enjoined them within the letters of their commission. And in the latter part of his answer,

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thus Luther writeth to the reader, "Let opinions remain opinions, so they be not yokes to the Christians. Let us not make men's opinions equal with the articles of faith, and to the decrees of Christ and Paul." "Moreover, I am ashamed," quoth he, "to hear the common saying of these divine school-doctors, who, holding one thing in schools, and thinking otherwise in their own judgment, thus are wont secretly among themselves, and with their privy friends talking together, to say, 'Thus we do hold, and thus would we say being in the schools; but yet (be it spoken here amongst us) it cannot be so proved by the Holy Scriptures,'" &c.

Next after this Silvester, stepped forth Eckius, and impugned the conclusions of Luther. Against whom encountered Dr. Andreas Bedenstein, archdeacon of Wittenberg, making his apology in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the seventh of August, by one Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, the pope's legate, was then lieger at the city of Augsburg, who before had been sent down in commission, with certain mandates from Pope Leo, unto that city. The university of Wittenberg, understanding of Luther's citation, eftsoons directed up their letters with their public seal to the pope, in Luther's behalf. Also another letter they sent to Carolus Miltitius, the pope's chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good Frederic ceased not for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with Cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the duke, wrote unto the pope; from whom he received this answer again, the three and twentieth of the aforesaid month of August.

"That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, auditor of the chamber; which bishop diligently had done what was commanded him: but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did refuse not only to come, but also became more bold and stubborn, continuing, or rather increasing, in his former heresy, as by his writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther to appear at the city of Augsburg before him; adjoining withal, the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if need required; so that when the said Luther should appear, he should lay hand upon him, and commit him to safe custody; and after, he should be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the church again; or else he should be interdicted, with all other his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatsoever state or condition they were, whether they were dukes, marquises, earls, barons, &c. Against all which persons and degrees, he willed him 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 should minister any harbour to the said Luther, and were not obedient unto the see of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as showed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their sins.



likewise the pope directeth other letters also at the same time to Duke Frederic, complaining, with many grievous words, against Luther. The cardinal, thus being charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commission, sendeth with all speed for Luther to appear at Augsburg before him.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther, yielding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's sending, (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 speech; for so it was provided by his friends, that he should not enter talk with the cardinal before a sufficient warrant or safe-conduct was obtained of the Emperor Maximilian. Which being obtained, eftsoons he entered, offering himself to the speech of the cardinal, and was there received of the cardinal very gently; who, according to the pope's commandment, propounded unto Martin Luther three things, or, as Sleiden saith, but two: to wit,

- I. That he should repent and revoke his errors.
- II. That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.
- III. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate brought forth the Extravagant of Clement, which beginneth, Unigenitus, &c., because that he, contrary to that canon, had held and taught in his fifty-eighth proposition, 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 him that receiveth the sacrament.

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

"Imprimis, I Martin Luther, a Friar Augustine, protest, that I do reverence and follow the Church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come; and if any thing hath been, or shall be, said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken, as though it had never been spoken.

"But because the cardinal hath required, at the commandment of the pope, three things of me to be observed: First, That I should return again to the knowledge of myself: Secondly, That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter: Thirdly, That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the church of God: I protest here this day, that whatsoever I have said, seemeth unto me to be sound, true, and catholic: yet for the further proof thereof, I do offer myself personally, either here or elsewhere, publicly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the legate, I am ready also in writing to answer his objections, if he have any against me; and touching these things, to hear the sentence and judgment of the university of the empire, Basil, Friburg, and Louvain."

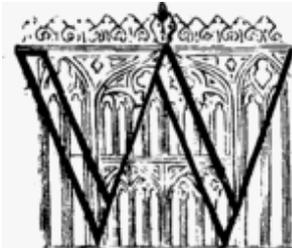
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Hereto when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, Luther by and by prepareth an answer to the legate, teaching, that the merits of Christ are not committed unto men: That the pope's voice is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: That the pope may err: That he ought to be reprehended. [Acts xv.] Moreover he showed, that in the matter of faith, not only the general council, but also every faithful Christian, is above the pope, if he lean to better authority and reason: That the Extravagant containeth untruths: That it is an infallible verity, that none is just: That it is necessary, for him that cometh to the receiving of the sacrament, to believe: That faith in the absolution and remission of sins, is necessary: That he ought not, nor might not, decline from the verity of the Scripture; That he sought nothing but the light of the truth, &c.

But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; devised glosses and expositions of his own head; and by distinctions, (wherewith the divinity of the Thomists is full,) like a very Proteus, he avoided all things. After this, Luther, being commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still, and would not depart. Then the cardinal sent for Johannes Staupitz, vicar of the Augustines, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant of his own accord. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day, moreover, he tarried, and delivered up his mind in writing:

First, Luther thanked the cardinal for his courtesy and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of Staupitz toward him; and therefore was the more ready to gratify him in whatsoever kind of office he could do him service: confessing moreover, 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 certain which gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess therein, so he was ready to show more moderation in that behalf hereafter, and also promised to make amends for the same unto the bishop; and that in the pulpit, if he pleased. And as touching the matter of pardons, he promised also to proceed no further in any mention thereof, so that his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But whereas he was pressed to retract his sentence before defended, forasmuch as he had said nothing but with a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm testimonies of the Scripture, therefore he humbly desired the determination thereof 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, &c.



Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of Luther, but that if the bishop of Rome would have been answered with any reason, or contented with sufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of Luther? But the secret purpose of God had a further work herein to do; for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride should have a fall. Thus while the immeasurable desire of that bishop sought more than enough, (like to Æsop's dog coveting both to have the flesh and the shadow,) not only he missed what he gaped for, but also lost that which he had. But to the purpose of our matter again: this writing Luther delivered to the cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight; which letter or writing the cardinal did little regard. When Luther saw that he would

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give no answer nor countenance to the letter; yet, notwithstanding, he remained, after that, the fourth day, and nothing was answered. The fifth day likewise was passed with like silence, and nothing done. At length, by the counsel of his friends, and especially because the cardinal had said before, that he had a commandment to imprison Luther and John Staupitz the vicar; after that he had made and set up his appeal where it might be seen and read, he departed; thinking that he had showed such dangerous obedience long enough. Luther, a beholder and a doer of these things, recordeth the same, and showeth the cause why he submitted himself to the Church of Rome: declaring also, that even those things which are most truly spoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he suppressed and concealeth, which he supposeth the reader to understand, not without grief and sorrow. At length he protesteth, that he reverenceth and followeth the Church of Rome in all things, and that he setteth himself only against those, who, under the name of the Church of Rome, go about to set forth and commend Babylon unto us.

Thus you have heard how that Luther, being rejected from the speech and sight of Cajetan the cardinal, after six days' waiting, departed by the advice of his friends, and returned unto Wittenberg; leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal, wherein he declared sufficiently: first his obedience in his coming; the reasons of his doctrine; his submission reasonable to the see of Rome; his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal's speech; the charges of the duke; and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the cardinal, he left also an appellation to the bishop of Rome, from the cardinal, which he caused to be affixed before his departure.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned again into his country, Cajetan writeth to Duke Frederic a sharp and a biting letter, in which, first he signifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good will showed to reduce Luther from his error. Secondly, he complaineth of the sudden departing of him, and of Staupitz. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of Luther's doctrine against the Church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the duke, that as he tendereth his own honour and safety, and regardeth the favour of the high bishop, he will send him up to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, forasmuch as such a pestilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long so to be suffered.

To this letter of the cardinal the duke answereth again at large, purging both Luther and himself; Luther, in that he, following his conscience, grounded upon the word of God, would not revoke that for an error, which could be proved no error. And himself he excuseth thus: that where it is required of him to banish him his country, or to send him up to Rome, it would be little honesty for him so to do, and less conscience, unless he knew just cause why he should do so; which, if the cardinal would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a Christian prince to do. And therefore he desired him to be a mean unto the bishop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

This done, the duke sendeth the letter of the cardinal unto Martin Luther, who answered again to the prince; showing first how he came obediently unto 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 his errors. First, that the merits of Christ's passion were not the

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treasure of the pope's pardons: secondly, that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yield to the cardinal; in the second, because it touched a great part of our salvation, he could not with a safe conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the Scripture, 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 of learned men. The cardinal, not pleased with this, in great anger cast out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech; whereas he yet, notwithstanding, persisting in his obedience to the Church of Rome, gave attendance, waiting upon the cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

At last when no answer would come, after he had waited the space of five or six days to his great detriment and greater danger, by the persuasion of his friends he departed whereat if the cardinal were displeased, he had the more cause to blame himself. "And now, whereas the cardinal threateneth me," saith he, "not to let the action fall, but that the process thereof shall be pursued at Rome, unless I either come and present myself, or else be banished your dominions; I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should sustain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore, seeing there is no place nor country which can keep me from the malice of mine adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my country, whithersoever it shall please the Lord to lead me; thanking God who hath counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christ's name."

Here, no doubt, was the cause of Luther in great danger; being now brought to this strait, that both Luther was ready to fly the country, and the duke again was as much afraid to keep him, had not the marvellous providence of God, who had this matter in guiding, here provided a remedy where the power of man did fail, by stirring up the whole university of Wittenberg; who, seeing the cause of truth thus to decline, with a full and general consent addressed their letters unto the prince, in defence of Luther and of his cause; making their humble suit unto him, that he, of his princely honour, would not suffer innocency, and the simplicity of truth so clear as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppressed by mere violence of certain malignant flatterers about the pope; but that the error first may be showed and convicted, before the party be pronounced guilty.

By the occasion of these letters, the duke began more seriously in his mind to consider the cause of Luther, and to read his works, and also to hearken to his sermons: whereby, 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 passed on, Pope Leo, playing the lion at Rome, in the mean time, in the month of November, (to establish his seat against this defection which he feared to come,) had sent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad, with a new edict, wherein 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, 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 of 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 or ale-stake to get money, being set up in all quarters of Christendom for the holy father's advantage, came also to be received in

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Germany about the month of December. Luther, in the mean time, hearing how they were about in Rome to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain appellation conceived in due form of law, wherein he appealeth from the pope to the general council.

When Pope Leo perceived, that neither his pardons would prosper to his mind, nor that Luther could be brought to Rome; to essay how to come to his purpose by crafty allurements, he sent his chamberlain, Carolus Miltitius, above mentioned, (who was a German,) into Saxony, to Duke Frederic, with a golden rose, after the usual ceremony accustomed every year to be presented to him; with secret letters also to certain nobleman of the duke's council, to solicit the pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if it might be, from Luther. But before Miltitius approached into Germany, Maximilian the emperor deceased in the month of January, A.D. 1519. At that time two there were who 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 the matter short, through the means of Frederic, prince elector, (who, having the offer of the preferment, refused the same,) the election fell to Charles, called Charles the Fifth, surnamed Prudence: which was about the end of August.

In the month of June before, there was a public disputation ordained at Leipsic, which is a city in Misnia, under the dominion of George, duke of Saxony, uncle to Duke Frederic. This disputation first began through the occasion of John Eckius, a friar, and Andreas Carolostadt, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before touching the pope's pardons. Against him Carolostadt wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius again, to answer Carolostadt, set forth an apology, which apology Carolostadt confuted by writing. Upon this began the disputation, with safe-conduct granted by Duke George to all and singular persons that would resort to the same. To this disputation came also Martin Luther, with Philip Melancthon, who, not past a year before, was newly come to Wittenberg; Luther not thinking then to dispute in any matter, because of his appellation above mentioned, but only to hear what there was said and done.

First, before the entry into the disputation it was agreed, that the acts should be penned by notaries, and after to be divulged abroad. But Eckius afterwards went back from that, pretending that the penning of the notaries would be a hinderance and a stay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their reasoning should the more languish, and their vehemency abate. But Carolostadt without notaries would not dispute. The sum of their disputations was reduced to certain conclusions; amongst which the Greeks call *αυφαιρετον* [Greek: *aythaireton*]: that is, "Whether a man have of himself any election or purpose to do that is good: or, (to use the terms of the school,) "Whether a man of congruence may deserve grace, doing that which in him doth lie?" Herein when the question was to be discussed, what the will of man may do of itself without grace, they, through heat of contention, (as the manner is,) fell into other by-matters and ambages little or nothing appertaining to that which Carolostadt proposed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure strength to do good is not in man's will, but is given of God to man, to take interest and increase of man again, which first he seemed to deny. Then, being asked of Carolostadt, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God; to this he answered, "the whole good work, but not wholly:" granting, that the will is moved of God; but to consent, to be in man's power. Against this reasoning Carolostadt alleged certain places of Austin, and especially of St. Paul, who saith, that God worketh in us both to will and to perform. And this sentence of

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Carolstadt seemed to overcome. Eckius, for his assertion, inferred certain extracts out of Bernard, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole week lost about this contentious and sophistical altercation between Eckius and Carolstadt.



The debate at Leipsic

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but, having free liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, was provoked, and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Here is first to be admonished, that Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: That they that do attribute the pre-eminency to the Church of Rome, have no foundation for them, but out of the pope's decrees, set forth not much past four hundred years heretofore; which decrees he affirmed

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to be contrary to all ancient histories, above a thousand years past; contrary also to the Holy Scriptures, and unto the Nicene council.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion; saying, that those who hold that the supremacy and pre-eminency of the Church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of Pope Silvester the First, do err, forasmuch as they that succeeded in the see and faith of Peter, were always received for the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth.

This being the last of all the other themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against Luther, to bring him into more displeasure with the bishop of Rome; wherein Luther himself much refused to dispute, alleging that matter to be more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also, for the bishop of Rome's sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto, if he must needs be urged, he would the fault should be understood of all men to be where it was; namely, in his adversaries who provoked him thereunto, and not in himself. Eckius again, clearing himself, translateth all the fault unto Luther, who first, in his treatise *De Indulgentiis Papæ* defended, that before Pope Silvester's time the Church of Rome had no place of majority or pre-eminence above other churches: and also before, the Cardinal Cajetan affirmed, that Pope Pelagius wrested many places of the Scripture out of their sense, unto his own affection and purpose: "Wherefore the fault hereof," said he, "to him rather is to be imputed, who ministered the first occasion."

Thus Luther being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the question began to be propounded touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; which supremacy Eckius did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's law. Martin Luther, on the other side, denied not the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, nor denied the same, moreover, to be universal over all churches; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation did continue the space of five days; during all which season, Eckius very dishonestly and uncourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his adversary into the hatred of the auditors, and into danger of the pope. The reasons of Eckius were these: "Forasmuch as the church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it standeth with God's law that other civil regiments should not be destitute of their head, so is it by God's law requisite, that the pope should be the head of the universal church of Christ." To this Martin Luther answered, that he confesseth and granteth the church not to be headless, so long as Christ is alive, who is the only Head of the church; neither doth the church require any other head beside him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual kingdom, not earthly: and he alleged for him the place of Colossians i. Eckius again produceth certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little to prove the primacy of the pope to hold by God's law. As touching the testimony of Bernard, neither was the authority of that author of any great force in this case, nor was the place alleged so greatly to the purpose.

Then came he to the place of St. Matthew, chap. xvi., Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my church, &c. To this was answered, that this was a confession of faith, and that Peter there represented' the person of the whole universal church; as Austin doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place meaneth himself to be the Rock, as is manifest to collect, both by his words, and the order of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of St. John, Feed my sheep; which words Eckius alleged properly and peculiarly to be spoken to Peter

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alone. Martin answered, that after these words spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins so-ever ye remit, they are remitted, &c. "By these words," saith he, "Christ, assigning to them their office, doth teach what it is to feed; and what he ought to be, that feedeth.

After this, Eckius came to the authority of the council of Constance, alleging this amongst other articles: That it standeth upon necessity of our salvation, to believe the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church; alleging moreover, that in the same council it was debated and discussed, that the general council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did answer discreetly, saying, that all the articles which John Huss did hold in that council, were not condemned for heretical; with much other matter more. Again, of what authority that council of Constance is to be esteemed, that he left to other men's judgments. "This is most certain," said he, "that no council hath such authority to make new articles of faith." Here Martin Luther began to be cried out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminishing the authority of general councils: although indeed he meant nothing less, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the same, yet was he called heretic and schismatic, and one of the Bohemians' faction, with many other terms besides of reproachful contumely. Eckius then granted the authority of the apostles to be equal; and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all bishops therefore to be equal; "for between apostleship and ministry," said he, "there is great difference."

To conclude, Eckius in no case could abide, that any creature should decline from any word or sentence of the pope's decrees, or the constitutions of the forefathers. To this again Luther answered, grounding himself upon the place in Galatians ii., where St. Paul, speaking of the principal apostles, saith, And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me; for God accepteth no man's person. Nevertheless they that were of some reputation did avail nothing at all, &c. Eckius to this said, that as touching the authority of the apostles, they were all chosen of Christ, but were ordained bishops by St. Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the constitution of the decree, which saith, Yea, let not the bishop of Rome be called universal bishop, &c. To this Eckius answered in this sort: that the bishop of Rome ought not to be called universal bishop; yet he may be called (saith he) bishop of the universal church. And thus much touching the question of the pope's supremacy.

From this matter they entered next to purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the pope hath in purgatory, Eckius turned the scope of the question, and proved that there is purgatory; and alleged for him the place of Maccabees. Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmed the book of Maccabees not to be canonical. Eckius again replied, the book of Maccabees to be of no less authority than the Gospels. Also he alleged the place, 1 Cor. iii., He shall be saved, yet so as it were by fire. Moreover, he inferred the place of Matthew v., Agree thou with thine adversary while thou art in the way with him, lest he commit thee to prison; from whence thou shalt not escape till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing, &c. To this he added also the place of the Psalms, We have passed through the fire and water, &c. How these places be wrested to purgatory, let the reader discern and judge.

Then was inferred the question of indulgences, whereof Eckius seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

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At last they came to the question of penance; touching which matter, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, which went about to prove, that there be some manner of pains of satisfaction: which thing Luther did never deny. But that for every particular offence such particular penance is exacted of God's justice upon the repentant sinner, as is in man's power to remit or release, as pleaseth him; such penance neither Luther, nor any other true Christian, did admit.

And thus have ye the chief effect of this disputation between Luther and Eckius at Leipsic, which was in the month of July, A.D. 1519.

About the beginning of the same year, Ulderic Zuinglius came first to Zurich, and there began to teach; who, in the sixteenth article in his book of articles, recorded, that Luther and he, both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the pope's pardons and indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose we shall find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, this doth Sleidan testify, that in this present year, when Sampson, a Franciscan, came with the pope's pardons to Zurich, Ulderic Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared his chaffer and pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people to inveigle away their money.

The next year ensuing, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvain, and also of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical; against whom Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo against the said Luther, notwithstanding he so humbly and obediently before had revered both the person of the pope, and recognised the authority of his see, and also had dedicated unto him the book entitled Of Christian Liberty; in which book these two points principally he discusseth and proveth:

"I. That a Christian man is free, and lord of all things, and subject to none.

"II. That a Christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and to every man subject."

Moreover, in the same year he set out a defence of all his articles, which the pope's bull had before condemned.

Another book also he wrote, to the nobility of Germany, in the which book he impugneeth and shaketh the three principal walls of the papists: the first whereof is this:

"I. Whereas the papists say, that no temporal or profane magistrate hath any power upon the spirituality, but they have power over the other.

"II. Where any place of Scripture, being in controversy, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or be judge thereof, but only the pope.

"III. When any council is brought against them, they say, that no man hath authority to call a council, but only the pope."

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Moreover, in the aforesaid book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the pope can stop no free council; also what things ought to be handled in councils; that the pride of the pope is not to be suffered; what money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounting to the sum of three millions of florins. The true meaning of this verse he expoundeth: *Tu supplex ora, to protege, toque labora*; wherein the three estates, with their offices and duties, are described; to wit, the minister, the magistrate, and the subjects. Furthermore, in the said book he proveth and discusseth, that the emperor is not under the pope; but contrariwise, that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged: that priests may have wives: that the voices of the people ought not to be separate from the election of ecclesiastical persons: that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certain times is brought in by avarice: what is the right use of excommunication: that there ought to be fewer holidays: that liberty ought not to be restrained in meats: that wilful poverty and begging ought to be abolished: what damage and inconvenience have grown by the council of Constance; and what misfortunes Sigismund the emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome: that heretics should be convinced not 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 of the pope's decretals: that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the gospel: Item, he writeth in the same book against excessive apparel among the Germans: also against their excess in spices, &c.

In this year, moreover, followed, not long after, the coronation of the new emperor Charles the Fifth, which was in the month of October, at Aix-la-Chapelle. After which coronation, being solemnized about the month of November, Pope Leo sent again to Duke Frederic, two cardinals his legates, of whom the one was Hierome Aleander, who, after a few words of high commendation first premised to the duke touching his noble progeny, and other his famous virtues, they made two requests unto him in the pope's name: first, that he would cause all books of Luther to be burned; secondly, that he would either see the said Luther there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him up to Rome, unto the pope's presence.

These two requests seemed very strange unto the duke; who, answering again to the cardinals, said, that he, being long absent from thence about other public affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. Notwithstanding this, he heard that Eckius was a great perturber 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 commandment, would have sent him away out of his dominion, had not Meltitius, the pope's own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him still in his own country, fearing lest that in other countries he might do more harm, where he was less known: and so now was as ready to do his duty, wheresoever right and equity did so require. But forasmuch as in this cause he seeth much hatred and violence showed on the one part, and no error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of divers well learned and sound men of judgment; and forasmuch as also the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, therefore he desired the said legates to be a mean to 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 first might be known, before he were made a heretic, or his books burned: which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture reprov'd, Luther should find no favour at his hands. Otherwise he trusted that the pope's Holiness would exact no such thing

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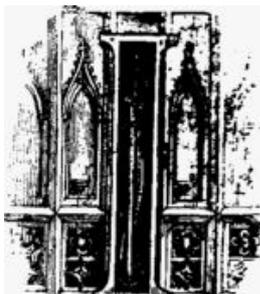
of him, which he might not with equity, and honour of his place and estate, reasonably perform, &c.

Then the cardinals (declaring to the duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but according to the form of their prescript commission they must proceed) took the books of Luther, and shortly after set fire upon them, and openly burnt them. Luther, hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of students and learned men in Wittenberg, and there, taking the pope's decrees, and the bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them; which was the tenth of December, A.D. 1520.

139. The Diet of Worms.

A little before these things thus 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 holden at the city of Worms, against the sixth day of January next ensuing; in the which assembly, through the means of Duke Frederic, the emperor gave forth, that he would have the cause of Luther there brought before him; and so it was. For at what time the assembly was commenced in the city of Worms, the day and month aforesaid, which was the sixth of January; afterwards, upon the sixth of March following, the emperor, through the instigation of Duke Frederic, directed his letters unto Luther; signifying, that forasmuch as he had set abroad certain books, he therefore, by the advice of his peers and princes about him, had ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing; and therefore he granted him licence to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly so do, and be thereof assured, he promised unto him, by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe-conduct; as by the instrument which he sent unto him, he might more fully be certified. Wherefore, without all doubt or distrust, he willed him eftsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present the twenty-first day after the receipt thereof: and because he should not misdoubt any fraud or injury herein, he assured to him his warrant and promise.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his safe-conduct by the emperor, after he had been first accursed at Rome upon Maundy Thursday by the pope's censure, shortly after Easter speedeth his journey toward the emperor at Worms, where the said Luther, appearing before the emperor and all the states of Germany, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his adversaries, and what adversaries he had, here followeth in full history, with the acts and doings which there happened; according as in our former edition partly was before described.



In the year of our salvation 1521, about seventeen days after Easter, Martin Luther entered into Worms, being sent for by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who, the first year of his empire, made an assembly of princes in the aforesaid city. And whereas Martin Luther had published three years before, certain propositions to be disputed in the town of Wittenberg, in Saxony, against the tyranny of the pope, (which, notwithstanding, were torn to pieces, condemned, and burned by the papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason, convinced,) the matter began to grow to a tumult and uproar; and yet Luther maintained all this while openly his cause against the clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that Luther should be called; assigning unto 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 knights of the Rhodes' place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited of many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who frequented his lodging till night.

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To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well adversaries as others. For albeit he was sent for by the emperor's messenger, and had letters of safe-conduct; yet for that a few days before his access, his books were condemned by public proclamation, it was much doubted of by many that he would not come: and the rather, for that his friends deliberated together in a village nigh hand, called Oppenheim (where Luther was first advertised of these occurrents); and many persuaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these beginnings answered not to the faith of promise made. Who, when he had heard their whole persuasion and advice, he answered in this wise: "As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, although I knew there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms."

The fourth day after his repair, a gentleman named Ulrick, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men-at-arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor before dinner to repair to Luther, and to enjoin him at four o'clock in the afternoon to appear before the imperial Majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, to understand the cause of his sending for; whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was. And after four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm, the emperor's herald, (who conducted Martin Luther from Wittenberg to Worms,) came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights of the Rhodes' place, to the earl Palatine's palace; and, lest the people should molest him, that thronged in, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of empire assembled there, he was first advertised by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius above mentioned, who then was the bishop of Treves' general official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch, according to the emperor's commandment, said and proponed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

"Martin Luther! the sacred and invincible imperial Majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that thou shouldest be appealed before the throne of his Majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two points.

"First, Whether thou confess these books here, [for he showed a heap of Luther's books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues,] and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?

"Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?"

Then, before Luther prepared to answer, Master Jerome Scurffe, a lawyer at Wittenberg, required that the titles of the books should be read. Forthwith the aforesaid Eckius named certain of the books, and those principally which were imprinted at Basil; among which he nominated

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his Commentaries upon the Psalter, his book of Good Works, his Commentary upon the Lord's Prayer, and divers other which were not contentious.

After this Luther answered thus in Latin and in Dutch:

"Two things are proponed unto me by the imperial Majesty: First, whether I will avouch for mine all those books that bear my name. Secondly, whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published: whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can.

"In the first, I can do none other than recognise those books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there be questions of faith, and the salvation of the soul, (and this concerneth the word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and the which we ought duly evermore to reverence,) this might be accounted in me a rashness of judgment, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I would pronounce any thing before I were better advised; considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would speak. The which two things well considered, doth set before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny me before men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the imperial Majesty to grant me, liberty and leisure to deliberate; so that I may satisfy the interrogation made unto me, without prejudice of the word of God, and peril of mine own soul."

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced what was their resolution, saying,

"Albeit, Master Luther! thou hast sufficiently understood by the emperor's commandment the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to have any further respite given thee to determine; yet the emperor's Majesty, of his mere clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thine answer, so that to-morrow, at this instant hour, thou shalt repair to exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with lively voice."

This done, Luther was led to his lodging by the herald. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly of princes, he was exhorted by others to be courageous, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that kill the body, but not the soul; but rather to dread Him, that is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; When thou art before kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given thee in that hour, Matt. x.

The next day, after four o'clock, the herald came and brought Luther from his lodging to the emperor's court, where he abode till six o'clock, for that the princes were occupied in grave consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the princes were set, and Luther entered, Eckius, the official, began to speak in this manner:

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"Yesterday, at this hour, the emperor's Majesty assigned thee to be here, Master Luther! for that thou didst affirm those books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give certain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, being counted a man of such learning, and so long time exercised in theology. Then go to; answer even now to the emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintain all thy books which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thyself?"

The official made this interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. Martin Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and Christian constancy; so that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time 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 this hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience that I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's mercy, your most renowned Majesty, and your Graces and Honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of justice and verity; and if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenances of the court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented cloisters, and not courtly civilities. And first, as touching myself, I can affirm or promise no other thing but only this: that I have taught hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's glory, and to the salvation of men's souls.

"Now, as concerning the two articles objected by your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and be published in my name; or whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given resolute answer to the first, in the which I persist, and shall persevere for evermore, that these books be mine, and published by me in my name; unless it hath since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing of mine enemies, there be any thing foisted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing but that I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

"Now to answer to the second article; I beseech your most excellent Majesty, and your Graces, to vouchsafe to give ear. All my books are not of one sort: there be 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 of all Christians. And truly the pope's bull (how cruel and tyrannous soever it be) judgeth certain of my books inculpable; albeit the same, with severe sentence, thundereth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my books: which books if I should revoke, I might worthily be

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thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone that repugneth the public confession of all people. There is another sort of my books which containeth invectives against the papacy, and others of the pope's retinue, as have, with their pestiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianity; neither can any deny or dissemble this, (whereunto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness,) that the consciences of all faithful men be most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the pope's laws and doctrines of men; also that the goods and substance of Christian people are devoured, especially in this noble and famous country of Germany; and yet, without order, and in most detestable manner, are suffered still to be devoured without all measure, by incredible tyranny; notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper laws, as in the 9th and 25th distinctions, and in the 1st and 2nd questions; where they themselves have decreed, that all such laws of popes which be repugnant to the doctrines of the gospel, and the opinions of the ancient fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprov'd. If then I shall revoke these, I can do none other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only windows, but wide gates to their impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentious, than ever it durst heretofore. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent kingdom shall be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established; especially if this be bruited, that I, Luther, have done this by the authority of your most excellent Majesty, and the sacred Roman empire. O Lord! what a cover or shadow shall I be then, to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny. The rest, or third sort of my books, are such as I have written against certain private and singular persons; to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed, As touching these, I plainly confess, I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make myself no saint, and I dispute not of my life, but of the doctrine of Christ. And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this recantation it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means; and so shall they exercise cruelty against God's people more violently and ragingly than before. Nevertheless, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his doctrine; who, being examined of his learning before Annas, and having received a buffet of the minister, said, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, John xviii. If the Lord, who was perfect and could not err, refused not to have testimony given against his doctrine, yea, of a most vile servant, how much the more then I, that am but vile corruption, and can of myself do nothing but err, ought earnestly to see and require if any will bear witness against my doctrine. Therefore I require, for God's mercy, your most excellent Majesty, your Graces and right honourable Lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his testimony, 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 I be so instructed, to revoke any manner of error; yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own books and burn them.

"I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions, which have arisen throughout the whole world by reason of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished: concerning which divisions of men's minds what other men do judge I know not; as touching myself, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God; for such is the course and proceeding of the gospel:

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Jesus Christ saith, I came not to send peace but a sword; I came to set a man at variance with his father, Matt. x.

"And further, we must think, that our God is marvellous and terrible in his counsels; lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to achieve and bring to pass, (if we begin first with condemning of his word,) the same rebound again to a huge 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 lamentably, unfortunately, and miserably begun. I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharaoh, the king of Babylon, and the kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their own ruin, when by sage counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their governments and realms, and not by God's counsels; for it is he that entrappeth the wily in their wiliness, and subverteth mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's work, to dread the Lord.

"I speak not this, supposing that such politic and prudent heads have need of my doctrine and admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my country, and offer my duty or service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent Majesty, and your honourable Lordships; beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be contemned of you, through the pursuit of my adversaries. I have spoken."

These words pronounced, then Eckius, the emperor's prolocutor, with a stern countenance, began and said, that Luther had not answered to any purpose; neither it behoved him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by general councils; and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no? — Then Luther said:

"Considering your sovereign Majesty, and your Honours, require a plain answer; this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons, (for I believe not the pope, neither his general councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves,) my conscience is so bound and captived in these Scriptures and word of God which I have alleged, that I will not, nor may not, revoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against conscience, Hereupon I stand and rest: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me!"

The princes consulted together upon this answer given by Luther; and when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to repel him thus:

"Martin, thou hast more immodestly answered than beseemed thy person, and also little to the purpose. Thou dividest thy books into three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore, if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine errors is contained, the emperor's Majesty, and the noble clemency of others, would have suffered the rest that be sound, to sustain no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again, all that the general council of Constance hath condemned, the which was assembled of all the nation of Germany, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures;

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wherein thou errest greatly. For what availeth it to renew disputation of things so long time past condemned by the church and councils, unless it should be necessary to give a reason to every man of every thing that is concluded? Now were it so, that this should be permitted to every one that gainstandeth the determination of the church and councils, that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we shall have nothing certain and established in Christendom. And this is the cause wherefore the emperor's Majesty requireth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as Christian, or no?"

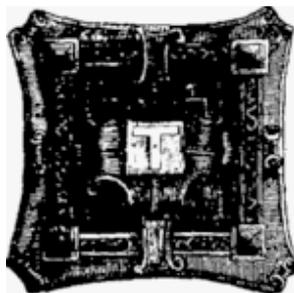
Then Luther, turning to the emperor and the nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed with the Holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary by his adversaries.

"I have declared and rendered," said he, "mine answer simply and directly, neither have I any more to say, unless mine adversaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and refel mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied, as I said, by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can, with a safe conscience assent unto them. For, as touching general councils, with whose authority only they press me, I am able to prove, that they have both erred, and have defined many times things contrary to themselves. And therefore the authority of them," he said, "not to be sufficient, for the which he should call back those things, the verity whereof standeth so firm and manifest in the Holy Scripture, that neither of him it ought to be required, neither could he so do without impiety."

Whereunto the official again answered, denying that any man could prove the councils to have erred. But Luther alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now night approaching, the lords rose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, divers Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, hallooing and whooping after him a long while.

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

"Our predecessors, who were truly Christian princes, were obedient to the Romish Church, which Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore, inasmuch as he is not determined to call back his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the see of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunications, and 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 safe return to the place whence he came."



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

During this time, divers princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with other 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 set up, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as well conceived the matter, that this was subtilly done by his enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe-conduct given him; the which the Roman ambassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass.

The Monday following, before supper, the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him, at nine o'clock before dinner, and assigned him the place. On St. George's day, a certain chaplain of the archbishop of Treves, about supper-time, came to Luther by the commandment of the bishop, signifying, that at that hour and place prescribed, he must, the morrow after, have access to his master.

The morrow after St. George's day, Luther, obeying the archbishop's commandment, entered his palace, being accompanied thither with his said chaplain, and one of the emperor's heralds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Worms, with other his chief friends.

Whereat Dr. Vœus, the marquis of Baden's chaplain, began to declare and protest, in the presence of the archbishop of Treves, Joachim, marquis of Brandenburg, George, duke of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, the earl George, John Bock of Strasburg, Verdeheymer and Peutiger, doctors,

That Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but only that the princes had procured licence of the emperor's Majesty, through Christian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort Luther benignly and brotherly. — He said further, that albeit the councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abased; or at the least, not so erred, that it was lawful for every man to impugn their opinions; inferring moreover many things of Zaccheus and the centurion, also of the traditions, and of constitutions, and of ceremonies ordained of men: affirming that all these were established to repress vices, according to the quality of times; and that the church could not be destitute of human constitutions. It is true, said he, that by the fruits the tree may be known; yet of these laws and decrees of men, many good fruits have proceeded; and St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and many other saints have been present at the councils.

Moreover, that Luther's book would breed a great tumult and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his book of Christian Liberty, encouraging them to shake off their yoke, and to confirm in them a disobedience: that the world now was at another stay, than when the believers were all of one heart and soul, and therefore it was requisite and behoveful to have laws. It was to be considered, said he, albeit he had written many good things, and no doubt of a good mind, as De triplice Justitia, and other matters, yet how the devil now, by crafty means,

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goeth about to bring to pass, that all his works for ever should be condemned. For by these books which he wrote last, men, said he, would judge and esteem him, as the tree is known, not by the blossom, but by the fruit.

Here he added something of the noon devil, and of the spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical places of honesty, of utility of laws, of the dangers of conscience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this sentence in the proem, middle, and epilogue of his oration: That this admonition was given him of a singular good will, and great clemency. In the shutting up of his oration he added menacings, saying, that if he would abide in his purposed intent, the emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the empire; persuading him deliberately to ponder, and to advise these and other things. Martin Luther answered:

"Most noble princes, and my most gracious lords! I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good wills, whence proceedeth this admonition; for I know myself to be so base, as by no means I can deserve to be admonished of so mighty estates." Then he frankly pronounced that he had not reprov'd all councils, but only the council of Constance; and for this principal cause, for that the same had condemn'd the word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this article propon'd by John Huss: "The church of Christ is the communion of the predestinate." "It is evident," said he, "that the council of Constance abolished this article, and consequently the article of our faith: I believe the holy church universal." And said, that he was ready to spend life and blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than men: and that in this he could not avoid the scandal or offence of faith; for there be two manner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of faith. The slander of charity consisteth in manners and in life: the offences of faith or doctrine rest in the word of God: and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christ's sheep were fed with pure pasture of the gospel; if the faith of Christ were sincerely preached, and if there were good ecclesiastical magistrates, who duly would execute their office; we should not need, said he, to charge the church with men's traditions. Further, that he knew well we ought to obey the magistrates and higher powers, how unjustly and perversely soever they lived: we ought also to be obedient to their laws and judgment: all which he had taught, said he, in all his works; adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all points, so that they enforced him not to deny the word of God.

These words finished, Luther was bade to stand aside, and the princes consulted what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a parlour, where the aforesaid Doctor Vœus 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, neither would, permit that men should say he would shun the judgment of the emperor, princes, and superior powers of the empire. So far was it off that he would refuse to stand their trial, that he was contented to suffer his writings to be discussed, considered, and judged of the simplest, so that it were done with the authority of the word of God, and the Holy Scripture: and that the word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his doctrine by the word of God. This

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lesson, said he, he learned of St. Augustine, who writeth, that he gave this honour only to those books which are called canonical; that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other doctors, albeit in holiness and excellency of learning they passed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God's word. Further, said he, St. Paul giveth us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians: Prove all things, follow that is good. And to the Galatians: Though an angel should descend from heaven, if he preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed, and therefore not to be believed!

Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his conscience, captived in the bands of 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 favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing in this matter against his conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself, with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim, elector, marquis of Brandenburg, demanded if his meaning was this, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture?" Yea, truly, right noble lord!" quoth Luther, "or else by ancient and evident reasons." And so the assembly brake, and the princes repaired to the emperor's court.

After their departure the archbishop of Treves, accompanied with a few his familiars, namely, John Eckius his official, and Cochleus, commanded Luther to repair into his parlour. With Luther was Jerome Scurffe, and Nicholas Ambsdorff, for his assistants. Then the official began to frame an argument, like a sophist and canonist, defending the pope's cause; that for the most part at all times Holy Scriptures have engendered errors, as the error of Helvidius the heretic, out of that place in the gospel, where is expressed, Joseph knew not his wife till she was delivered of her first child. Further, he went about to overthrow this proposition: that the catholic church is the communion of saints.

Martin Luther and Jerome Scurffe reprov'd (but modestly) these follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth, as things not serving to the purpose. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his five eggs, and laboured to persuade Luther to desist from his purpose, and utterly to refrain thenceforth to write or teach; and so they departed.

About evening the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther by Ambsdorff, that the emperor's promise made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean season he would confer with him the next day, and for that cause he would send Peutingger, and the doctor of Baden, (which was Vœus,) the morrow after to him; and he himself would also talk with him.

The Friday after, which was St. Mark's day, Peutingger, and the doctor of Baden, travailed in the forenoon to persuade Luther simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his writings to the emperor and empire. He answered, he would do it, and submit any thing they would have him, so they grounded with authority of Holy Scripture; otherwise he would not consent to do any thing: for God said by his prophet, (saith he,) Trust ye not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health. Also, Cursed be he that trusteth in man. And seeing that they did urge him more vehemently, he answered, "We ought to yield no more to the judgment of men, than the word of God doth suffer." So they departed, and prayed him to advise for better

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answer; and said, they would return after dinner. And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at least he would submit his writing to the judgment of the next general council. Luther agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themselves should present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council, in such sort, as, notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the council, should be authorized by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

They then, leaving Luther, departed, and reported to the archbishop of Treves, that he had promised to submit his writings in certain articles to the next council, and in the mean space he would keep silence; which Luther never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deny or submit his books to the judgments of men, (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture,) until they could prove by sacred Scripture and apparent reasons to the contrary.

It chanced then by the special grace of God, that the archbishop of Treves sent for Luther, thinking presently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwise than Peutingen and the doctor of Baden had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himself speak; for else he was even now going to the emperor, to declare what the doctors had reported.

Then the archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him under safe-conduct, attempting him with new commandments, had condemned his opinion and approved the pope's bull.

Moreover the archbishop, bidding a friend of his draw nigh, required Luther to declare what remedy might be ministered to help this. Luther answered, that there was no better remedy than such as Gamaliel alleged in the fifth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, as witnesseth St. Luke, saying, If this counsel, or this work, proceed of men, it shall come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it. And so he desired that the emperor might be advertised to write the same to the pope, that he knew certainly, if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea, 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, "So that they be 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, nor I cannot, hold my peace of such, for I am sure by their decrees the word of God was condemned; therefore I will rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God."

Then the archbishop, seeing Luther would in no wise give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bade Luther farewell; who at that instant prayed the archbishop to entreat the emperor's Majesty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He answered, he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the emperor's pleasure.

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Within a small while after, John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, who had been Maximilian's chancellor, said unto Luther in his lodging, by the commandment of the emperor: that since he had been admonished diversely of the imperial Majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and that, notwithstanding, he would not return to unity and concord, there remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should proceed further: and it was the emperor's ordinance, that he should in twenty-one days return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther, hearing this, answered very modestly and Christianly, "Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass; the name of the Lord be blessed!" He said further, 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 safe-conduct to come and return. Finally, he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and consonancy of Holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was pressed to suffer all chances for the imperial Majesty, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach; reserving nothing to himself, but the only word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end; humbly recommending him to the emperor's Majesty, and to all the princes and other estates of the sacred empire.

The morrow after, which was the six and twentieth day of April, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and other, his benevolent friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten of the clock he departed from Worms, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him; having space of time limited unto him, as is said, for one and twenty days, and no more. The emperor's herald, Casper Sturm, followed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the emperor to conduct him safely home.

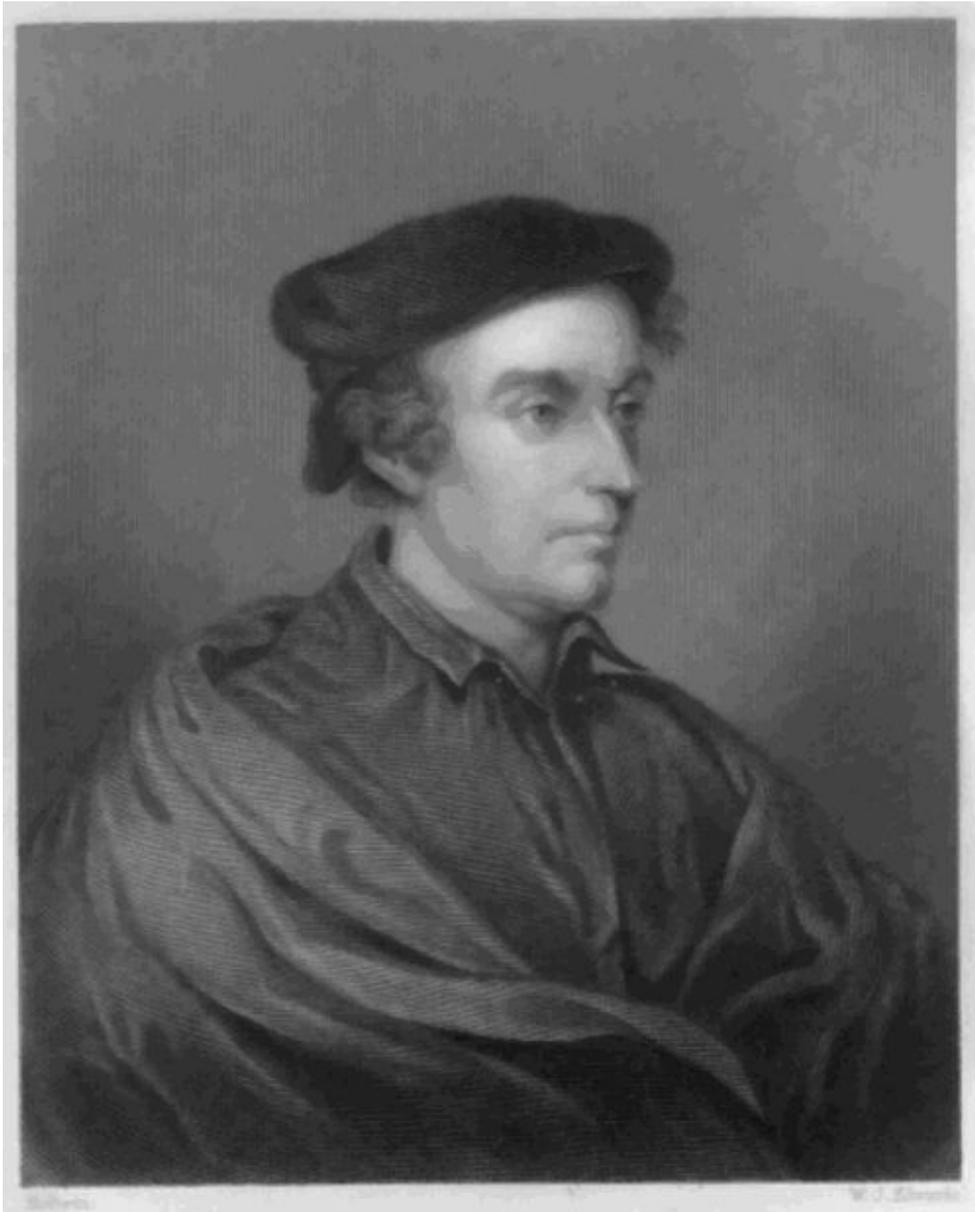
The usual prayer of Martin Luther.

"Confirm, O God! in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the work that thou hast begun in us, to thy glory: so be it."

Martin Luther, thus being dismissed of the emperor, according to the promise of his safe-conduct made, as you have heard, departed from Worms toward his country, the six and twentieth of April, accompanied with the emperor's herald, and the rest of his company, having only one and twenty days to him granted for his return, and no more. In the which mean space of his return he writeth to the emperor, and to other nobles of the empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour; which, as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole church universal, may be heard with indifferency and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of Holy Scripture: signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, &c.

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During the time of these doings, the doctors and schoolmen of Paris were not behind with their parts, but, to show their cunning, condemned the books of Luther, extracting out of the same, especially out of the book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, certain articles as touching the sacraments, laws, and decrees of the church, equality of works, vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, freewill, privileges of holy church, councils, punishment of heretics, philosophy, school-divinity, with other more. Unto whom Philip Melancthon maketh answer, and also Luther himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.



Portrait of Philip Melancthon

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It was not long after this, but Charles, the new emperor, to purchase favour with the pope, (because he was not yet confirmed in his empire,) provideth and directeth out a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all them that take his part; commanding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. By which decree, proclaimed against Luther, the emperor procured no small thank with the pope; insomuch that the pope, ceasing to take part with the French king, joined himself wholly to the emperor. In the mean time Duke Frederic, to give some place for the time to the emperor's proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that behalf. There Luther, being close and out of company, wrote divers epistles, and certain books also, unto his friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of Augustine friars, entitled, *De abroganda Missa*: which friars the same time being encouraged by him, began first to lay down their private masses. Duke Frederic, fearing lest that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole university of Wittenberg to be asked in the matter; committing the doing thereof to four; Justus Jonas, Philip Melancthon, Nicholas Ambsdorff, Johannes Dulcius.

The minds of the whole university being searched, it was showed to the duke, that he should do well and godly, by the whole advice of the learned there, to command the use of the mass to be abrogated through his dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overcometh the better part; neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries, which willingly and wickedly kick against the truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, we ought not to surcease from that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's truth, howsoever the world doth esteem us, or rage against it. Thus showed they their judgment to Duke Frederic.

It happened moreover about the same year and time, that King Henry also, pretending an occasion to impugn the book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, wrote against Luther. In which book, first, he reproveth Luther's opinion about the pope's pardons; secondly, he defended the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; thirdly, he laboureth to refel all his doctrine of the sacraments of the church.

This book, albeit it carried the king's name in the title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, another that framed the style. But whosoever had the labour of this book, the king had the thank and also the reward; for consequently upon the same, the bishop of Rome gave to the said King Henry, for the style against Luther, the style and title of "Defender of the Christian Faith;" and to his successors for ever.

Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, Pope Leo, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, through the emperor's aid, the cities of Parma, Placentia, and Milan, &c., he, sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great gifts that God had bestowed upon him: first, that he, being banished out of his country, was restored to Florence again with glory; secondly, that he had deserved to be called apostolic; thirdly, that he had driven the Frenchmen out of Italy: after he had spoken these words, he was stricken with a sudden fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of forty-seven years; albeit some suspect that he

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died of poison. Successor to whom was Pope Adrian the Sixth, schoolmaster some time to Charles the emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his papacy; during whose small time these three especial things were incident: a great pestilence in Rome, wherein above a hundred thousand people were consumed; the loss of Rhodes by the Turk; and thirdly, the capital war which the said Pope Adrian, with the emperor, and the Venetians, and the king of England, did hold against Francis the French king. This Pope Adrian was a German born, brought up at Louvain, and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other popes have been: and yet, like a right pope, nothing degenerating from his see, he was a mortal enemy against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany, A.D. 1522.

140. Assembly at Nuremberg

Unto this assembly the said Adrian sent his letters in manner of a brief, with an instruction also unto his legate Cheregatus, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to allege against Luther, before the princes there assembled. His letter, with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed over with a fair show and colour of painted zeal and religion, and beareth resemblance of great truth and care of the church, able to deceive the outward ears of them which are not inwardly in true religion instructed: I thought therefore to give to the reader a sight thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter, in cases like, to be prudent and circumspect in not believing over-rashly the smooth talk or pretended persuasions of men, especially in church matters, unless they carry with them the simplicity of plain truth; going not upon terms, but grounded upon the word and revealed will of God, with particular demonstrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to persuade. First, the letter of this pope, conceived and directed against Luther, proceedeth in this effect:

"Right honourable brethren, and dear children, greeting and apostolic benediction. After that we were first promoted (through God's divine providence) to the office of the see apostolic, he which hath so advanced us is our witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more than how to satisfy the parts of a good pastor, in attending to the health and cure of the flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular sheep through the whole universal flock so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's fold again. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our messengers, as our daily letters, how to reclaim the minds of Christian princes from these intestine wars and dissensions among themselves to peace and concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their strength and armour against the common enemies of our faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expenses we have burdened ourselves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the soldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselves, and of the Christian faith, against the Turkish tyranny, by whom they were besieged.

"And now, to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we hear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, a new raiser-up of old and damnable heresies, first after the fatherly advertisements of the see apostolic; then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best learned, and of sundry universities also; and lastly, after the imperial decree of our well-beloved son Charles, elect emperor of the Romans, and catholic king of Spain, being divulged through the whole nation of Germany; yet hath neither been by order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all Christian charity and godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the world with new books, fraught full of errors, heresies, contumelies, and sedition, (whether upon his own head, or by the help of other,) and to infect the country of Germany, and other regions about, with this

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pestilence; and endeavoureth still to corrupt simple souls and manners of men, with the poison of his pestiferous tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his favourers and supporters, not of the vulgar sort only, but also divers personages of the nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the goods of priests (which perhaps is the chief ground of this stir begun) contrary to their obedience which they owe to ecclesiastical and temporal persons, and now also at last have grown unto civil war and dissension among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon repute with yourselves, and consider. For although the apostle hath told us before, That heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, &c., yet was there never time either so convenient to raise up heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the devil, the perpetual enemy of mankind, roaring in the shape of a lion, by the power of the Turks doth continually invade the flock of Christ; how can we then resist the violent invasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same devil, under the colour of a wily dragon, sowing such heresies, discords, and seditious among ourselves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our enemies without, and at home with heresies and schisms to be divided.

"We remember, before the time of our papacy, when we were in Spain, many things we heard then of Luther, and of his perverse doctrine; which rumours and tidings, although of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that country, where we ourself, after the flesh, took our first beginning. But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this doctrine would not long hold; reputed thus with ourself, that such pestiferous plants, translated from other countries into Germany, would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was ever wont to be a weeder out of all heresies and infidelity. But now, since this evil tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the sins of the people, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged, and spread his branches so far; you therefore, both princes and people of Germany, must this consider and provide, lest you, which, at the first springing up of this evil, might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your over-much sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.

"Here we omit and pass over, what enormity, and more than enormity, that is, that such a great and so devout a nation should by one friar (who, relinquishing the catholic faith and Christian religion, which he before professed, playeth the apostate, and hath lied to God) be now seduced from that way, which first Christ our Redeemer and his blessed apostles have opened unto us; which so many martyrs, so many holy fathers, so many great, learned men, and also your own fore-elders, and old ancestors, have always hitherto walked in; as though only Luther had all wit and cunning; as though he only now first had received the Holy Ghost (as the heretic Montanus used to boast of himself); or as though the church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto always in dark shadows of ignorance and perdition, till now it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of Luther. All which things there is no doubt but to such as have judgment will seem ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds; and to other, which being weary of all good order, do gape still for new changes, may breed matter and occasion of such mischiefs, as partly

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yourselves have experience already. And therefore do you not consider, O princes and people of Germany! that these be but prefaces and preambles to those evils and mischiefs which Luther, with the sect of his Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter? Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the Lutherans to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an invention to spoil your goods, which they have long intended? or do you think that these sons of iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of liberty to supplant obedience, and so to open a general licence to every man to do what him listeth? And suppose you that they will any thing regard your commandments, or esteem your laws, which so contemptuously vilipend the holy canons and decrees of the fathers, yea, and the most holy councils also, (to whose authority the emperor's laws have always given room and place,) and not only vilipend them, but also, with a diabolical audacity, have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a lighted fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to priests, to bishops, yea, to the high bishop of all, and which daily before your own faces make their booties of church goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of laymen's goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally, to conclude, how can you hope that they will more spare you, or hold their murdering hands from your throats, which have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's anointed, which are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable calamity will at length redound upon your goods, your houses, wives, children, dominions, possessions, and these your temples which you hallow and reverence; except you provide some speedy remedy against the same.

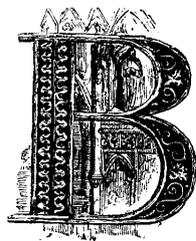
"Wherefore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, and devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian charity and religion, (for which religion your forefathers oftentimes have given their blood to uphold and increase the same,) and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St. Peter, and to his vicar here in earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissensions among yourselves, you confer your helping hands every man to quench this public fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said Martin Luther, and all other favourers of these tumults and errors, to better conformity and trade both of life and faith. And if they which be infected shall refuse to hear your admonitions, yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. He, to whom all secrets of men are open, doth know how we, both for our nature, and also for our pastoral office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit, than to revenge. But when this pestiferous canker cannot with supple and gentle medicines be cured, more sharp salves must be proved, and fiery searings. The putrefied members must be cut off from the body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into hell the schismatical brethren, Dathan and Abiram; and him that would not obey the authority of the priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So Peter, prince of the apostles, denounced sudden death to Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto God. So the old and godly emperors commanded Jovinian and Priscillian, as heretics, to be beheaded. So St. Jerome wished Vigilant, as a heretic, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our predecessors in the council of Constance condemn to death John Huss and his fellow Jerome, which now appeareth to revive again in Luther. The worthy acts and examples of which forefathers, if you in these doings (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful clemency shall eftsoons relieve his church; which, being now sore vexed of infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally

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directed upon you, as being the most puissant and most populous nation that we have in Christendom.

"Wherefore, upon the blessing of Almighty God, and of blessed St. Peter, which here we send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false dragon, as the strong lion, that both these, that is, as well the inward heresies, as the foreign enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your honours an immortal victory, both here and in the world to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in money or authority, we will not fail to support you herein, yea, and to bestow our life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our sheep to us committed. Other things as touching the matter of Luther, we have committed to this Cheregatus our legate, whom we have directed purposely for the same unto your assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty legate.

"Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the ring of the fisher, the 25th day of November, A.D. 1522, in the first year of our pontificate."



y this letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle reader! to note and understand, what either wily persuasions or strength of authority could devise against Luther, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glozing sentences, or outward facing and bracing, could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy epistle. But if a man should require the particulars or the specialties of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest man's strength with all his policy bent against Luther, the more thou mayest consider the almighty power of God, in defending the cause of this poor man against so mighty enemies.

Now hear further what instructions the said Pope Adrian sent to his legate Cheregatus, how and by what reasons to move and inflame the princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther and his cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his legate, touching his proceedings in the diet of Nuremberg, how and by what persuasions to incense the princes against Luther.

"Imprimis, you shall declare to them the great grief of our heart for the prospering of Luther's sect, to see the innumerable souls, redeemed with Christ's blood, and committed to our pastoral government, to be turned away from the true faith and religion into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the nation of Germany, being our native country, which hath been ever heretofore, till these few years past, most faithful and devout in religion; and therefore our desire to be the greater that this pestilence should be stopped betimes, lest the same happen to that country of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may; as likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared unto them.

"First, the honour of God, which, before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these heresies is greatly defaced, and his worship not only diminished, but rather

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wholly corrupted. Also the charity toward our neighbour, by which charity every man is bound to reduce his neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish.

"The second cause to move them against Luther, is the infamy of their nations; which, being counted beforetime always most Christian, now by these sectaries of Luther, is evil spoken of in all other quarters.

"The third cause is the respect of their own honour, which notoriously will be distained, if they which most excel in nobility and authority among the Germans, shall not bend all their power to expel these heresies: first, for that they shall appear to be degenerate from their progenitors, who, being present at the condemnation of John Huss and of other heretics, are said, some of them, with their own hands to have led John Huss to the fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approving with their authority the imperial edict set forth of late in condemnation of Martin Luther, now, except they shall follow the execution of the same, shall be noted inconstant, or may be thought to favour the same; seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.

"The fourth cause is the injury wrought by Luther to them, their parents, and progenitors, forasmuch as their fathers, progenitors, and themselves also, have always holden the same faith which the catholic Church of Rome hath appointed; contrary to which faith Luther, with his sectaries, now doth hold, saying, that many things are not to be believed which their aforesaid ancestors have holden to be of faith. It is manifest, therefore, that they be condemned of Luther for infidels and heretics; and so consequently, by Luther's doctrine, all their fore-elders and progenitors which have deceased in this our faith, be in hell; for error in faith importeth damnation.

"The fifth cause to move them is, that they should well advise and consider the end whereunto all these Lutherans do tend; which is, that under the shadow of evangelical liberty, they may abolish all superiority and power. For although, at the first beginning, they pretended only to annul and repress our power ecclesiastical, as being falsely and tyrannously usurped against the gospel; yet, forasmuch as liberty is all their foundation and pretence, (by the which liberty, the secular power and magistrates cannot bind men by any commandments, be they never so just or so reasonable, to obey them under pain of mortal sin,) it is manifest that their scope is to enfeeble and infringe, as much or more, the secular state also, although covertly they pretend to salve it; to the end, that when the secular princes shall believe this their working not to be directed against them, but only against the usurped domination of the church and churchmen, then the laity, (which commonly hath been always against men of the church,) holding with them, shall suffer the churchmen to be devoured; which done, no doubt but, they will afterward practise the like upon the secular princes and potentates, which now they attempt against our ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"The sixth clause to move and persuade them against Luther is this, for them to consider the fruits which follow of that sect; as slanders, offences, disturbance, robberies, murders, seditions, dissensions, which this sect hath, and daily doth stir up through whole Germany: also blasphemies, slanderous words, scoffings, jests, and bitter taunts, which are ever in their mouths;

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against which, unless that they shall find a present remedy, it is to be feared lest the desolation of God's wrath will fall upon Germany, being so divided; or rather upon the princes of Germany, who, having the sword given of God into their hands for the suppression of malefactors, suffer such enormities among their subjects. Cursed is he, (saith the prophet,) which doth the work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back his sword from the blood of wicked doers, Jer. xxviii.

"The seventh reason is, that the princes should consider how Luther useth the same way of seducing the people of Christ, as hath the venomous viper Mahomet practised in deceiving so many thousands of souls, in permitting to them the liberty of those things which flesh desireth, and afterward in exempting them from such things as be more sharp in the law; but that Luther a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive more effectually; for Mahomet giveth licence to have many wives, and to divorce and marry others at their pleasure. This Luther, to draw unto him the favour of nuns, monks, and priests, such as be lascivious in flesh, preacheth that vows of perpetual continency be unlawful, and much less to be obligatory; and therefore permitteth unto them that they may marry; forgetting, by the way, what the apostle writeth of young widows, saying, That when they wax wanton against Christ, then will they marry; having condemnation, because they have made void their first faith, 1 Tim. v. 12.

"These and other such-like reasons being opened and laid before them, you shall then in our name exhort the aforesaid princes, prelates, and people, to awake and employ their diligence how to gainstand, first, the injury of these Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy religion; secondly, their villany toward the whole nation of the Germans and their princes, and especially the shameful contumely towards their fathers and elders, whom in effect they condemn to hell. In consideration whereof you shall call upon them to remember themselves, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the apostolical sentence, and of the emperor's edict; giving pardon to them that will amend and acknowledge their fault: the other, who obstinately persist in their error, punishing with the rod of strict severity, according to the decrees of the canons and laws of the church; that, by their example, such as stand may remain in faith, and they which are fallen may be reduced.

"And if any shall object again, that Luther was condemned by the apostolic see before he was heard, and that his cause ought first to have been heard and adjudged before he was convicted, you shall answer, that those things which pertain to faith are to be believed for their own authority, and not to be proved. 'Take away,' saith Ambrose, 'arguments where faith is sought: there the fishers, not the philosophers, must be trusted.' Truth it is, and we grant no less but that lawful defence and hearing ought not to be denied in such cases, where question is of the fact, whether it were done or not; as whether he spake, preached, wrote, or not. But where the matter is of God's law, or in cause of the sacraments, there must we always stand to the authority of holy fathers, and of the church. Now all things almost, wherein Luther dissenteth from other, are reprov'd before by divers councils; neither ought those things to be called into question, which have been defined before by general councils, and the universal church; but ought to be received by faith: for else he doth injury to the synod of the church, who so bringeth again into controversy things once rightly discussed and settled. Otherwise what certainty can there be amongst men, or what end shall there be of contending and disputing, if it shall be lawful for every lewd and presumptuous person to decline from the things which have been received and ratified by the consent, not of one, nor of a few, but of so many ages, so many wise heads, and of

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the catholic church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto faith appertaining? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all must be full of disturbance, offences, and confusion, unless the things which have been once, yea, many times, by ripe judgment constituted, be observed of all men as inviolable? Wherefore, seeing Luther and his fellows do condemn the councils of holy fathers, do burn the holy canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbbers of public peace?

"Further, this you shall say unto them, that we confess ourselves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy. For certain it is, that the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us; and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us. The Scripture testifieth, that the sins of the people do issue out from the sins of the priests. 'And therefore,' saith 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, which first beginneth to cure the disease from the very root.' We know that in this holy see there have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practised; as abuses in matters spiritual, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things turned clean contrary. And no marvel if the sickness, first beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, have descended afterwards to inferior prelates. All we (that is, prelates of the church) have declined every one after his own way; neither hath there been one that hath done good, no not one. Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our souls to him, considering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judge himself, before he be judged of God in the rod of his fury. For the redress whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise in our behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning with our own court: that like as, this contagion first from thence descended into all the inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take his beginning; whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole world so desirous of the same. We ourselves, as you know, never sought this dignity, but rather coveted, if we otherwise might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet state to serve God; and also would utterly have refused the same, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting of some schism to follow after, have urged us to take it. And thus took we 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 more as appertaineth to the charge of a good bishop and lawful heir of St. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses be not straight-ways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The sore is great, and far grown, and is not single, but of manifold maladies together compacted; and therefore to the curing thereof we must proceed by little and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest, while we intend to amend all, we destroy all. 'All sudden mutations,' saith Aristotle, 'in a commonwealth, are perilous;' and, He that wringeth too hard, straineth out blood, Prov. xxx.

"And whereas in your last letters you wrote, that the princes complain, how this see hath been, and is, prejudicial to their ordinances and agreements, hereunto you shall thus answer: that such excesses, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always

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have misliked these derogations; and therefore bid them so assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have refrained the same; partly for that it is good, right, and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him; and partly also that the said noble nation of Germany shall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lie to do for them.

"And as touching the processes which they desired to have removed away *a rota*, and to be referred down to the parties, you shall signify unto them, that we will gratify them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our auditors are now presently absent from the city, by reason of the plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those processes. As soon as they shall return, (which we hope will be shortly,) we shall do in the princes' favour what reasonably we may.

"Further: whereas we understand, that there be many fresh, flourishing wits in Germany, and many well-learned men, which are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the apostolical provisions, dignities and promotions are bestowed upon tapsters and dancers, and unfit persons; we will, therefore, that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that when any such vacation of benefices in Germany doth fall, we, of our voluntary motion, may provide for them accordingly. For why? we consider how much it is against God's glory, and against the health and the edification of souls, that benefices and dignities of the church have now so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

"As touching the subsidy for the Hungarians, we send no other information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; save only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in soliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italy, that every one may help after his ability."

These popish suggestions and instructions of the pope himself against Luther, I thought, Christian reader! to set before thine eyes, to the intent thou mayst see here (as in a pattern, and go no farther) all the crimes, objections, exclamations, suspicions, accusations, slanders, offenses, contumelies, rebukes, untruths, cavillations, railings, whatsoever they have devised, or can devise, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise, against Luther and his teaching. They cry, Heresy, heresy! but they prove no heresy. They cry, Councils, councils! and yet none transgresseth councils more than themselves. If councils go always with Scripture, then Luther goeth with them; if councils do jar sometimes from the Scripture, what heresy is in Luther in standing with Scripture against those councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any councils, save only the council of Constance. They inflame kings and princes against Luther, and yet they have no cause wherefore. They accuse him for teaching liberty. If they mean the liberty of the flesh, they accuse him falsely; if they mean the liberty of the spirit, they teach wickedly which teach contrary: and yet when they have all said, none live so licentiously as themselves. They pretend the zeal of the church, but under that church lieth their own private welfare and belly-cheer. They charge Luther with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to magistrates and civil laws as they. They lay to his charge oppression and spoiling of laymen's goods; and who spoileth the laymen's livings so much as the pope? For probation hereof, let the pope's accounts be cast, what he raketh out of every Christian realm. Briefly, turn only the names

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of the persons, and instead of Luther's name, place the name of the pope, and the effect of this letter above prefixed shall agree upon, none more aptly than upon the pope himself and his own sectaries.

Now to proceed further in the process of this aforesaid matter, let us see what the princes again for their parts answer to these aforesaid suggestions and instructions of Pope Adrian, sent unto them in the diet of Nuremberg, in the cause of Luther: the answer of whom here followeth underwritten:

"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 in Nuremberg convented, have gratefully received, and diligently perused, the letters sent in 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 unto them in the cause of Luther's faction. By the which aforesaid letters and writings, first, whereas they understand his Holiness to have been born, and to have had his native origin and parentage out of this noble nation of Germany, they do not a little rejoice. Of whose egregious virtues and ornaments, both of mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years: by reason whereof they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the high top of the apostolical dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same: praying also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and perpetual glory of his name, and for health of souls, and purity of the universal church, that God will give his Holiness long continuance of felicity: having no misdoubt but that by such a full and consenting election of such a pastor of the universal catholic church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and look for, his Holiness openeth 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 to him committed; and especially in converting the minds of Christian princes from war to peace. Declaring moreover what subsidy and relief his Holiness hath sent to the soldiers of Rhodes, &c. All which things they, perpending with themselves, conceive 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 the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the state of the commonwealth nor of Christian religion can be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks repressed.

"Wherefore the excellent prince, lord lieutenant to the emperor's Majesty, with the other princes electors, and orders of this present assembly, most heartily do pray, that his Holiness will persist in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath virtuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagreeing hearts of Christian princes may be reduced to quiet and peace or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, 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; whereunto both the noble prince lord lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

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"And whereas by the letters of his Holiness, with his instruction also exhibited unto 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 desireth some speedy remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary reasons and causes, whereby to move the German princes thereunto; and that they will tender the execution of the apostolic sentence, and also of the emperor's edict set forth touching the suppressing of Luther: To these the lord lieutenant, and other princes and states, do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his Holiness; and also do 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 otherwise. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of errors, and decay of souls' health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform; considering how they stand bound and subject, as well to the pope's Holiness, as also to the emperor's Majesty. But why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the emperor's edict against Luther, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there have been (said they) causes great and urgent, which have led them thereto: as first, in weighing and considering with themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the people of Germany have always had this persuasion, and now, by reading of Luther's books, are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this nation of Germany by the court of Rome: and therefore, if they should have proceeded with any rigour in executing the pope's sentence, and the emperor's edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be 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: which thing unto the princes and states there hath been well perceived by many arguments; for the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

"Again, whereas the reverend lord legate (said they) in the name of the pope's Holiness, hath been instructed, to declare unto them, that God suffereth this persecution to rise in the church for the sins of men, and that his Holiness doth promise therefore to begin the reformation with his own court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence 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, doth testify in his letters, that he himself did always mislike that the court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordats of the princes, and that his Holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his papacy, never to practise the like, but so to endeavour, 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 favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy bishop omitteth nothing which a good father, or a devout pastor, may or ought to do to his sheep? or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults, namely, seeing his Holiness so intendeth to accomplish the same in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

"And thus undoubtedly both the noble lord lieutenant, and all other princes and states of the empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of souls, and to the tranquillity of the public state. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other articles also, which the secular princes (assigned

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purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany, that can be hoped. For partly by long wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hinderances, this nation of Germany hath been so wasted and consumed in money, that scarcely it is able to sustain itself in private affairs, and necessary upholding of justice within itself; much less then to minister aid and succour to the kingdom of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turk. And whereas all the states of the sacred Roman empire do not doubt, but the pope's Holiness doth right well understand how the German princes did grant and condescend for the money of annats to be levied to the see of Rome for term of certain years, upon condition that the said money should be converted to maintain war against the Turkish infidels, and for defence of the catholic faith: and whereas the term of these years is now expired longsince, when the said annats should be gathered, and yet that money hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted; therefore if any such necessity should now come, that any public helps or contributions against the Turk should be demanded of the German people, they would answer again, Why is not that money of annats, reserved many years before to that-use, now to be bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burdens for that cause to be laid upon them.

"Wherefore 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 the premises, and surcease hereafter to require such annats, which are accustomed after the death of bishops and other prelates, or ecclesiastical persons, to be paid to the court of Rome, and suffer them to remain to the chamber of the empire, whereby justice and peace may be more commodiously administered, the tranquillity of the public state of Germany maintained; and also, by the same, due helps may be ordained and disposed to other Christian potentates in Germany, against the Turk, which otherwise without the same is not to be hoped for.

"Item, Whereas the pope's Holiness desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these errors of the Lutherans: to this the lord lieutenant, with other princes and nobles, do answer, that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise, with willing hearts they will be ready thereunto. Seeing therefore the state, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, is far out of frame, and have so much corrupted their ways; and seeing not only of Luther's part, and of his sect, but also by divers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; much requisite and necessary it is, that some effectual remedy be provided, as well for redress of the church, as also for repressing the Turk's tyranny. Now what more present or effectual remedy can be had, the lord lieutenant, with other estates and princes, do not see, than this, that the pope's Holiness, by the consent of the emperor's Majesty, do summon a free Christian council in some convenient place of Germany, as at Strasburg, or at Mentz, or at Cologne, or at Metz; and that with as much speed as conveniently may be, so that the congregating of the said council be not deferred above one year in the which council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God, and health of souls, and the public wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint; whatsoever oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding; yea, and it shall be every good man's part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what

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ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the mean time, until the council be set, the aforesaid lord lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as Luther, and certain of his fellows, be within the territory and dominion of the noble Duke Frederic, the said lord lieutenant and other states of the empire shall so labour the matter with the aforesaid prince, duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble prince of Saxony, for his Christian piety, and obedience to the Roman empire, as becometh a prince of such excellent virtue, will effectually condescend to the same.

"Item, The said lord lieutenant and princes shall labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermons teach or blow into the people's ears such matter, whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error; and 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 of Christ's church, abstaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtilly searched, or deeply discussed, it is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention of disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the council to come.

"Item, The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their dioceses, shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scripture, which shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers and if they shall perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort as no man shall justly complain the truth of the gospel to be impeached. But if the preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then shall they be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient.

Furthermore, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth, during the aforesaid time, no new book shall be imprinted, especially none of these famous libels, neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also, order shall be taken amongst all potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for the same; so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus, by these means, they hope well, that the tumults, errors, and offences among the people shall cease; especially if the pope's Holiness himself shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the aforesaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and Christian council as hath been said; and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted; for all such as be honest and good men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that general council, so shortly, and now ready at hand, to come. Finally, as concerning priests which contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the apostolical legate, the aforesaid princes do consider, that forasmuch as in the civil law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the canonical constitutions, to be

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punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other condign censures: and that the said ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and shall direct out their public edicts and precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said ordinaries in their ecclesiastical castigation, upon such transgressors to be administered.

"To conclude; the redoubled prince, lord lieutenant, and other princes, estates, and orders of the public empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the pope's Holiness, and the reverend lord his legate, will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant, than of a good, free, sincere, and a Christian mind: neither is there any thing that all the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles, do more wish and desire, than the furtherance and 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 obsequious, as faithful children."

Thus hast thou, loving reader! the full discourse both of the pope's letter, and of his legate's instructions, with the answer also of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions to them exhibited in the diet of Nuremberg: in the which diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, then concerning a general council to be called in Germany, also for printing, and preaching, and for priests' marriage, hath been likewise declared, &c.

The occasion of this matter, moved against priests' marriage, came first by the ministers of Strasburg, which about this time began to take wives, and therefore were cited by the bishop of Strasburg to appear before him at a certain day, as violators of the laws of holy church, the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the emperor's Majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of priesthood, and majesty of Almighty God: but they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrates of the same city; who, being suitors for them unto the bishops, laboured to have the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Long it were to recite all the circumstances following upon this diet or assembly of Nuremberg, how their decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diversely wrested and expounded. Luther, writing his letters upon the same decree to the princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the preachers were commanded to preach the pure gospel, after the doctrine of the church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, or Scotus, or such other late school writers, but after the doctrine of Hilary, Cyprian, and Austin, and other ancient doctors; and yet the doctrine of the said ancestors no further to be received, but as they should agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, as concerning new books not to be sold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the text of the Bible and books of the Holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all men.

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And as for the prohibition of priests' marriage, he writeth to the princes, and desireth them to bear with the weakness of men; declaring that branch of their decree to be very hard, which though it standeth with the pope's law, yet it accordeth not with the gospel, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honesty of life, &c.

Furthermore, Whereas in the same session of Nuremberg, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of a hundred, and exhibited to the bishop of Rome, it were tedious likewise to insert them all; yet to give some taste of a few I judge it not unprofitable, to the intent that the world may see and judge, not only what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the holy Church of Rome, but also may understand, with what hypocrisy and impudence the pope taketh upon him so grievously to complain upon Master Luther and others; when in all the universal church of Christ, there is none so much to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himself, according as by these heinous complaints of the German princes, here following, against the pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances, may right well appear. Which grievances being collected by the princes of Germany at Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred, I wish might be fully and at large set forth to the studious reader, whereby might appear the subtle sleights and intolerable frauds of that pretended church. But forasmuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to exhibit some part thereof for example, as giving only a certain taste, whereby thou mayst more easily conceive what to think and esteem of all the residue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

Certain grievances or oppressions of Germany, against the court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the princes, at the council of Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred, whereof certain specialties here follow.

Forbidding of marriage in divers degrees, not forbidden by God's law.

Forbidding of meats, not forbidden by God's law. Of times of marriage restrained, and afterwards released for money.

Complaint for selling remission of sins for money.

But especially the burden and grievance of the pope's indulgences and pardons be most importable; when the bishops of Rome, under pretence of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turk, do 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 not in this life only, but also after this life, to them that be dead, burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope and occasion thereof, true piety is almost extinct in all Germany, while every evil-disposed person promiseth to himself, for a little money, licence and impunity to do what him listeth: whereupon followeth fornication, incest, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing and spoiling, rapine, usury, with a whole flood of all mischiefs, &c.

Complaint against the immunities of clergymen.

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Complaint of excommunication being abused in Church of Rome.

Complaint that the church is burdened with a number of holidays, which ought to be diminished.

The suspending and hallowing of church-yards complained of, gainful to the pope, and chargeable to the people.

Complaint against officials, and other ecclesiastical judges.

How the ecclesiastical judges do annex certain special causes, being lay matters, unto their own jurisdiction, and will by no means release the same, except for money.

The gain that riseth to the clergy by false slanders and rumours.

Complaint against spiritual judges taking secular causes from the civil magistrates, for gain of money.

Complaint against ecclesiastical judges inter-meddling with cases of the secular court, but will not suffer their cases once to be touched of the other.

Complaint against certain misorders of cathedral churches, for using double punishment for one offence against the law.

Complaint of officials for maintaining unlawful usury.

Complaint of officials permitting unlawful cohabiting with another, when the husband or wife is long absent.

Complaint of canons in cathedral churches, which have their bishop sworn unto them before he be chosen.

Complaints against incorporations or impropriations, and other pilling of the people by churchmen.

Buying and selling of burials complained of.

Chaste and continent priests compelled to pay tribute for concubines.

Also in many places the bishops and their officials do not only suffer priests to have concubines, so that they pay certain sums of money, but also compel continent and chaste priests, which live without concubines, to pay tribute for concubines, affirming that the bishop hath need of money: which being paid, it shall be lawful for them either to live chaste, or keep concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every man doth well understand and know.

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hese, with many other burdens and grievances more, to the number of a hundred, the secular states of Germany delivered to the pope's legate; having (as they said) many more and more grievous grievances besides these, which had likewise much need of redress: but because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves (they said) with these aforesaid hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity; stedfastly trusting and hoping, that when those hundred grievances already by them declared, should be abolished, the other would also decay and fall with them. Of the which aforesaid grievances and complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the emperor at the council of Worms; but because no redress thereof did follow, therefore the secular states of Germany thought good to exhibit the same now again, with divers more annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus, the pope's legate in this present assembly of Nuremberg, desiring him to present the same to Pope Adrian. This was about A.D. 1523; which being done, the assembly at Nuremberg brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

In this mean time Pope Adrian died. After him succeeded Pope Clement the Seventh, who, the next year following, which was A.D. 1524, sent down his legate, Cardinal Campeius, unto the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, about the month of March, with letters also to Duke Frederic, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints, &c. But as touching the grievances above-mentioned, no word nor message at all was sent, neither by Campeius, nor by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of against Luther, either for suppression of the liberty of the gospel, or for upholding of the pope's dignity, the pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the princes; but where any redress was to be required for the public weal of Christian people, or touching the necessary reformation of the church, herein the pope neither giveth ear nor answer.

141. Luther after the Diet of Worms; His Teachings and Death.

And thus, having discoursed such matters occurrent between the pope and princes of Germany at the synod of Nuremberg, let us now proceed, returning again to the story of Luther, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept secret and solitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict above-mentioned. In the mean time, while Luther had thus absented himself out of Wittenberg, Andreas Carolostadt, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in causes of religion, had stirred up the people to throw down images in the temples, besides other things more. For the which cause Luther, returning again into the city, greatly misliked the order of their doings, and reprov'd the rashness of Carolostadt, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that pictures and images ought first to be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; and that the people ought first to be taught that they are to be saved before God, and please him only by faith; and that images serve to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary, (he said,) as though he would maintain images to stand or to be suffered, but that this ought to be done by the magistrate; and not by force, upon every private man's head, without order and authority.

Furthermore, Luther, writing of Carolostadt, affirmeth, that he also joined with the sentence of them which began then to spread about certain parts of Saxony, saying, that they were taught of God that all wickedness being utterly suppressed, and all the wicked doers slain, a new full perfection of all things must be set up, and the innocent only to enjoy all things, &c.

The cause why Luther so stood against that violent throwing down of images, and against Carolostadt, seemeth partly to arise of this, by reason that Pope Adrian, in his letters sent to the princes and states of Germany, doth grievously complain and charge the sect of Luther for sedition and tumults, and rebellion against magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all order and obedience, as appeareth by the words of the pope's letter before expressed; therefore Martin Luther, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspicions, was enforced to take this way as he did; that is, to proceed as much as he might by order and authority.

Wherein are to be noted by the way two special points touching the doctrine and doings of Martin Luther, especially for all such who in these our days now, abusing the name and authority of Luther, think themselves to be good Lutherans, if they suffer images still to remain in temples, and admit such things in the church, which themselves do wish to be away. The first is, the manner how and after what sort Luther did suffer such images to stand; for although he assented not, that the vulgar and private multitude tumultuously by violence should rap them down; yet that is no argument now for the magistrate to let them stand. And though he allowed not the ministers to stir up the people by forcible means to promote religion; yet that argueth not those magistrates to be good Lutherans, which may and should remove them, and will not.

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The second point to be noted is, to consider the cause why that Luther did so stand with standing of images; which cause was time, and not his own judgment; for albeit in judgment he wished them away, yet time so served not thereunto then, as it serveth now: for then the doctrine of Luther, first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet known whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the pope, hearing of the doings of Carolostadt in Wittenberg, and of other like, took his ground thereby to charge the sect of Luther with sedition, uproars, and dissolute liberty of life. And this was the cause why Luther (compelled then by necessity of time to save his doctrine from slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the pope, as ye have heard) was so much offended with Carolostadt and others, for their violence used against images, For otherwise, had it not been for the pope's accusations, there is no doubt but Luther would have been as well contented with abolishing of images, and other monuments of popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friars Augustine for abrogating of private masses. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered, so the like excuse, perhaps, will not serve the over-much curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present age now; which, considering only the fact of Luther, do not mark the purpose of Luther, neither do expend the circumstances and time of his doings; being not much unlike to the ridiculous imitators of King Alexander the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his virtues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the church, in another age than Luther did, it may seem, after my mind, sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walk with Luther to the kingdom of Christ, though they jump not also in every footstep of of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.

[Footnote: A Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Milner, in his Letters to a Prebendary, (seventh edition, London, 1825, pp. 113-118,) has favoured us with a series of the coarsest expressions which can be selected from the writings of Luther, to deduce from them, that Luther's morality was prostrated, that his sentiments were depraved, and that his motives and actions were the result of pride, bigotry, and ambition. Dr. Milner closes his observations with these words, "There are other passages in great numbers, too indecent to admit of being translated at all; indeed I almost blush to soil my paper with transcribing some of them into my notes below, in the original Latin." This learned doctor of the popish church shrinks, with wonted modesty, from his own translation of Luther's addresses to his royal antagonist Henry the Eighth; but how would his delicacy have been offended had he heard Mr. John Clark, the king's orator, before the Consistory of Leo the Tenth, (in presenting his master's book to that spiritual head of the church,) break out into such epithets as these which follow; unless, indeed, they were deemed excusable, as spoken of "an execrable, venomous, and pernicious heretic." [See page 1 of Henry the Eighth's own book, entitled, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*. Faithfully translated, &c., by T. W., gent., London, 1688.] The orator denounces Luther as "this furious monster," with "his stings and poisons, whereby he intends to infect the whole world." Or again, "What so hot and inflamed force of speaking can be invented sufficient to declare the crime of that most filthy villain?" [see page 2.] Or, in reading forward, how would his ear have been jarred with the expressions, "idol and vain phantom," "a mad dog, to be dealt with drawn swords," and "a viper's madness!" How startling to hear three times repeated from the mouth of the most holy father Pope Leo, the title of "terrible monster;" or to hear him, the head of a church that professes to be no persecutor of protestants, (because she persecutes all heretics alike,) speak in definite terms of

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"driving away from our Lord's flock the wolves; and cutting off, with the material sword, the rotten members that infect the mystical body of Christ:" [see the pope's bull to King Henry.] And, lastly, how would the tender feelings of Dr. Milner have been wounded had he read King Henry's own words, in his "Address to the Reader," animadverting upon Luther as "one risen up, who, by the instigation of the devil, under pretext of charity, stimulated with anger and hatred, spues out the poison of vipers against the church! "Again, how inconsistent with the meekness of Christianity, for the Defender of the Faith to speak thus of Luther: "Oh, that detestable trumpeter of pride, calumnies, and schisms! what an infernal wolf, &c., what a great member of the devil is he! &c. Every Christian mind must deeply regret the coarse and vulgar expressions used by the orator, the pope, the king, and Luther, in common with other writers of that age: that such should have been the expressions of Luther is deeply to be lamented, as the life and conversation of Christians should be characteristic of the religion which they profess: at the same time it will be perceived, that Luther was the more readily betrayed into errors of this kind in consequence of the bold and uncompromising character of his mind, a quality as much to be admired by every protestant, as it was dreaded by the papists: they could not refute his arguments, founded upon scripture; they dared not injure his person, beloved and esteemed by the people. That the tender mercies of the Romish Church would not have spared Luther, unless secured from danger by a more powerful arm, we may gather from John Clark's oration to the pope, on presenting to the pontiff King Henry's book; who, speaking of the poisoning of Socrates, adds these words respecting Luther: "Could this destroyer of the Christian religion expect any better from true Christians, for his extreme wickedness against God?" And again, King Henry the Eighth, in his Address to the Reader, speaking of Luther's repentance, adds, If Luther refuses this, it will shortly come to pass, if Christian princes do their duty, that their errors, and himself, if he perseveres therein, may be burned in the fire."

Whatever may have been the errors of Luther, they teach us this truth; that weak and unstable must be that proud and boasting church, which shook from its base to its summit, as Luther divulged and propagated his Scriptural, and alas, in those days, "strange" doctrines. The success which crowned the labours of this "puny brother," (as King Henry calls him in the last sentence of his book,) we must ascribe to the honour of God and the glory of his grace, who hath "chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and who hath chosen base things of the world, and things which are despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence." — Seeley's Edition of Fox, vol. iv. p. 317.]

And contrariwise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary string, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of Luther in the sacrament, therefore they give clean over the reading of Luther, and fall almost into utter contempt of his books: whereby is declared, not so much the niceness and curiousness of these our days, as the hinderance that cometh thereby to the church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to instruct in 'matters of doctrine; yet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith, are to be opened to our conscience; and where the soul, wrestling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of Martin Luther, among all this other variety of writers, that St. Cyprian was wont to say of Tertullian," Give me my master."

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And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and dissented from Zuinglius, in this one matter of the sacrament; yet in all other states of doctrine they did accord, as appeared in the synod holden at Marburg, by Prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse, which was A.D. 1529, where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and, conferring together, 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 cometh not of merits, but by the gift of God. 7. That this faith is our righteousness. 8. Touching the extern 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 baptism of infants. 15. Lastly, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's supper; this they did believe, and hold: first, that both kinds thereof are to be ministered to the people, according to Christ's institution; and that the mass is no such work for the which a man may obtain grace both for the quick and the dead. Item, that the sacrament (which they call of the altar) is a true sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Item, that the spiritual manducation of his body and blood is necessary for every Christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy Ghost," &c.

In all these sums of doctrine above recited, Luther and Zuinglius did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the sacrament, which our outward senses do behold and feel? they will both confess bread, and not the accidents only of bread. Further, if the question be asked, Whether Christ be there present? they will both confess his true presence to be there; only in the manner of presence they differ. Again, ask, Whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the sacrament is to be worshipped? they will both deny it, and judge it idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also that the communion to be in both kinds administered, they do both assent and grant.

Only their difference is in this, concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, "This is my body," &c., which words Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the body and blood of Christ truly to be in the bread and wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. Uldricus Zuinglius, with Johannes Ecolampadius, and other more, do interpret these words otherwise; as to be taken not literally, but to have a spiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words, "This is my body," is thus to be expounded: "This signifieth my body and blood." With Luther consented the Saxons; with the side of Zuinglius went the Helvetians. And as time did grow, so the division of these opinions increased in sides, and spread in farther realms and countries: the one part being called, of Luther, Lutherans; the other having the name of Sacramentaries. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries do accord and agree, that the bread and wine therepresent are not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, (as it is said,) but are a true sacrament of the body and blood.

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But hereof sufficient, touching this division between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians. In which division, if there have been any defect in Martin Luther, yet is that no cause why either the papists may greatly triumph, or why the protestants should despise Luther: for neither is the doctrine of Luther touching the sacrament so gross, that it maketh much with the papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made, (as some have gone about to do,) yet let us give to Luther a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse than they be, and let us hear, if not with the manner, yet at least with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seem to differ in charity more (as Bucer said) than we do in doctrine. But of this more hereafter, (Christ willing,) when we come to the history of John Frith.

They which write the lives of saints use to describe and to extol their holy life and godly virtues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God; whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one man, and a poor friar, creeping out of a blind cloister, to be set up against the pope, the universal bishop, and God's mighty vicar on earth; to withstand all his cardinals, yea, and to sustain the malice and hatred almost of the whole world being set against him; and to work that against the said pope, cardinals, and Church of Rome, which no king nor emperor could ever do, yea, durst never attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compass: which miraculous work of God, I account nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing great Goliath. Wherefore if miracles do make a saint, (after the pope's definition,) what lacketh in Martin Luther, but age and time only, to make him a saint? who, standing openly against the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having emperors and all the kings of the earth against him; who, teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty years, could, without touch of all his enemies, so quietly, in his own country where he was born, die and sleep in peace. In which Martin Luther, first to stand against the pope was a great miracle; to prevail against the pope, a greater; so to die untouched, may seem greatest of all, espepecially having so many enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing less miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides: as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to destroy him by poison, yet was it so by the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the peril.

Another time, as he was sitting in a certain place upon his stool, a great stone there was in the vault over his head where he did sit; which being staid miraculously so long as he was sitting, as soon as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he sat, able to have crushed him all in pieces, if it had lighted upon him.

And what should I speak of his prayers, which were so ardent unto Christ, that (as Melancthon writeth) they which stood under his window where he stood praying, might see his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with such power he prayed, that he (as himself confesseth) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived, the pope should not prevail in his country; after his death (said he) let them pray who could.

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And as touching the marvellous works of the Lord, wrought here by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young man about Wittenberg, who, being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by way of sorcery to bargain with the devil, or a familiar, as they call him; to yield himself body and soul into the devil's power, upon condition to have his wish satisfied with money. So that upon the same an obligation was made by the young man, written with his own blood, and given to the devil. This case you see how horrible it was, and how damnable. Now hear what followed. Upon the sudden wealth and alteration of this young man, the matter first being noted, began afterwards more and more to be suspected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto Martin Luther to be examined. The young man, whether for shame or fear, long denied to confess, and would disclose nothing; yet God so wrought, being stronger than the devil, that he uttered unto Luther the whole substance of the case, as well touching the money, as the obligation. Luther understanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable state of the man, willed the whole congregation to pray, and he himself ceased not with his prayers to labour; so that the devil was compelled at the last to throw in his obligation at the window, and bade him take it again unto him: which narration, if it be so true, as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seem comparable with the greatest miracle, in Christ's church, that was since the apostles' time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his prayers, so in his sermons God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him thought every one his own temptation severally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was given unto him by his friends, and he demanded how that could be: "Mine own manifold temptations," said he, "and experiences are the cause thereof." For this thou must understand, good reader! that Luther from his tender years was much beaten and exercised with spiritual conflicts, as Melancthon in describing of his life doth testify. Also Hieronymus Wellerus, scholar and disciple of the said Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his master thus report of himself, that he had been assaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, saving only one, which was with covetousness; with this vice he was never, said he, in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.

And hitherto concerning the life of Martin Luther, who, living to the year of his age sixty-three, he continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melancthon be these:

An intimation given by Philip Melancthon to his auditory at Wittenberg, of the decease of Martin Luther, A.D. 1546.

To the scholars assembled to hear the lecture of the Epistle to the Romans, Philip Melancthon recited publicly this that followeth, at nine of the clock before noon; advertising he gave this information, by the counsel of other lords, for that the auditors, understanding the express truth, (forasmuch as the lords knew certainly, fame would blow slanderous blasts every where of the death of Luther,) should not credit flying tales and false reports.

"My friends, ye know that we have enterprised to expound grammatically the Epistle to the Romans, in which is contained the true doctrine of the Son of God, which our Lord, by his singular grace, hath revealed unto us at this present by the reverend father, and our dearly

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beloved master, Martin Luther. Notwithstanding we have received heavy news, which has so augmented my dolour, that I am in doubt if I may continue henceforth in scholastical profession, and exercise of teaching. The cause wherefore I commemorate this thing is, for that I am so advised by other lords, that ye may understand the true sequel of things, lest yourselves blaze abroad vain tales of this fatal chance, or give credit to other fables, which commonly are accustomed to be spread every where.

"Wednesday last past, and the seventeenth of February, Doctor Martin Luther sickened a little before supper of his accustomed malady, to wit, of the oppression of humours in the orifice or opening of the stomach, whereof I remember I have seen him oft diseased in this place. This sickness took him after supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required secess into a by-chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increased; and as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose, his children's schoolmaster, to make fire in another chamber; into the which when he was newly entered, Albert, earl of Manseld, with his wife, and divers others, (whose names for haste in these letters were not expressed,) at that instant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, on the eighteenth of February, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer:

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

"After this he said as ensueth, thrice:

"I commend my spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth! God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting,' John iii.

"Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom so faithfully he commended his spirit; to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught; let us learn to be modest and meek; let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes, that shall follow this mishap and doleful chance. I beseech thee, O Son of God! crucified for us, and resuscitate Emmanuel, govern, conserve, and defend thy church."

A prayer after the manner of Luther.

"Let us render thanks unto God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath pleased, by the ministry of this godly Luther, to purify the evangelical fountains from papistical infection, and restore sincere doctrine to the church: which thing we remembering, ought to join our lamentable petitions, with zealous affection beseeching God to confirm what he hath begun in us, for his holy name's sake. This is thy voice and promise, O living and just God, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of all things, and of the church! I will have compassion

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on you, for my name's sake. I will do it for myself, yea, even for myself, that I be not blasphemed. I beseech thee with ardent affection, that for thy glory, and the glory of thy Son Jesus Christ, thou wilt collect unto thyself in the voice of thy gospel, among us, one perpetual church, and that, for the dear love of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Intercessor, thou wilt govern us by thy Holy Ghost; that we unfeignedly may call upon thee, and serve thee justly. Rule also the studies of thy doctrine, govern and conserve the policies and discipline of the same, which be the nurses of thy church and schools. And since thou hast created mankind to acknowledge and to invoke thee, and that for this respect thou hast revealed thyself by many clear testimonies, permit not this small number and selected flock (that profess thy sacred word) to be defaced and overcome. And the rather, for that thy Son Jesus Christ, ready to fight against death, hath prayed in this manner for us; Father, sanctify them in verity, thy word is verity. Our prayers we join with the prayer of this our holy Priest, making our petition with Him, that thy doctrine may shine among men, and that we may be directed by the same."

We heard Luther evermore pray in this wise, and so praying, his innocent ghost peaceably was separated from the earthly corpse when he had lived almost sixty-three years.

Such as succeeded, have divers monuments of his doctrine and godliness. He wrote certain learned works, wherein he comprised a wholesome and necessary doctrine for men, informing the sincere minds to repentance, and to declare the fruits of the same, the use of the sacraments, the difference betwixt the gospel and philosophy, the dignity of politic order; and, finally, the principal articles of doctrine profitable to the church. He composed certain works to reprove, wherein he refuteth divers pernicious errors. He also devised books of interpretation, in which he wrote many narrations and expositions of the prophets and apostles, and in this kind, his very enemies confess, he excelleth all others whose works are imprinted and published abroad. Then, all Christians and godly minds! conceive what praise he deserved; but certainly his exposition of the Old and New Testament, in utility and labour, is equivalent to all his works; for in the same is so much perspicuity, that it may serve instead of a commentary, though it be read in the German tongue. And yet this is not a naked exposition, but it containeth very learned annotations and arguments on every part; which both set forth the sum of heavenly doctrine, and instruct the reader in the sacred phrase and manner of speaking in the Scriptures, that the godly minds may receive firm testimonies of the doctrine, out of the very fountains. His mind was not to keep us occupied in his works; but to guide our spirits to the very springs. His will was, we should hear God speak, and that by his word true faith and invocation might be kindled in our minds, that God might be sincerely honoured and adored, and that many might be made inheritors of everlasting life.

It behoveth us thankfully to accept his good will and great labours, and to imitate the same as our patron, and by him to learn to adorn the church, according to our power. For we must refer all our life, enterprises, and deliberations, to two principal ends: First, to illustrate the glory of God; Secondly, to profit the church. As touching the first, St. Paul saith, Do all things to the glory of God. And of the second, it is said in Psalm xxii., Pray that Jerusalem may prosper. And there followeth a singular promise added in this versicle: Such as love the church, shall prosper and have good success. Let these heavenly commandments and divine instructions allure all men to learn the true doctrine of the church, to love the faithful ministers of the gospel and the

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true teachers; and to employ their whole study and diligence to augment the true doctrine, and maintain concord and unity in the true church.

Frederic, prince elector, died long before Luther, A.D. 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for that he lived a single life, and was never married: wherefore after him succeeded John Frederic, duke of Saxony.

142. Cardinal Campeius' Mission

Mention was made a little before of the ministers of Strasburg, who, because of their marriage, were in trouble, and cited by the bishop to appear before him, and there to be judged, without the precinct of the city of Strasburg; whereas there had been a contrary order taken before between the bishop and the city, that the bishop should execute no judgment upon any, but under some of the magistrates of the said city of Strasburg. Whereupon the senate and the citizens, taking into their hands the cause of these married ministers, in defence of their own right and liberties, wrote, as is said, to their bishop of Strasburg, and caused the judgment thereof a while to be stayed; by reason whereof the matter was brought at length before Cardinal Campeius, legate, sent by Pope Clement to the assembly of Nuremberg, A.D. 1524.

The chief doer in this matter was one Thomas Murner, a Franciscan friar, who had commenced a grievous complaint against the senate and city of Strasburg, before the aforesaid Cardinal Campeius. Wherefore the senate, to purge themselves, sent their ambassadors, thus clearing their cause, and answering to their accusation, that they neither had been nor would be any let to the bishop, but had signified to him before, by their letters, that whatsoever he could lay against those married priests, consonant to the law of God, they would be no stay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the senate herein was not a little grieved that the bishop, contrary to the order and compact which was taken between him and them, did call the said ministers out of the liberties of their city; for so it was between them agreed, that no ecclesiastical person should be adjudged but under some judge of their own city. But now, contrary to their said agreement, the bishop called those ministers out of their liberties; and so the ministers, claiming the right and privilege of the city, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor known. And now if the senate should show themselves any thing more sharp or rigorous unto those ministers, claiming the right of the city, the people, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would rise up in some commotion against them in the quarrel and defence of their franchises and liberties.

And where it is objected, that they receive priests and men of the clergy into the freedom and protection of their city: to this they answered, that they did nothing herein, but that which was correspondent to the ancient usage and manner of the city before; and moreover, that it was the bishop's own request and desire made unto them so to do.

To this the cardinal again, advising well the letters of the bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the letters sent, that the ministers indeed (as the ambassadors said) were called out from the freedom and liberties of the city, and yet no order of law was broken therein; forasmuch as the bishop (said he) had there no less power and authority, than if he were his own vicar delegate; and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the bishop in punishing the aforesaid ministers, &c.

After much other talk and reasoning on both parts, wherein the ambassadors argued in defence of their freedom, that the judgment should not be transferred out of the city: among other

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communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the city of Strasburg were many, yea, the most part of the clergy, who lived viciously and wickedly with their women, whom they kept in their houses, to the great offence of the people, shame to Christ's church, and pernicious example of others; and yet the bishop would never once stir to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore, if the senate (said the ambassadors) should permit the bishop to extend his cruelty and extremity against these married ministers, for not observing the bishop of Rome's law, and leave the other notorious offenders, who break the law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the commons of their city, ready to rise upon them.

To this Campeius answered, What composition or bargain was betwixt the bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great trial in law of proving and confessing; and therefore they were sequestered and abandoned from the communion of the church, ipso facto. As for the other sort of them, who keep women, although, said he, it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the bishops of Germany, for money, to wink at priests' lemans; and the same also was evil done indeed. And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same; but yet, nevertheless, it is not sufferable that priests therefore should have wives. And if comparison should be made, said he, much greater offence it were, a priest to have a wife, than to have and keep at home many paramours. His reason was this; For they that keep them, said he, as it is naughty which they do, so do they acknowledge their sin: the others persuade themselves that they do well, and so continue still without repentance, or conscience of their fact. All men, said he, cannot be chaste, as John the Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for priests, professing chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no, not the Greeks themselves, who in rites be differing from us, do give this liberty to their own priests to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the bishop in this behalf.

Whereunto the ambassadors replied again, saying, that if he would first punish the one class of offenders, then might the senate assist him the better in correcting the other; but the cardinal was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their bishop, and then if the bishop would not punish the other crime, he would come thither himself and see it punished accordingly.

This Cardinal Campeius, how he was sent by Pope Clement the Sixth, to the second assembly or diet of Nuremberg, A.D. 1524, and what was there done by the said cardinal, is before signified. After this council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbon, where were present Ferdinand, Campeius, the cardinal of Saltsburg, the two dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon; also the legates of the bishops, Bamberg, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Basil, Friburg, Passau, and Brixen. By whom in the said assembly it was thus concluded:

Summary of popish decrees made at the council of Ratisbon.

That forasmuch as the emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned, by his public edict set forth at Worms, the doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed

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upon in both the assemblies at Nuremberg, that the said edict should be obeyed by all men; they likewise, at the request of Cardinal Campeius, do will and command the aforesaid edict to be observed through all their confines and precincts: that the gospel, and all other Holy Scriptures, should be taught in churches according to the interpretation of the ancient forefathers: that all they who revive any old heresies before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, 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 aforesaid: That none be admitted to preach without the licence of his ordinary: That they who be already admitted, shall be examined how and what they preach: That the laws which Campeius is about to set forth for reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the sacraments, in the mass, and all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things to stand as in fore-time they did: That all they who approach to the Lord's supper without confession and absolution, or do eat flesh on days forbidden, or who do run out of their order; also priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, that be 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: That they of their jurisdiction, who study in the university of Wittenberg, shall every one repair home within three months after the publishing hereof, or else turn to some other place free from the infection of Luther, under pain of confiscating all their goods, and losing their inheritance: That no benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any student of that university. Item, That certain inquisitors, fit for the same, be appointed to inquire and examine the premises. Item, Lest it may be said that this faction of Luther taketh its origin from the corrupt life of priests, the said Campeius, with other his assistants in the said convocation of Ratisbon, chargeth and commandeth, that priests live honestly, go in decent apparel, play not the merchants, haunt not the taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their ministration; such as keep concubines to be removed; the number also of holy days to be diminished,

These things would Campeius have enacted in a full council, and with the consents of all the empire: but when he could not bring that to pass, by reason that the minds of divers were gone from the pope, he was fain to get the same ratified in this particular conventicle, with the assents of these bishops above rehearsed.

143. The Reformation in Switzerland.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be seen in the Commentaries of John Sleiden, it remaineth next after the story of Martin Luther, somewhat to adjoin likewise touching the history of Zuinglius, and of the Helvetians. But before I come to the explication of this story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the towns, called pages, of these Helvetians, and of their league and confederation first begun amongst them.

The history of the Helvetians, or Switzers, how they first recovered their liberty, and afterwards were joined in league together.

The Helvetians, whom otherwise we call Switzers, are divided principally into thirteen pages. The names of whom are Tigurini, Bernates, Lucernates, Urani, Suicenses, Untervaldii, Tugiani, Glareanti, Basilienses, Solodurii, Friburgii, Scafusiani, Apecelenses. Furthermore, to these be added seven other pages, albeit not with such a full bond as the other be conjoined together; which be these: Rheti, Lepontii, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mullusiani, Rotulenses. Of these thirteen confederate pages above recited, these three were the first, to wit, Urania, Suicenses, and Sylvania, or (as some call them) Untervaldii, which joined themselves together.

If credit should be given to old narrations, these three pages or valleys first suffered great servitude and thraldom under cruel rulers or governors; insomuch that the governor of Sylvania required of one of the inhabitants a yoke of his oxen; which when the townsmen denied to give him, the ruler sent his servant by force to take his oxen from him. This when the servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's son, and cutting off one of his fingers, and upon the same avoided. The governor, hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

At another time in the said Sylvania, as the good man of the house was absent abroad, the governor who had then the rule of the town, entering into the house, commanded the wife to prepare for him a bath, and made other proposals to her; whereunto she being unwilling, deferred the bath as long as she might, till the return of her husband. To whom then she, making her complaint, so moved his mind, that he, with his axe or hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous ruler and slew him.

Another example of like violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia and Sylvania, who, surprised with the like pride and disdain against the poor underlings, caused his cap to be hung up upon a pole, charging and commanding by his servant, all that passed by to do obeisance to the cap; which when one named William Tell refused to do, the tyrant caused his son to be tied, with an apple set upon his head, and the father with a cross-bow, or a like instrument, to shoot at the apple. After long refusing, when the woeful father could not otherwise choose, by force constrained, but must level at the apple; as God would, he missed the child, and struck the mark. Thus Tell, being thus compelled by the tyrant to shoot at his son, had brought with him two shafts; thinking that if he had struck the child with one, the other he would have let drive at the tyrant: which being understood, he was apprehended and led to the ruler's house; but by the way escaping out of the boat between Urania and Brun, and passing through the mountains with as

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much speed as he might, he lay in the way secretly as the ruler should pass, where he discharged his arrow at the tyrant and slew him, A.D. 1307.



William Tell

And thus were these cruel governors utterly expelled out of these three valleys or pages aforesaid; and after that, such order was taken by the emperor Henry the Seventh, and also by the emperor Ludovicus, duke of Bavaria, that henceforth no judge should be set over them, but only of their own company, and town dwellers.

It followed after this, A.D. 1315, that great contention and war fell between Frederic, duke of Austria, and Ludovic, duke of Bavaria, striving and fighting the space of eight years together about the empire. With Ludovic held the three pages aforesaid; who had divers conflicts with Leopold, brother to the aforesaid Frederic, duke of Austria, fighting in his brother's quarrel. As Leopold had reared a mighty army of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, and was come to Egree, so to pass over the mountains to subdue the pages; he began to take advice of his council, by what way or passage best he might direct his journey towards the Switzers. Whereupon as they were busy in consulting, there stood a fool by, named Kune de Stocken, who hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his bolt withal, and told them, that their counsel did not like him: "For all you," quoth he, "consult how we should enter into yonder country; but none of you giveth any counsel how to come out again after we be entered." And in conclusion, as the fool said, so they found it true. For when Leopold with his host had entered into the straits

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and valleys between the rocks and mountains, the Switzers, with their neighbours of Urania and Sylvania, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage; and with tumbling down stones from the rocks, and sudden coming upon their backs in blind lanes, did so encumber them, that neither they had convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away; by reason whereof a great part of Leopold's army there, being enclosed about the place called Morgayten, lost their lives, and many in the flight were slain. Leopold, with them that remained, retired and escaped to Turgoia. This battle was fought A.D. 1315, the sixteenth of November.

After this, the burghers of these three villages, being continually vexed by Frederic, duke of Austria, for that they would not knowledge him for emperor, assembled themselves in the town of Urania, A.D. 1316; and there entered a mutual league and bond of perpetual society and conjunction, joining and swearing themselves, as in one body of a commonwealth and public administration together. After that came to them the Lucernates; then the Tugiani; after them the Tigurines; next to them followed the Bernates; the last almost of all were the Basilians: then followed after, the other seven pages above recited.

And thus have ye the names, the freedom, and confederation of these Switzers, or cantons, or pages of Helvetia, with the occasions and circumstances thereof, briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our story intended, which is to declare the success of Christ's gospel and true religion received among the Helvetians; also touching the life and doctrine of Zuinglius, and order of his death, as here ensueth.

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The acts and life of Uldricus Zuinglius; and of receiving the gospel in Switzerland.



Zurich

In the tractation of Luther's story, mention was made before of Uldricus Zuinglius, who first abiding at Glarus, in a place called then our Lord's Hermitage, from thence removed to Zurich about A.D. 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the minster, among the canons or priests of that close; using with them the same rites and ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travail, and no less dexterity. And because Pope Leo the same year had renewed his pardons again through all countries, (as is above declared,) Zuinglius zealously withstood the same, detecting the abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the church; and so continued by the space of two years and more, till at length Hugo bishop of Constance (to whose jurisdiction Zurich then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his letter to the senate of the said city of Zurich, complaining grievously of Zuinglius; who also wrote another letter to the college of canons, where Zuinglius was the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new teachers who troubled the church; and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And forasmuch as both the pope and the emperor's Majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and edicts, he willed them

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therefore to admit no such new innovations of doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertain. Zuinglius hearing thereof, referreth his cause to the judgment and hearing of the senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his faith. And forasmuch as the bishop's letter was read openly in the college, Zuinglius directeth another letter to the bishop again, declaring the said letter proceeded not from the bishop, not that he was ignorant who were the authors thereof; desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels, for that truth, said he, is a thing invincible, and cannot be resisted. After the same tenor certain others of the city likewise wrote unto the bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the gospel; requiring moreover, that he would bear no longer the filthy and infamous lives of priests, but that he would permit them to have their lawful wives, &c. This was A.D. 1522.

Besides this, Zuinglius wrote also another letter to the whole nation of the Helvetians, monishing them in no case to hinder the passage of sincere doctrine, nor to infer any molestation to priests that were married: for as for the vow and coaction of their single life, it came, saith he, of the devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore whereas the said Helvetians had such a right and custom in their towns and pages, that when they received any new priest into their churches, they used to premonish him before to take his concubine, lest he should attempt any misuse with their wives and daughters; he exhorted them that they would no less grant unto them to take their wives in honest matrimony, than to live with unmarried women against the precept of God.

Thus as Zuinglius continued certain years labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to rise at this new doctrine, and divers stepped up, namely, the Dominic Friars, on the contrary side, to preach and inveigh against him. But he, keeping himself ever within the Scriptures, protested that he would make good by the word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the magistrates and senate of Zurich sent forth their commandment to all priests and ministers within their dominion, to repair to the city of Zurich, against the twenty-ninth of January next ensuing, (this was A.D. 1523,) there every one to speak freely, and to be heard quietly, touching these controversies of religion, what could be said; directing also their letters to the bishop of Constance, that he would either make his repair thither himself, or else to send his deputy. When the day appointed came, the bishop's vicegerent, which was John Faber, was also present. The council first declaring the cause of this their frequency and assembly, (which was for the dissension newly risen about matters of religion,) required that if any there had to object or infer against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly utter and declare his mind.

Zuinglius had disposed his matter before, and contrived all his doctrine in a certain order of places, to the number of sixty-seven articles; which articles he had published also abroad before, to the end that they which were disposed, might resort thither the better prepared to the disputation. When the consul had finished that which he would say, and had exhorted others to begin, Faber, first entering the matter, began to declare the cause of his sending thither, and afterwards would persuade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit, for discussing of such matters by disputation, but rather that the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a general council, which, he said, was already appointed, and now near at hand. Notwithstanding Zuinglius still continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say or to dispute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he answered again, that he would confute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, when no

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man would appear there to offer any disputation, the assembly brake, and was discharged; whereupon the senate of Zurich incontinent caused to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territory, that the traditions of men should be displaced and abandoned, and the gospel of Christ purely taught out of the Old and New Testament. A.D. 1523.

When the gospel thus began to take place, and to flourish in Zurich and certain other places of Helvetia, in the following year, (A.D. 1524,) another assembly of the Helvetians was convened at Lucerne, where this decree was made on the contrary part:

Constitutions decreed in the assembly of Lucerne.

"That no man should deride or contemn the word of God, which had been taught now above a thousand and four hundred years heretofore: nor the mass to be scorned, wherein the body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quick and the dead.

"That they which are able to receive the Lord's body at Easter, shall confess their sins in Lent to the priests, and do all other things, as the use and manner of the church requireth.

"That the rites and customs of holy church be kept.

"That every one obey his own proper pastor and curate, and receive the sacraments of him, after the manner of holy church, and pay him his yearly duties.

"That honour be given to priests.

"Item, to abstain from flesh-eating on fasting-days, and in Lent to abstain from eggs and cheese.

"That no opinion of Luther be taught privily or apertly, contrary to the received determination of holy church; and that in taverns and at table no mention be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

"That images and pictures of saints in every place be kept inviolate.

"That priests and ministers of the church be not compelled to render account of their doctrine, but only to the magistrate.

"That due aid and supportation be provided for them, if any commotion do happen.

"That no person deride the relics of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

"Finally, That all the laws and decrees set forth by the bishop of Constance, be observed.

"These constitutions whosoever shall transgress, let them be presented to the magistrate, and overseers to be set over them that shall so transgress."

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After these things concluded thus at Lucerne, the cantons of Helvetia together directed their public letter to the Tigurines, or men of Zurich, to this effect:—

"Wherein they do much lament and complain of this new-broached doctrine which had set all mentogether by the ears, through the occasion of certain rash and newfangled heads, which had greatly disturbed both the state of the church and of the commonwealth, and have scattered the seeds of discord, where beforetime all things were well in quiet. And although this sore (said they) ought to have been looked to betimes, so that they should not have suffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, so to be dishonoured, but rather should have bestowed their goods and lives to maintain the same; yet, notwithstanding, they required them now to look upon the matter, which otherwise would bring to them destruction both of body and soul: as for example, they might see the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar people now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient proofs of late; the like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Juda, which so took upon them to expound the word of God after their own interpretation, opening thereby whole doors and windows to discord and dissension. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certain what they did teach; yet what inconvenience followed upon their doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all fasting was laid down, and all days were alike to eat both flesh and eggs, as well one as another. Priests and religious persons, both men and women, brake their vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying; God's service was decayed, singing in the church left, and prayer ceased; priests grew in contempt, religious men were thrust out of their cloisters; confession and penance were neglected, so that men would not stick to presume to receive at the holy altar, without any confession made to the priest before. The holy mass was derided and scorned; our blessed Lady and other saints blasphemed; images plucked down and broken in pieces, neither was there any honour given to the sacraments. To make short, men now were grown unto such a licence and liberty, that scarcely the holy host could be safe within the priest's hands, &c.

"The disorder of all which things, as it is of no small importance, so it was to them so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no longer. Neither was this the first time (they said) of this their complaining, when in their former assembly they sent unto them before the like admonition, writing to them by certain of the clergy, and craving their aid in the same; which seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly call upon them touching the premises, desiring them to surcease from such doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the religion of their old ancestors, which were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the bishop of Rome, the cardinals, bishops, or other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging, and selling the dignities of the church, or for their oppression in pilling men's purses with their indulgences, or else for their usurped jurisdiction and power, which they extend too far, and corruptly apply to matters external and political, which only ought to serve in such cases as be spiritual; if these and such other abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the correction and reformation thereof, they would also themselves join their diligence and good will thereto; forasmuch as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their counsels together with them, how and by what way such grievances might best be removed."

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To this effect were the letters of the Helvetians, written to the senate and citizens of Zurich. Whereunto the Tigurines made their answer again on the 21st of March, the same year, in manner as followeth

"First, declaring how their ministers had laboured and travailed among them, teaching and preaching the word of God unto them the space now of five years; whose doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard the same before. But. after that they understood and perceived the scope of that doctrine only to tend to this; to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the pillar and refuge of all our salvation, which gave his life and blood for our redemption, and which only delivereth us also, sinful misers, from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of mankind before God; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyful a message.

"The holy apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the word of God, setting aside men's doctrines and traditions dissonant from the same. Whatsoever Luther or any other man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the persons, why the doctrine which they teach should be either evil or well judged upon, but only for that it agreeth or disagreeeth from the rule of God's word: for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the authority of the word of God, which ought to rule man, and not to be measured by man. And if Christ only be worshipped, and men taught solely to repose their confidence in him, yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any saint else, receive any injury thereby; who, being here on earth, received their salvation only by the name of him.

"And whereas they charge their ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had stirred up such light now in the hearts of men, that the most part of their city have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same; so that their preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any sects or factions in them; but rather such sects are to be objected to those, who, for their gain and dignity, wrest the word of God after their own affections and appetites. And whereas they, and others, have accused them of error, yet was there never man that could prove any error in them, although divers bishops of Constance, of Basil, of Coire, with divers universities besides; also they themselves have been sundry times desired so to do; yet to this present day neither they nor ever any others so did; neither were they, nor any of all the aforesaid bishops, at their last assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only the Schashusians and Sangallians. In which aforesaid assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering thoroughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them. And if the bishops haply will object again, and say, that the word of God ought not so to be handled of the vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the bishops' office, to provide that the sheep should not go astray, and most convenient it were, that by them they should be reduced into the way again; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the fathers and to councils; therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in his Scripture. Neither have their ministers given any occasion of this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their own

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private lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, do seduce the people into error; and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold calamities; who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure doctrine of his word, seeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

"As for the eating of flesh and eggs, although it be free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ; yet they have set forth a law to restrain rash intemperance, and uncharitable offense of other.

"And as touching matrimony, God is himself the author thereof, who hath left it free for all men. Also Paul willeth 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 both to God's law and to good example; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawful matrimony which he hath ordained, as they to resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of women vowing chastity; of whom this they judge and suppose, that such kind of vows and coacted chastity, are not available nor allowed before God: and seeing that chastity is not all men's gift, better it were to marry, (after their judgments,) than filthily to live in single life.

"As for monasteries, and other houses of canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy; whereas now they which inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live of their own patrimony, in such sort as many times some one of them hath so much, as might well suffice a great number; wherefore it seemeth to them not inconvenient, that those goods should be converted again to the use of the poor. Yet, nevertheless, they have used herein such moderation, that they have permitted the inhabitants of those monasteries to enjoy the possession of their goods, during the term of their natural life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

"Ornaments of churches serve nothing to God's service; but this is well agreeing to the will and service of God, that the poor should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young man in the gospel, that was rich, not to hang up his riches in the temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

"The order of priesthood they do not contemn. Such priests as will truly discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they do magnify. As for the other rabble, which serve to no public commodity, but rather damnify the commonwealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing and prayers of such priests be available before God, it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or sing, but only for hire of wages do the same.

"As for secret confession, wherein men do detect their sins in the priest's ear, of what virtue this confession is to be esteemed, they leave it in suspense. But that confession whereby repenting sinners do fly to Christ our only Intercessor, they account not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which priests do use, they reckon

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it but a practice to get money, and the same to be not only erroneous, but also full of impiety. True penance and satisfaction is, for a man to amend his life.

"The orders of monkery came only by the invention of man, and not by the institution of God.

"And as touching the sacraments, such as be of the Lord's institution, them they do not despise, but receive with all reverence; neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becometh, but to be used rightly, according to the prescript rule of God's word. And so with the like reverence they use the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according as the word prescribeth, not (as many do use it) to make of it an oblation and a sacrifice.

"And if the messengers sent to them of the clergy, in their letters mentioned, can justly charge them with any hinderance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themselves, or to satisfy the offence. And if they cannot, then reason would, that those messengers of the clergy should hereafter look better to their own doings, and to their doctrine, and to cease from such untrue slanders and contumelies.

"Finally, Whereas they understand by their letters how desirous they are to have the pope's oppressions, and exactions, and usurped power abolished, they are right glad thereof and joyful, supposing that the same can by no means be brought to pass, except the word of God only and simply be received: for otherwise, so long as men's laws and constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For, by the preaching of God's word, their estimation and dignity must needs decay, and that they well perceive; and therefore, by all means do provide how to stop the course of the word: and because they see themselves too weak to bring their purpose about, they fly to the aid of kings and princes. For the necessary remedy whereof, if they shall think good to join their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalf, what they are able either in counsel or goods to do in the matter: declaring moreover, that this should have been seen to long before. Which being so, they prayed and desired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound, that which they did write. As for their own part, they required nothing else more than peace, both between them and all men; neither was it ever their intent to stir any thing that should be prejudicial against their league and band agreed upon between them. But in this cause, which concerneth their eternal salvation, they can do no otherwise but as they have done, unless their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them. Wherefore, as they did before, so now they desire again, that if they think this their doctrine to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture, they will gently show and teach them their error; and that, before the end of the month of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the bishop of Constance, and also from the university of Basil."

And thus much containeth the answer of the Tigurines unto the letter of their other colleagues of Helvetia.

In the mean time, as this passed on, and the month of May, above-mentioned, was now come, the bishop of Constance, with the advice of his council about him, did answer the

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Tigurines, as he was requested of them to do, in a certain book, first written, and afterward printed; wherein he declareth what images and pictures those were, which the profane Jews and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what images these be which the church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture speaketh against images, and willeth them not to be suffered, that is to be understood of such images and idols, as the Jews and idolatrous Gentiles did use; yet nevertheless such images and pictures which the church had received, are to be used and retained.

From this he entereth next into the discourse of the mass, where he proveth, by divers and sundry testimonies, both of the pope's canons and councils, the mass to be a sacrifice and oblation.

This book being thus compiled and written, he sent it unto the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to suffer their images, or the mass, to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said 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 received, and not to suffer themselves to be persuaded otherwise by any man.

The senate again, answering to the bishop's book, about the middle of August, did write unto him, first, declaring that they had read over and over again his book with all diligence: the which book, forasmuch as the bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad, because the whole world thereby might judge between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers: and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scripture, convinced his opinion, and proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answer to him, about the thirteenth of June, they commanded all the images, as well within the city as through their dominion, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after, an order was taken in the said city of Zurich, between the canons of the church and city, for disposing the lands and possessions of the college.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that happened among the Helvetians upon this new alteration of religion; but, briefly to contract, and to run over the chief specialties of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the Helvetians which were confederate together in the thirteen pages, chiefly, six there were, which most disdained and maligned this religion of the Tigurines: to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, the Tugiani, and the Friburgenses; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest showed themselves more favourable. But the other, which were their enemies, conceived great grudge, and raised many slanderous reports and false rumours against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, first, for refusing to join their consent to the public league of the other pages with Francis the French king; then for dissenting from them in religion; and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the popish decree made the year before at Ratisbon, by Ferdinand, and other bishops above-mentioned.

They laid moreover to their accusation, for aiding the Vualsutenses their neighbours, against Ferdinand their prince; which was false. Also for joining league secretly with other cities,

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without their knowledge; which was likewise false. Item, That they should intend some secret conspiracy against them, and invade them with war; which was as untrue as the rest. Many other quarrels besides they pretended against the Tigurines, which were all false and cavilling slanders: as that they should teach and preach, that Mary the mother of Christ had more sons; and that James the younger, the apostle, did die for us, and not Christ himself. Against these and such other untruths being mere matters of cavillation and slander, the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquit themselves by writing, and did expostulate vehemently with them, not only for these false and wrongful suspicions, of their parts undeserved, but also for other manifold injuries received and borne at their hands, among which other wrongs and injuries, this was one: that the burghmaster of Zurich had apprehended a certain preacher, named John Oxline, and led him home as prisoner unto his house; being taken within the precinct and limits of the city of Zurich, contrary to law and order.

Finally, after much discoursing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their country; as touching the cause of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise, if none so could or would prove wherein they did err by the word of God, they could not, they said, alter any thing in the state of that religion wherein their consciences were already staid by the word of God and settled, whatsoever peril or danger should happen to them for the same.

Although here was no cause why these pages or cantons, which were so confederate together in the league of peace, should disagree amongst themselves; yet herein may we see the course and trade of the world, that when difference of religion beginneth a little to break the knot of amity, by and by how friends be turned to foes; what suspicions do rise; what quarrels and grudges do follow; how nothing there liketh men, but every thing is taken to the worst part: small motes are made mountains; virtues made vices, and one vice made a thousand; and all for lack only of a little good will betwixt party and party. For as love and charity commonly among men, either covereth or seeth not the faults of their friends, so hatred and disdain, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen between these good men of Zurich, and these other Switzers above-named.

These letters of the Tigurines to the other cantons, were written upon the occasion of their apprehending the preacher, John Oxline, above-named, on the fourth of January, 1525; and in the month of April next following, the magistrates and senate of the said city of Zurich commanded the mass, with all his ceremonies and apurtenances thereto belonging, to be put down, as well within the city, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction; and instead thereof was placed the Lord's supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching. Also a law was made against whoredom and adultery, and judges ordained to hear the causes of matrimony, A.D. 1525.

All this while the gospel was not as yet received in any other page of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Wherefore the other twelve pages, or towns, appointed among themselves concerning a meeting or a disputation to be had at Baden: where were present, among other divines, John Faber, Eckius, and Murner, above-mentioned. The bishops also of Lucerne, Basil, Coire, and Lausanne, sent thither their legates. The conclusions there propounded were these: That the true

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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 invocated as mediators and intercessors: that images ought not to be abolished: that there is a purgatory.

Which conclusions or assertions Eckius took upon him stoutly to defend. Against him reasoned Œcolampadius, (who was then chief preacher at Basil,) with certain other more. Zuinglius at that time was not there present, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius: declaring withal the causes of his absence; which were for that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself unto the hands of the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, his enemies: and that he refused not to dispute, but the place only of the disputation; excusing moreover that he was not permitted of the senate to come: nevertheless, if they would assign the place of disputation either at Zurich, or at Berne, or at Sangallum, thither he would not refuse to come. Briefly, the conclusion of the disputation was this, that all should remain in that religion which hitherto they had kept, and should follow the authority of the council, neither should admit any other new doctrine within their dominions, &c. This was in the month of June, the said year above-mentioned.



Berne

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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, (whose power among all the Switzers chiefly excelleth,) considering how neither they could have the acts of the disputation of Baden communicated unto them, and that the variance about religion still more and more increased, assigned another disputation within their own city, and sending forth writings thereof, called unto the same all the bishops bordering near about them, as the bishops of Constance, Basil, Sion, Lausanne; warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them; or else to lose all such possessions which they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain ecclesiastical persons of their jurisdiction to dispute; prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come thither, they granted safe-conduct. Also they appointed, that all things there should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; and that every one should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation, that every man's saying might be received by the notary, and penned: with this proviso made before, that whatsoever there should be agreed upon, the same should be ratified, and observed through all their dominions. And to the intent men might come thither better prepared before, they propounded in public writing ten conclusions in the said disputation to be defended of their ministers by the Scriptures; which ministers were, Franciscus Colbus and Bertholdus Hallerus. The themes or conclusions were these:

"I. That the true church, whereof Christ is the head, riseth out of God's word, and persisteth in the same, and heareth the voice of no other.

"II. That the same church maketh no laws without the word of God.

"III. That traditions, ordained in the name of the church, do not bind but so far forth as they be consonant to God's word.

"IV. That Christ only hath made satisfaction for the sins of the world: and therefore if any man say, that there is any other way of salvation, or mean to put away sin, the same denieth Christ.

"V. That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.

"VI. That the use of the mass, wherein Christ is present and offered up to his heavenly Father for the quick and the dead, is against the Scripture, and contumelious to the sacrifice which Christ made for us.

"VII. That Christ only is to be invocated, as the Mediator and Advocate of mankind to God the Father.

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"VIII. That there is no place to be found by the Holy Scripture, wherein 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.

"IX. That to set up any picture or image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the Holy Scripture; and therefore, if any such be erected in churches for that intent, the same ought to be taken down.

"X. That matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of men, but, for eschewing of fornication, generally is commanded, and permitted to all men by the word of God. And forasmuch as all fornicators are excluded, by the testimony of Scripture, 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 had sent abroad their letters with these themes and conclusions to all the Helvetians, exhorting them both to send their learned men, and to suffer all others to pass safely through their countries; the Lucernates, Uranites, Switzers, Untervaldians, Tugians, Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburg, answered again by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise; putting them in remembrance of their league and composition made, and also of the disputation of Baden above-mentioned, of which disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors. Saying moreover, that it was not lawful for any nation or province to alter the state of religion, but the same to belong to a general council: wherefore they desired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the religion which their parents and elders had observed. And in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet grant safe-conduct to any others to pass through their country. To this and such-like effect tended the letters of these Switzers above-named.

All which notwithstanding, the lords of Berne, proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed, (which was the seventh of January,) began their disputation. Of all the bishops before signified, which were assigned to come, there was not one present. Nevertheless the cities of Basil, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, St. Gallen, Mulhausen, with the neighbours of Rhetia; also they of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Lindau, Constance, and Isny, sent thither their ambassadors.

The doctors above-mentioned of the city of Berne, began the disputation; whereat the same time were present Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurer, with others more, all which defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, of them which were the opponents, the chieftain was Conrad Treger, a friar Augustine; who, to prove his assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seek help of other doctors, and the moderators of the disputation would not permit the same, (being contrary to the order before appointed,) he departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

The disputation endured nineteen days; in the end whereof it was agreed, by the assent of the most part, that the conclusions there disputed, were consonant to the truth of God's word, and

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should be ratified not only in the city of Berne, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in sundry other cities near adjoining: furthermore, that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

At the city of Constance, certain things began to be altered a little before; where also, among other things, laws were made against fornication and adultery, and all suspect or dishonest company; whereat the canons (as they are called) of the church, taking great grief and displeasure, departed the city. In the said city was then teacher, Ambrose Blaurer, a learned man, and born of a noble stock, who had been a monk a little before, professed in the monastery of Alperspake, in the duchy of Wittenberg, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinand. Which Blaurer, by reading of Luther's works, and having a good wit, had changed, a little before, his religion, and also his coat, returning again home to his friends; and when his abbot would have had him again, and wrote earnestly to the senate of Constance for him, he declared the whole case of the matter in writing; propounding withal certain conditions, whereupon he was content (as he said) to return. But the conditions were such, that the abbot was rather willing and contented that he should remain still at Constance; and so he did.

After this disputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath been said,) the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

They of Geneva also, for their parts, were not behind, following likewise the example of the city of Berne, in extirpating images and ceremonies; by reason whereof the bishop and clergy there left, and departed the city in no small anger.

The Bernates, after they had redressed with them the state of religion, they renounced the league made before with the French king; refusing and forsaking his war stipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his wars; following therein the example of the Tigurines, which before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly pension that the king payeth to every page of the Helvetians, to keep peace.

The day and year when this reformation from popery to true Christianity with them began, they caused on a pillar to be engraven with golden letters, for a perpetual memory to all posterity to come. This was A.D. 1528.

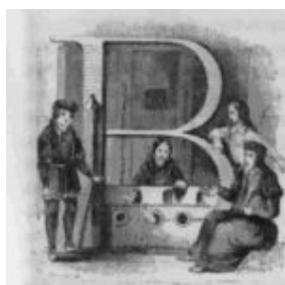
After that the rumour of this disputation and alteration of Berne was noised in other cities and places abroad, first the ministers of Strasburg, encouraged by this occasion, began likewise to affirm and teach, that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore was to be abrogated; and instead thereof the right use of the Lord's supper to be restored again; which unless they could prove by the manifest testimonies of the Scriptures to be true, they would refuse no manner of punishment. On the contrary part, the bishop of Rome's clergy did hold and maintain, that the mass was good and holy; whereupon kindled great contention on both sides: which when the senate and magistrates of the city would have brought to a disputation, and could not because the priests would not condescend to any reasoning; therefore, seeing they so accused the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cause, the said magistrates commanded them to silence.

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The bishop, in the mean while, ceased not with his letters and messengers daily to call upon the senate, desiring the senate to persevere in the ancient religion of their elders, and to give no ear to those new teachers; declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them. The senate again desired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that such things as appertained to the true honour and worship of God might be set forward, and all other things which tended to the contrary might be removed and taken away; for that properly belonged to his office to see to. But the bishop, still driving them off with delays, pretended to call an assembly for the same, appointing also day and place for the hearing and discussing of those controversies; where, indeed, nothing was performed at all; but with his letters he did often solicit them to surcease their enterprise, sometimes by way of entreating, sometimes with menacing words terrifying them: and at last, seeing he could nothing by that way prevail, he turned his suit to the assembly of the empire, which was then at Spires collected, entreating them to set in a foot, and to help what they could with their authority.

They, ready to satisfy the bishop's request, sent a solemn embassy to the senate and citizens of Strasburg, about December in the year above-said, with this request:

"Requiring them not to put down the mass; for neither it was (said they) in the power of the emperor, nor of any other estate; to alter the ancient religion received from their forefathers, but either by a general, or by a provincial, council; which council if they be supposed to be far off, at least that they would take a pause till the next sitting of the empire, which should be with speed; where their requests being propounded and heard, they should have such reasonable answer, as should not discontent them. For it was (said they) against all law and reason, for a private magistrate to infringe and dissolve those things, which by general consent of the whole world have been agreed upon; and therefore good reason required, that they should obtain so much at their hands; for else if they should obstinately proceed in this their attempt, so with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune the emperor, their supreme magistrate under God, and also Ferdinand his deputy, would not take it well, and so should be compelled to seek such remedy therein, as they would be sorry to use. Wherefore their request was, and advice also, that they should weigh the matter diligently with themselves and follow good counsel; who, in so doing, should not only glad the emperor, but also work that which should redound chiefly to their own commendation and safety."



esides the messengers thus sent from the council of Spires, the bishop also of Hildesheim had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the emperor's name, after like manner. Neither did the bishop of Strasburg also cease with his messengers and letters daily to labour his friends there, and especially such of the senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwise by any gifts of friendship; that, so much as in them did lie, they should uphold the mass, and gainstand the contrary proceeding of the others.

The senate of Strasburg, in the mean time, seeing the matter did so long hang in controversy, the space now of two years, and the preachers daily and instantly calling upon them for a reformation, and suit also being made to them of the citizens, assembled their great and full council, to the number of three hundred, (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to do,) and there with themselves debated the case; declaring on the one side, if they abolished

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the mass, what danger they should incur by the emperor; on the other side, if they did not, how much they should offend God: and therefore, giving them respite to consult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and sentence in the matter. When the day came that every man should say his mind, it so fell out, that the voices and judgments of them which went against the mass, prevailed: whereupon immediately a decree was made, on the twentieth of February, A.D. 1529, that the mass should be suspended and laid down, till the time that the adversary part could prove by good Scripture, the mass to be a service available and acceptable before God.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the senate eftsoons commanded the same to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect, as well within the city, as also without, so far as their limits and dominion did extend; and afterwards, by letters, certified their bishop touching the doing thereof. Who bearing these news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did signify to them again, how he received their letters, and how he understood by them the effect and sum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with such patience as he could, though they went sore against his stomach, seeing for the present time he could no otherwise choose: hereafter would serve (he said); he would see thereunto, according as his charge and office should require.

Thus how the mass was overthrown in Zurich, in Berne, in Geneva, and in Strasburg, you have heard. Now what followed in Basil remaineth likewise to understand. In this city of Basil was Ecolampadius, a preacher, (as is above signified,) by whose diligent labour and travail the gospel began there to take such root, that great dissension there also arose among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass: whereupon the senate of Basil appointed, that after an open disputation it should be determined by voices, what was to be done therein. This notwithstanding, the papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so suffered by the magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the commons, that they had some privy maintainers among the senators: whereupon certain of the citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole commons, to sue to the senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Whose suit and request was this: that those senators which were the aiders and supporters of the papists, might be displaced, for that it did as well tend to the contempt of their former decree made, as also to the public disturbance of the city. But when this could not be obtained of the senate, the commons, on the eighth day of February, in the year abovesaid, assembled themselves in the Grey Friars' church, and there, considering with themselves upon the matter, repaired again with their suit unto the senate, but not in such humble wise as before; and therewithal gathered themselves in the public places of the city, to fortify the same; albeit as yet without armour. The same evening, the senate sent them word, that, at their request they granted, that those senators, although remaining still in office, yet should not sit in the council at what time any matter of religion should come in talk.

By this answer the commons, gathering that the whole state was ruled by a few, took thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsel by themselves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in cases of religion, but also in other matters of civil government; and forthwith took them to armour, keeping the towers and gates, and other convenient places of the city, with watch and ward, in as forcible wise as if the enemy had been at hand.

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The next day the senate, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the commons before had sent as suitors unto them; which offer the citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that those senators who were guilty, should in the mean season follow their plea as private persons, upon their own private costs and charges; and that the others, who defended the public cause for the behoof of their posterity, should be maintained by the public charges of the city. This the senate was glad to grant, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It happened the very same day, that certain of the citizens, (such as were appointed to go about the city for the viewing of things,) came into the high church, where one of them thrusting at a certain image with his staff, eftsoons it fell down and brake; by the occasion whereof, other images also, in like sort, were served after the same devotion. But when the priests came running to them, which seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, because they would not pass their commission, staid their hands and departed.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the citizens which stood in the marketplace, and the matter being made worse unto them than it was, they incontinently discharged out three hundred armed men, to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger: who, coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet, save only a few images broken down, they likewise, lest they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other idols and images which they found there standing; and so passing through all churches in the city, did there also the like. And when certain of the senate came forth to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "That which you have stood about these three years, consulting and advising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we despatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention shall grow between us for images." And so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance; and twelve senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonesty. Also a decree the same time was made, that as well within the city of Basil, as without, throughout all 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 wealth, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred 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 three days and three nights, every one returned again to his house quiet and joyful, without any blood or stroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the images.

On the third day, which was Ash Wednesday, (as the pope's ceremonial church doth call it,) all the wooden images were distributed among the poor of the city, to serve them for firewood. But when they could not well agree in dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the said images should be burnt altogether; so that in nine great heaps all the stocks and idols there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great church door. And thus by God's ordinance it came to pass, that the same day wherein the pope's priests are wont to show forth all their mourning, and do mark men's foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was to the whole city festival and joyful, for turning their images to ashes; and so is observed and celebrated every year still, unto this present day, with all mirth, plays, and pastimes, in remembrance of the same ashes; which day may there be called a right Ash Wednesday of God's own making. The men of Zurich, of Berne, of Soleure, hearing

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what business was at Basil, sent their ambassadors to be a mean between them; but before the ambassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

All this mean space the emperor and the French king were together occupied in wars and strife; which as it turned to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who, in the said wars, was taken prisoner by the emperor, so it happened commodious and opportune for the success of the gospel: for else it is to be thought that these Helvetians and other Germans should 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, disposeth times and occasions to serve his will and purpose in all things; albeit Ferdinand the emperor's brother, and deputy in Germany, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in resisting the proceedings of the protestants, as appeared both by the decree set forth at Ratisbon, and also at Spire; in the which council of Spire, Ferdinand, at the same time, which was A.D. 1529, had decreed against the protestants in effect as followeth:

"First, That the edict of the emperor made at Worms, should stand in force through all Germany till the time of the general council which should shortly follow. Also, that they which already had altered their religion, and now could not revoke the same again for fear of sedition, should stay themselves, and attempt no more innovations hereafter, till the time of the general council.

"Item, That the doctrine of them which hold the Lord's supper otherwise than the church doth teach, should not be received, nor the mass should be altered: and there, where the doctrine of religion was altered, there should be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were disposed to come to mass, might safely therein use their devotion. Against Anabaptists likewise; and that all ministers of the church should be enjoined to use no other interpretation of the Holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the church doctors: other matters that were disputable not be touched. Moreover, that all persons and states should keep peace, so that for religion, neither the one part should infer molestation to the other, nor receive any confederates under their protection and safeguard; all which decrees they which should transgress, to be outlawed and exiled."

Unto this sitting at Spire, first, the ambassadors of Strasburg were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinand, because they had rejected the mass; and therefore the said city of Strasburg denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they, with other Germans, might be likewise admitted into their councils. The other princes which were received and not repelled, as the duke of Saxony, and George of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, earls of Lunenburg, and the landgrave Anhaltius, did utterly gainstand the decree, and showed their cause, in a large protestation written, why they so did: which done, all such cities as subscribed and consented to the said protestation of the princes, eftsoons conjoined themselves in a common league with them, whereupon they had their name called therefore protestants. The names of the cities were these: Argentina or Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempton, Hailbrun, Isny, Weisseburg, Nordlingen, St. Gallen.

Furthermore, as touching the Helvetians, (from whence we have somewhat digressed,) how the cities of Berne and Zurich had consented and joined together in reformation of the true

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religion, ye heard before. Wherefore the other pages in Helvetia, which were of the contrary profession, in like manner confederated themselves in league with Ferdinand: the number and names of which pages especially were five; to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitcases, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, which was in the year abovesaid; to the intent, that they, conjoining their power together, might overrun the religion of Christ, and the professors of the same: who also, for hatred and despite, hanged up the arms of the aforesaid cities of Zurich and Berne upon the gallows, besides many other injuries and grievances which they wrought against them; for the which cause the said cities of Berne and Zurich raised their power, intending to set upon the aforesaid Switzers, as upon their capital enemies. But as they were in the field, ready to encounter one army against the other, through the means of the city of Strasburg, and other intercessors, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

As touching the council of Augsburg, which followed the next year after the assembly of Spires, A.D. 1530, how the princes and protestants of Germany in the same council exhibited their confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly Duke Frederic persisted in defence of his conscience against the threatening words and replications of the emperor; also in what danger the said princes had been in, had not the landgrave privily by night slipped out of the city; pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

To return therefore unto Zuinglius and the Helvetians, of whom we have here presently to treat, you heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two cities of Zurich and Berne, and the other five cities of the cantons, was pacified by the means of intercession; which peace so continued the space of two years. After that, the old wound waxing raw again, began to burst out and gather to a head; which was by reason of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed cities had received of the other; wherefore the Tigurines and the Bernates, stopping all passages and straits, would permit no corn nor victual to pass unto them. This was A.D. 1531. And when great trouble was like to be thereby, the French king, with certain other townships of Switzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Soloturnians, and other coming between them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them; which conditions were these: That all contumelies and injuries past should be forgotten: that hereafter neither part should molest the other: that they which were banished for religion, should again be restored: that the five pages might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the Old and New Testament: that no kind of disquietness should be procured against them of Berne and Zurich: and that either part should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the other as in times past. But the five pagemen would not observe these covenants made, neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the Bernates and Tigurines, showing and declaring first their cause in public writing, to purge and excuse the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the sword in hand, did, as before, beset the highways and passages, that no furniture, or victual, or other forage, could come to the other pages; by reason whereof, when they 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, where then was lying a garrison of the Zurich men, to the number of a thousand and more; whereupon word was sent incontinent to the city of Zurich, to succour their men with speed. But their enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them; for when they were come to the top of the hill, whereby they must needs pass, they saw

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their fellows being in great distress in the valley under them. Whereupon they, encouraging themselves, made down the hill with more haste than order, who might go fastest; but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one go down at once: by reason whereof, forasmuch as they could not keep their ranks to join altogether, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude; which was on the eleventh of October in the year aforesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also Uldricus Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God. Also the abbot of Capella, and Commendator Kunacensis, with thirteen other learned and worthy men, were slain; being, as is thought, falsely betrayed, and brought into the hands of their enemies.

As touching the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by John Sleidan and especially by Ecolampadius, in his epistle, where first is to be understood, that it is an old received manner among the Zurich men, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief minister of the church goeth with them. Zuinglius also of himself, being (saith Sleidan) a man of a stout and bold courage, considering if he should remain at home when war should be attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons did so encourage others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what shame and disdain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his brethren did.

Ecolampadius moreover addeth, that he went not out 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," saith he, "that most cry out against Zuinglius, can show any such noble heart in him, to do the like?" Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather desired not to go; foreseeing belike what danger thereof would ensue. But the senate, being importune upon him, would have no nay, urging and enforcing him most instantly to go: among whom were thought to have been some false betrayers, saying and objecting to him, that he was a dastard if he refused to accompany his brethren as well in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the said Zuinglius, among other secular arts, had also some skill in such matters of warfare. When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon his dead corpse; such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should burn his body being dead.

The report goeth, 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, where they found his heart in the ashes whole and unburned; in much like manner as was the heart of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which in the ashes also was found and taken up unconsumed, as by credible information is testified.

Furthermore, such was then the rage of these five pages against the aforesaid abbot of Capella, that they took him, being slain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a monk's cowl, and so set him in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most spiteful manner. Uldricus Zuinglius was, when he died, of the age of forty-four years; younger than Martin Luther by four years.

The Bernates, who were purposed the same time to achieve war against the Untervaladians, bordering near unto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the Tigurines,

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to comfort them again, desired them to be of good cheer and courage, promising that they would not fail, but come and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the Tigurines had assembled their power together, which was the eighth day after the battle, and had received aid from the Schaffhausen, Mulhausen, St. Gallen, and from Basil, (the Bernates at this time were nothing hasty,) out of the whole number they chose out certain ensigns, which setting forth in the night, lay in the hill beside Menzig, intending when the moon was up, to take the town of Zug, lying near at hand, upon the sudden: which when their enemies had perceived, which were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secret manner came upon them being at rest, the twenty-fourth of October, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry. So it fell out in conclusion, that many on both parties were slain; and albeit the five pagemen had the upper hand, yet would they of Zurich nothing relent in their religion. At the last, through mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed, that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Basilians, should forsake the league which they had lately made with the city of Strasburg and the landgrave: likewise that the five pagemen should give over their league and composition made with Ferdinand: and hereof obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of November.

Ecclampadius, the preacher of the city of Strasburg above recorded, hearing of the death of Zuinglius his dear friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow, insomuch that it is thought to have increased his disease; and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of November above-mentioned, being of the age of forty-nine years, older than Martin Luther by one year. Although this Ecclampadius then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other worthy works which he left behind him, still live and shall never die.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1532, in the month of August, died also the worthy and memorable prince, John Frederic, duke of Saxony, who, for testimony of Christ and his gospel, sustained such trials, so many brunts, and so vehement conflicts with the emperor, and that especially at the council assembled at Augsburg; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him or any prince to have endured so constant and unmovable against so many persuasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded John Frederic his son, &c.

And thus have ye the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Switzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the first beginning of their reformation of religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will add one certain epistle of the said Zuinglius, taken out of his other epistles, and so therewith close up his story; which epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded the true meaning of the apostle, writing to the Corinthians concerning how to judge the Lord's body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be these, as follow:

"Unto your questions propounded to me in your former letters, well-beloved brother! I have sent you here mine answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's supper is a very thanksgiving; for so the apostle himself meaneth, saying, Ye shall show forth the Lord's death: where the word of showing forth, signifieth as much as praising or thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is a Eucharist, or a thanksgiving, in my judgment no other thing ought to be

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obtruded on men's consciences, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, this is not to be neglected, that every man do prove and examine himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own consciences, what faith we have in Christ Jesus? which if it be sound and sincere, we may approach without stay to this thanksgiving. For he that hath no faith, and yet feigneth or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the table eating of meats offered to idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul, a little before, writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, which bragging upon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eat of such meats offered to idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's table: You cannot, saith he, be partakers both of the Lord's table, and the table of devils, &c. Wherefore St. Paul's meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he which hath a right faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which be given to idols: for he is now a member of another body, that is, of Christ; so that he cannot join himself now to be one body with idolaters. And therefore those be they which do not judge or discern the Lord's body, that make no difference between the church of Christ and the church of idolaters. For they which sit at the Lord's table, eating of idol meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's supper and the supper of the devils: which be they whom Paul saith not to judge the body of our Lord, that is, which make no discrepance, nor give any more regard to Christ's church, than to the church of devils. Whereas if we would judge ourselves; that is, if we would thoroughly search and examine our own consciences as we should, in coming to the table of the Lord, we, finding any faith in us, would: never go the table, or make thereof the feast, of devils: wherefore your judgment 'herein is not amiss in expounding the word of judging in St. Paul, to signify as much a considering, perpending, and inquiring.

"To your second question I answer, that Jesus took bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the cup, &c. These words declare the action of one which properly doth a thing; and not the hospitality of one which inviteth another to eat.

"Touching your third question, out of the 6th chapter of John, Doth this offend you? herein I do fully agree with you.

"As for this word 'Ostren,' which is your fourth question, I understand thereby the time of the great feast or solemnity, which we keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's people from the thralldom of Satan; before, from the thralldom of Pharaoh: neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing itself be one, and the analogy and constancy of the Scripture be kept; for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St. Paul calleth him our Easter or Passover. Now your word, 'Wanderfest,' well pleaseth me, for the Passover, or Pæsah.

"To your fifth interrogation, of Christ's descending into hell; I suppose this particle was inserted into the Creed by the sentence of the fathers, to declare how the fathers were redeemed by the death of Christ, which died in the faith. For Christ led away captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into heaven: so that his going down into hell be not so understood as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place; but by power, which is by the operation of his Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the article of

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Christ's descending into hell importeth as much as that his death redeemed them which were in hell. Whereunto St. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, The gospel also was preached to them which were dead; that is, that they also did feel the good tidings of the gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they which rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in heaven, who nevertheless in flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of man shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. Return to the places of Peter, the one in his First Epistle, the other in the latter; and so be you contented with this present answer rashed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well; and comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commend me to John Eggenberge.

"From Zurich, September 1, A.D. 1527."

From the first beginning of this whole book and history hitherto, good reader! thou hast heard of many, and sundry troubles, and much business in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the Church of Rome; as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there been, within the space of these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the misordered doings and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this Luther? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear no less to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet, notwithstanding, never any could prevail before the coming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto men, yet so far as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought, that whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most specially, with examples and manners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his 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; yea, and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the Holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his blood; the pope, proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of men's meriting and deserving by works: whereupon rose divers sorts of orders and religious sects among men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness, but few seeking the righteousness of him, which is set up of God to be our righteousness, redemption, and justification.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many who before were drowned in darkness: whereupon 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 being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater

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persecution followed upon the same. And where the elect of God took most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true word of God to bring with it ever dissension and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, that he came not to send peace on earth, but the sword. And this was the cause why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world; whereby rose great disquietness amongst the prelates, and many laws and decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruel handling of many good and Christian men. Thus, while authority, armed with laws and rigour, did strive against simple verity, lamentable it was to hear how many poor men were troubled, and went to wrack: some tossed from place to place, some exiled out of the land for fear, some caused to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some racked with torment, and some pursued to death with faggot and fire. Of whom we have now (Christ willing) in this history following to treat; first beginning with certain that suffered in Germany, and then to return to our own stories and martyrs here in England.

144. Henry Voes and John Esch

Friars Augustine, burnt at Brussels, A.D. 1523.



IN the year of our Lord 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of twenty-four years, and the other John Esch; who before had been of the order of the Augustine Friars. They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' weed, at the suit of Egmondanus the pope's inquisitor, and the divines of Louvain; for that they would not retract and deny their doctrine of the gospel, which the papists call Lutheranism. Their examiners were Hochestratus and other, who demanded of them, what they did believe?

They said, the books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said, such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. 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? That (said they) is to be attributed only to the precepts, of God, to bind the conscience of man, or to loose it. Wherein when they constantly persisted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, which had delivered them through his great goodness from the false and abominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order, receiving them unto him as a sacrifice of sweet odour. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered unto 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, forasmuch as men are liars, and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

As they were led unto the place of execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, 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 were come to the place where they should be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts; and joyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them; praising God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and singing psalms, and rehearsing the Creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take heed so foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, "I trust that I carry him truly in my heart." One of them, seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "Methinks ye do strew roses under my feet." Finally the smoke and the flame, mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being demanded, amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: "Yea," said he, "even as Christ seduced his apostles." He said also, that it was contrary to God's

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law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in office by the bishops, have no power but only to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock therewithal. After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp; the president whereof, by the papists called Jacob the Lutheran, after divers and sundry troubles and afflictions, was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterwards, his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther.

145. Henry Sutphen, Monk, a Martyr, at Dithmarsch.

The next year after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Brussels, above-mentioned, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of judgment or just condemnation, about the city of Dithmarsch, on the borders of Germany, one Henry Sutphen, monk, A.D. 1524, of whom mention is partly touched in the commentaries of John Sleiden, lib. iv.; but his history is more amply described by Luther, by Paulus Eberus in his calendar, by Ludovicus, by Rabus Crispinus, and others. This Sutphen had been before with Martin Luther, and afterward coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the gospel, and so came to Bremen, not to the intent there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberg, being driven from Antwerp, as is above said; who, being at Bremen, was there required, by certain godly citizens of Bremen, to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel; whereunto, through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily allured and persuaded. He made his first sermon unto the people the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the gospel; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious rout had understanding hereof, specially the canons, monks, and priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust both him, and also the gospel of Christ, out of the city; for that was their chief seeking: whereupon they went unto the senate, desiring that such a heretic might be banished the town, which, in his doctrine, 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, who being come together, the senate declared unto them the complaint of the canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. Notwithstanding, if the chapter-house or any other man could bring testimonial or witness, that the preacher had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they said) with the chapterhouse to persecute him; for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if, contrariwise, the canons of the chapter-house, and the other religious men, will not declare and show that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set only of malice, by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

This answer the senate commanded to be declared to the chapter-house. When the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out in a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went straight unto the archbishop to certify him how that the citizens of Bremen were become heretics, and would no longer obey their religious sort, with many other like things in their complaint, so that it was to be feared, lest the whole city shortly should be seduced.

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When the bishop heard tell of these things, straightways he sent two which were of his council, unto Bremen, requiring that Henry should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they would have him sent, they answered, because he preached against the holy church. Being again demanded in what points or articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the bishop's suffragan, a naughty, pernicious hypocrite, which sought all means possible to carry away the said Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the senators; That forasmuch as the preacher, being hired by the churchwardens, had not hitherto been convicted for a heretic, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Bremen to dispute with him; and if he were convinced, they promised that without any delay he should be justly punished and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the suffragan answered with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands, for the quietness of the whole country; taking God to his witness, that in this behalf he sought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his country. But for all this they could prevail nothing; for the senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the suffragan, being moved with anger, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.

When he came unto the bishop, he declared the answer of, the senate, and what he had heard and learned of the priests and monks there. Afterwards, when daily news came that the preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter against the religious rout, they attempted another way, suborning great men to admonish the citizens of Bremen into what jeopardy their commonwealth might fall by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and emperor. Besides that, they said that he was the prisoner of the Lady Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the Lady Margaret, requiring to have her prisoner sent unto her again.

All these crafts and subtleties did nothing at all prevail, for the senate of Bremen answered all things without blame. When the bishop saw this his enterprise also frustrated, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both Sutphen, and also the word of God with him, should be wholly oppressed; whereupon they decreed a provincial council, not to be holden at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Buxtehade, which place they thought most meet for their purpose. To this council were called all the prelates and learned men of the diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereto to trust. Also to the said council was Henry called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest heretic, albeit he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before them. Wherefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council.

Then the said Henry gathered a sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters unto the archbishop; excusing his innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the Holy Scripture, to recant the same; notwithstanding, earnestly requiring that his errors might be convicted by the Holy Scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same: but this took no place amongst those anointed prelates.

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What the determination of their judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set up upon the church porch the bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, and the decree of the emperor, made at Worms: whereupon Henry contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, that he was ready willingly to give account touching his faith and doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains unto every sermon, to trap him in his words: but God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them, for he converted many of them; insomuch that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did openly witness his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard: persuading them likewise, that they, forsaking all impiety, should follow the word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief priests, canons, and monks, were so obdurate and blinded with Pharaoh, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When God saw the time convenient that Henry should confirm the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth:

It happened A.D. 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters, by Nicholas Boyes, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorf, which is a town in Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of antichrist, which in that place had full dominion. These letters being received upon St. Katharine's even, calling together six brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel; adding moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all others who required his aid: wherefore he thought good to go unto Dithmarsch, to see what God would work by him. Requiring also that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the gospel had not yet taken so deep root in the people, but was as yet weak, and especially in the villages thereabout; and that the persecution was very great: willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching; and if they of Dithmarsch desired a preacher, he should send some other in his place, for he had before perceived the disposition and untrustiness of them of Dithmarsch: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole commonalty. Whereunto Henry made answer in this manner: That albeit he could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly and learned men at Bremen, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the gospel. Besides that the papists were for the most part vanquished and overthrown, and their folly known, even unto women and children: adding thereunto that he had now preached the gospel by the space of two years at Bremen, and that they of Dithmarsch lived without a pastor even in the midst of the wolves; wherefore he could not with a safe conscience deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not license him without the consent of the whole congregation, that (said he) was but of small effect; forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of Dithmarsch for a month or two, to lay a foundation, and then to return again; desiring them that after his departure they would declare unto the congregation how he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every

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place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them that had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when he had performed his enterprise, he would straight return again. They, being persuaded with these words, consented unto him, stedfastly hoping that they of Dithmarsch should be converted unto the true faith; which people above all others have always been most given to idolatry.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, on the twenty-second of October he took his journey, and came to Meldorf, whither he was sent for; where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others, as soon as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friars, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Master John Swicken his companion, and commissary to the official of Hamburg, to take counsel what was to be done, lest they should lose their kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not have licence to preach; for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist, remembering what had happened lately before in Bremen. This determination had, the prior, the next day early in the morning, (for he had not slept well all night for cares,) went with great speed unto Heyde, to speak with the eight and forty presidents of the country; unto whom with great complaints he showed how that a seditious fellow, a monk, was come from Bremen, which would seduce all the people of Dithmarsch, as he had done the Bremers. There were, moreover, that did assist this prior, Master Gunter, chancellor of that country, and Peter Hanne, both enemies unto the gospel. These stoutly assisted the prior, persuading the other forty-six, being simple and unlearned men, that they should obtain great favour and good will of the bishop of Bremen, if they would put this heretic monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this monk should be put to death, neither heard nor seen, much less convicted.

Furthermore, this prior obtained letters from the forty-eight presidents unto the parish priest, commanding him under great penalty that he should put the monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came speedily unto Meldorf, and delivered the letters over night unto the parish priest; trusting that by their threatenings and commandment, the said Henry should be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

Wen Nicholas Boyes, the parish priest, had read over the letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud commandment, for that it had not been heard of before, that the forty-eight presidents should meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and that it had been of long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the parish priest; and long time before, it was decreed by the whole province, and customably used, that in every church the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered unto Henry; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come, being sent for by the whole congregation, to preach the gospel of Christ, he would satisfy that vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable unto the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, than man. Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his life in Dithmarsch, there was as near a way to heaven, as in any other place; for that he doubted

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nothing at all, that once he must suffer for the gospel's sake. Upon this courage and boldness, the next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and made a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is in Romans i., God is my witness; and the gospel of the day. After the sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the prior delivered the letters that were sent by the forty-eight presidents, the tenor whereof was this: That they of Meldorf should be fined with a fine of a thousand guilders if they suffered the monk to preach; and commanded moreover, that they should send ambassadors unto Heyde with full power and authority. When they heard these letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custom of the country; forasmuch as every parish priest hath always had authority, according to his discretion, to choose or put away the preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voice, to keep Henry for their preacher, and to defend him; for when they had heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior.

After dinner Henry preached again, expounding the place of St. Paul, Rom. xv., We ought which are strong, &c. The next day the citizens of Meldorf sent their messengers unto Heyde, offering to answer in all causes before all men, for their preacher, whom they had received. Besides that, the messengers declared what Christian and godly sermons they heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the said legates unto the forty-eight rulers, wherein he excused himself, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of the said Henry, to move sedition, but only sincerely to preach the word of God; and offered himself ready to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should be called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the monks, which being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the truth: saying, moreover, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned before the truth be tried out and his cause declared; and if, after due inquisition had, he should be convicted, then he should suffer condign punishment. This submission, with the public testimonial, was nothing esteemed or regarded, neither was there any answer given thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat. Last of all, one Peter Dethleves, one of the seigniors, answered, that albeit there were divers dissensions in every place about the Christian faith, and that they, as men ignorant, could not redress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the judgment of determining this dissension should be reserved to the next council, which, by the report of master chancellor, was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also, until all discord and dissension should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the people, and that there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withstand, or resist their good doings, but that the presidents would wish this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition: and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next, and by that time it should be made evident, what should be received, and what left undone. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned again to Meldorf with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Upon St. Nicholas' day, this Henry preached twice; first, upon the Gospel, A certain nobleman, &c., Luke xix.; secondly, upon this text, There are many made priests, &c., Heb. vii.,

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with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our Lady, he also made two sermons upon Matthew i., expounding the book of the generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers that then were had lived; adding also, that all respect of 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, that had sent them such a preacher: desiring him, moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

In the mean space, the prior and Master John Schink were not idle; for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise took no good success, he joined unto him a companion, William, a doctor of the Jacobins, and so went up to Laudanum to the monks Franciscan, and Minors, for help and counsel. For those kinds of friars above all others are best instructed by their hypocrisy, to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightway sent for certain of the rulers, which had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hanne, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great complaints, what a heretic monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favour almost of all the simple people; which if they did not so speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would come to pass, that shortly the honour of our Lady, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruin and decay.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved: whereunto Peter Swine answered thus, That they had before written unto the parish priest and to Henry what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. "No," said the prior, "this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his heresy do also infect you, being unlearned men; for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him." Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan friars. Peter Hanne, the prior's chief friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Master Gunter, did associate unto him certain other rulers of the towns near adjoining, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glory. The names of the presidents were these, Peter Hanne, Peter Swine's son, Hennicke Lundane, John Holneus, Laurence Hanneman, Nicholas Wollingbourg, Ambrose and John Brenthusius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Henstedanus Ludecus, John Wislinge, and Peter Grosse, president of Hemingsted. All these presidents, and all others that were of counsel to this pretence, assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of Master Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said Henry, secretly coming upon him without any judgment or sentence. They concluded the next day after the conception of our Lady, to meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorf, with a great band of husbandmen. This determination thus made, they laid scouts in every place, that there should no news of their pretended mischiefs come unto Meldorf; commanding that as soon as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the country, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; for

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before, no man knew the cause of the assembly, but only the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing to do such a detestable and horrible deed. The presidents, with most bitter threats, kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburg beer to drink.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorf. The Jacobins and monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false betrayer, named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken people is. 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 cried out, "Kill the thief," "Kill the thief." Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as prisoner: other some cried out, saying, That the parish priest was not to be meddled withal, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their lust upon the parish priest, with great rage and fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Hanne, which otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Dithmarsch? unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried, "Away with him, away with him! for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us also heretics." Then he, being marvellously weary and faint, required to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because 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 afoot whether he will or no." Because it was night they carried him naked to Heyde. 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 suffer it to be done: wherefore he was carried away to a priest's house, the official's servant of Hamburg, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all other, there came unto him Simon Altennan, and Christian, parish priest of the new church, both alike ignorant and wicked persecutors of the word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy habit? unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing that he said. Master Gunter also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather to be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Dithmarsch? unto whom Henry answered, "If I have preached any thing contrary to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me therefor." Gunter answered, "Hark! I pray you, good friends, hark! he desireth to suffer in Dithmarsch." The common people all the night continued in immoderate drinking and swilling.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the market-place to consult what they should do; where the rustical people, boiling 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 liveth, the more he will seduce with his

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heresy." What need many words? sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry without any judgment, (his cause not being heard,) to be burned. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim, that every man that was at the taking of him, should be ready in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst all other the friars Franciscan were present, encouraging the drunken, rude people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound the said Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a certain woman, standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly; unto whom Henry turning himself, said, "I pray you weep not for me." When he came to the fire, for very weakness he sat down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the presidents named May, which was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose: he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him:

"Forasmuch as this thief hath 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." Unto whom Henry answered, "I have done no such thing:" and, lifting up his eyes towards the heaven, he said, "O Lord! forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name, O Almighty God! is holy."

In the mean time, a certain woman, the wife of one Junger, sister of Peter Hanne, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacify the matter, and keep him in prison, until he might plead his matter before the whole convocation of the country. When they heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman down under foot, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the rustical sort 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. And this was not done 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 unto Henry, that he should be confessed; whom Henry demanded in this manner: "Brother! when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said the friar. "What should I then confess unto you," said he, "that you think you might forgive me?" The friar, being moved at these words, departed. The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kind of weapons. The said Henry standing in the mean time in his shirt before all this rude people, at the last, they, having gotten a great ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one struck him upon the face with his fist, saying, "Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt." Then another, treading upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him withal, for they saw that for all his sore wounds he would not die.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one, running unto him, set his halbert for the ladder to lean against (for those countrymen use no common hangman, but every man exerciseth the office without difference); but the ladder slipping away from the point of the

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halberty, caused that the halberty struck him through the body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood, which, tumbling down, lighted upon one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterwards they roasted him upon the coals; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom; which was A.D. 1524.

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

At the town of Halle likewise, another preacher, named Master George, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred and slain of a like sort of cut-throats, set up by monks and friars to murder him, near to the town called Haschenburg.

At Prague also, in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, did suffer in the like manner.

Furthermore, in the same year 1524, and the twenty-second of October, the town of Miltenberg in Germany was taken and ransacked, and divers of the inhabitants there slain, and many imprisoned, for maintaining and keeping with them Carolostadt to be their preacher.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed Gasper Tamber. Also another called George, a scrivener, which both were burned at Vienna in Austria.

146. The Lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk, of Melden, In France.

[Note: in Seeley's Edition this martyr is called John Clerk of Meaux]

[Transcriber's Note: Melden is the current name of the diocese which includes the town of Meaux]

Melden is a city in France, ten miles distant from Paris, where John Clerk first was apprehended and taken, A.D. 1523, for setting up upon the church door a certain bill against the pope's pardons lately sent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be antichrist; for the which his punishment was this, that three several days he should be whipped, and afterwards have a mark imprinted 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 did encourage her son, crying with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ! and welcome be his prints and marks!"

After this execution and punishment sustained, the said John departed that town, and went to Rosia in Bray, and from thence removed to Metz in Lorraine, where he remained a certain space, applying his vocation, being a wool-carder by his occupation; where he, the day before that the people of that city should go out to the suburbs, to worship certain blind idols near by, (after an old use and custom amongst them received,) being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the city to the place where the images were, and brake them all down in pieces. The next morrow after, 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 were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks almighty, lie broken upon the ground; at the sight whereof they, being mightily offended in their minds, set all the city on agog, to search out the author thereof, who was not hard to be found; forasmuch as this aforesaid Clerk, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was also seen somewhat late in the evening before to come from the same place into the city. Wherefore he, being suspected and examined upon the same, at first confessed the fact, rendering also the cause which moved him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. For first his hand was cut off from his right arm, then his nose with sharp pinchers was violently plucked from his face; after that both his arms and his paps were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all them that stood looking upon, it was a horror to behold, the grievous and doleful sight of his pains: again, to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift so to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing, the verses of Psalm cxv.; Their images be silver and gold, the work only of man's hand, &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed; which was about A.D. 1524.

147. John Castellane.

The year next ensuing, which was 1525, Master John Castellane, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after that he was called unto the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in France, in a place called Bar le Duc, also at Vittery in Partoise, at Chalons in Champagne, and in the town of Vike, which is the chamber and episcopal seat of the bishop of Metz in Lorraine, after he had laid some foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the town of Metz, in returning from thence he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants, by whom he was carried from Gorze to the castle of Nommeni. Whereupon the citizens of Metz took no little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously offended to have their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the cardinal's subjects, and kept them prisoners so long, until the abbot of St. Anthony, in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar-general, as well in causes spiritual as temporal, (through the jurisdiction both of the cardinal and bishopric of Metz, Toulouse, and Verdun,) being furnished with a letter and commission from the see of Rome, came to the said town of Metz; and after divers declarations made to the provost, and the other justices and counsellors of the city, he so wrought and brought to pass, that immediately the said subjects of the cardinal were set at liberty. But John Castellane was kept still prisoner in the castle of Nommeni, and was most cruelly handled from the fourth of May until the twelfth of January; during all which time, he persevered constant in the doctrine of the Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from Nommeni to the town and castle of Vike, always persevering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine, so that they did proceed unto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular power, according to the custom and manner. And forasmuch as the form and manner of the sentence and process of degrading is notable, and hath been reported unto us word for word, we have thought good here to annex the same, to declare the horrible blasphemies joined with gross and brutish subtlety, in those high mysteries which the enemies of the truth do use in their process against the children of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may evidently perceive the horrible blindness that these unshamefaced catholics are blinded withal.

The sentence of the degradation.

"Concerning the process inquisitory, formed and given in form of accusation against thee, John Castellane, priest, and religious man of the friars Eremites, of the order of St. Austin; understanding likewise thy confession, which thou hast made of thine own good will, maintaining false and erroneous doctrine; and marking also, besides this, the godly admonitions and charitable exhortations which we made unto thee in the town of Metz, which thou, like unto the serpent Aspis, hast refused, and given no ear unto: also considering thine answers made and reiterated unto interrogatories, by means of thine oath, in the which devilishly thou hast hidden and kept back not only the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, hast denied to confess thy sins and mischievous offence: and finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the reverend Master Nicholas Savin, doctor of

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divinity, and inquisitor of the faith, assistant unto us, hath entered process against thee, and given full information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated unto divers masters and doctors both of the civil and canon laws, here present, which have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that thou, John Castellane, hast oftentimes, and in divers places, openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many 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 thy face, that thou art found to be a liar before Almighty God: It is ordained by the sacred rules of the canon law, that such as through the sharp darts of their venomous tongue do pervert the Scriptures, 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 apply themselves the better to the study of Christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of severity, as of clemency. For these causes, and others rising upon the said process, by the apostolic authority, and also the authority of our said reverend lord the cardinal, which we do use in this our sentence definitive, which we, sitting in our judgment-seat, declare in these writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measure we do meet unto others, the same shall be measured to us again: we pronounce and declare sententially and definitively, thee, John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy deserts, to be excommunicated, with the most great excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of treason against the Divine Majesty, and a mortal enemy of the catholic faith, and verity of the gospel; also to be a manifest heretic, and a follower and partaker of the execrable cruelty of Martin Luther, a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned. And therefore, as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honour and dignity, of all thy orders, of thy shaving and religious habit, also of thy ecclesiastical benefices, if thou hast any, and from all privilege of clergy: so we here presently do depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithful: and being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded. That done, we leave thee unto the secular powers, committing the degradation and actual execution of this our sentence unto the reverend lord and bishop here present, with the authority and commandment aforesaid."

This sentence being thus ended, with their catholic sermon also, the said bishop of Nicopolis, sitting in his pontificalibus in the judgment-seat, being suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Master John Castellane. Thus the said Master John Castellane, being prepared and made ready to his degradation by the officers of the said bishop, was apparelled in his priestly attire, and afterwards brought forth of the chapel by the priests which were thereunto appointed, with all his priestly ornaments upon him; and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hands, with wine and water, the patine, and the host; all which things the said bishop which degraded him, took from him, saying, "We take away from thee, or command to be taken away from thee, all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say mass, as well for the quick 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 thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy hands." Then he took from him the chesille, saying, "By good right we do despoil thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity; for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency." Then taking away the stole, he said, "Thou hast villanously rejected and despised the sign of our

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Lord, which is represented by this stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things appertaining to priesthood."

The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus 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 thee all power to read the Gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy." After this he spoiled him of the dalmatic, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying, "We deprive thee of this Levitical order; forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministry and office." After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, "We justly take away from thee the white stole which thou hadst received undefiledly; which also thou oughtest to have borne in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicated unto the name of Christ may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the office of deaconship." Then they proceeded to the degrading of subdeaconship, and taking away from him the book of the Epistles, and his subdeacon's vesture, deposed him from reading of the Epistles in the church of God. And so orderly proceeding unto all the other orders, 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 hereafter not to open or shut the revestry, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his surplice, said unto him, "By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take from thee all clerkly habit, and despoil thee of all ornament of religion: also we depose and degrade thee of all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, and as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee 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 thee out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crown, which is the royal sign of priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The bishop also added these words: "That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work; wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the church of God."

The degrading thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court and city of Metz, required of the notary an instrument or copy of the degrading. Then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerkly habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, forasmuch as he which is degraded, according to the institution of Pope Innocent the Third, ought to be delivered unto the secular court, the bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner: "We pronounce that the secular court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerkly honour and privilege."

This done, the bishop, after a certain 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 the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body." These things thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, confirming the aforesaid sentence, condemned the said Master John Castellane to be burned quick; which death he suffered the twelfth of January, A.D. 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant

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people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the verity, but also a great number which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.

148. Martyrs in Germany.

It would fill another volume to comprehend the acts and stories of all them which in other countries, at the rising of the gospel, suffered for the same. But praised be the Lord, every region almost hath its own history-writer, which sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the less need to overstrain my travail, or to overcharge this volume therewith; only it shall suffice me to collect three or four histories, recorded by Ecolampadius and the rest, to bring it into a brief story, and so return to occupy myself with our own domestical matters here done at home.

"In the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly minister, who had committed something in the commotion there raised by the rustical clowns of the country, which, they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He, because he had offended his prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with some word something sharply spoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

"After sentence was given, there was a gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of men to apprehend the said priest, and to hang him; who, coming into his house, saluted him friendly, pretending as though their coming had been to make good cheer: for he was a good housekeeper, and the gentlemen of the country thereabouts used oftentimes to resort unto his house familiarly. This priest made ready for them in a short space a very sumptuous banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very cheerfully. After dinner was ended, and that the priest was yet at the table, thinking no hurt, the gentleman said to his servants, 'Take you this priest, our host, and hang him, and that without delay; for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed against his prince.' The servants were marvellously astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their master, 'God forbid that we should commit anysuch crime, to hang a man that hath treated us so gently; for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a nobleman to render so great evil for a good turn, but especially to murder an innocent.' Briefly, the servants sought no other occasion, but only to give him way to flee, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

"As the gentleman and his servants were thus contending, the priest said unto them, I beseech you show no such cruelty upon me; rather lead me away captive unto my prince, where I may purge myself. I am falsely accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever showed to you, and all noblemen at all times resorting to my house.' But principally speaking to the gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual sting which would follow upon an evil conscience; protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the doctrine of the gospel, and that it was the principal cause why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, forasmuch as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reprov'd sharply and openly the horrible vices of the gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious living; and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should show example of faith, true religion, and

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soberness; but they had oftentimes resisted him, saying, That it was not his part to reprove them, forasmuch as they were his lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no man ought to gainsay it: also that he went about some things in his sermons, that would come to an ill end.

"This good man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter seem good; for the gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his servants still to accomplish their purpose (for it was resolved by the prince, that he should be put to death); and, turning himself unto the priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort, but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose for to save his life. At the last, the servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their host, and hanged him upon a beam in his own house, the gentleman standing by and looking on. This good man, seeing no remedy, spake no other words but only, 'Jesus, have mercy upon me; Jesus, save me.'

"This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would scarcely have committed against his mortal enemy. Now let every man judge with himself, which of them have the greatest advantage, either they which commit the cruelty against the good, or the good men which do suffer the same unjustly. The first sort have a continual gnawing in their conscience, and the others obtain an immortal crown."

The history of the death of a certain minister, named Master Peter Spengler, which was drowned.

"In a certain village named Schlat, in the country of Brisgois, there was a vigilant minister, a man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his office and duty; being also courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of men, but specially of the bishop of Constance, with whom he was in great authority; peaceable and quiet with all men that he had to do withal. He quieted discords and contentions with a marvellous prudency, exhorting all men to mutual charity and love. In all assemblies wheresoever he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the gospel began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the Holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, being also further grown in age, he began to consider with himself, in how great darkness and errors the whole order of priests had been a long time drowned. 'O good God,' said he, 'who would have thought it, that so many learned and holy men have wandered out of the right way, and could have so long time been wrapped in so great errors, or that the Holy Scripture could have been so deformed with such horrible abuses.' For he never well understood before (he said) that the gospel was the verity of God, in that order wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the cross, persecution, and ignominious death; and yet the priests lived in great prosperity, and no man durst maintain any quarrel against them without great danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the gospel should be displayed, that persecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the faithful; that the bishops, which ought by their virtue and power to defend the word, were

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more barbarous and cruel than any tyrants had been before. He, thus considering the present state of the world, put all doubt from his heart, and saw presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the truth; seeing so many bodies of the faithful were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments which the innocent have endured these years past, even by those who call themselves Christians; and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good pastor, (considering with himself the laws and doctrine of the Church of Rome to swerve from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining marriage,) to the end that he would not defile himself with fornication, married a maid of his, such a one as feared God; by whom afterwards he had many fair children.

"About this time the people of the country had raised a great commotion, who in their rage went to monasteries and priests' houses, as if they had taken in hand some pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast under foot, or carried it away with them. One company of this rustical sort lodged themselves in the house of this good priest; for they made no difference between the good and the bad. These roisters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, insomuch that they took away the very hose from his legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently entreated them, showing them that it was theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madness like beasts.

"As they were departing out of the house, the good priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, 'I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to yourselves; for what madness is this? What meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between friend and foe? Who thus stirreth you up? What counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, ravin, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment? What sedition did ever come to good end? You pretend the gospel, and have no peace of the gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses,' saith he, 'ye never learned of me, which ever have taught you the true word of God. This your gospel,' saith he, 'is rather the gospel of the devil, than of God, which vexeth all the world with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all men, to avoid dissensions and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, which will never suffer these evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the gospel, That which thou wouldest not should be done to thee, do not to others. You offend also all the nobility, and your lawful magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up sedition, to stir up others, and to disturb the state of the commonwealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your noblemen do? Shall they not rifle you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich? and then shall one of you betray another.' These, with such other words, he stood preaching unto them, almost naked; but all this would not prevail with those men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him old dotard.' Amongst all others, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner: 'O master curate! we have been long deceived by your selling of masses, by fearing us with purgatory, by your dirges and trentals; and so have we been spoiled; wherefore we do

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nothing, now, but require again the money which you robbed us of.' And so mocking and scorning him they departed.

"After that this sedition of the peasants was partly appeased, their armour being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that conspiracy were taken here and there in the villages, and executed; this good pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the gospel, whereat many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain soldiers, which bound him hand and foot with a great rope, before his wife and children, and so set him upon a horse, and led him away to Friburg. What grievous sighs, tears, sorrow, and lamentation were there! it would have moved any heart, were it as hard as a flint, to a doleful compassion; especially to see the barbarous and despiteful rebukes, taunts, and extreme cruelty showed by these proud popish soldiers against the innocent priest. Such beastly tyrants the world is never without: such godly ministers we have had but a few.

"The people, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the men, but only the women, whom the soldiers willed to go home again, and that their men should come forth and keep the town; but their men durst not appear. Then from Friburg shortly after they conveyed him to Ensisheim.

"After they had long kept this man in prison, and that he had endured most terrible torments in all parts of his body, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, that he had married a wife secretly in his own house, with a few witnesses. Other crimes they had none to object against him; neither that he was a seditious and wicked man, or that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his sermons the order and manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all them that came to comfort him. But there were divers monks and priests, which troubled him very sorely with their foolish babbling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God; seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. 'And I,' said he, 'shall this day be an acceptable sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who, in this behalf, hath given me a good and quiet conscience. Now therefore let them which thirst for innocent blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and that they offend even Him, unto whom it pertaineth truly to judge the hearts of men; for it is said, Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.' And forasmuch as he was a very lean man, he added this moreover, saying, 'It is all one; for shortly I must have forsaken this skin, which already scarcely hangeth to my bones. I know well that I am a mortal, and a corruptible worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joined with my Saviour Christ. I have deserved, through my manifold sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my cross; and my Saviour Christ hath borne the cross, and hath died upon the cross; and for my part I will not glory in any other thing but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.'



Peter Spengler Executed by Drowning

"There were present by certain naughty persons which could not endure to hear this godly exhortation, but made a sign unto the hangman to cast him down into the river. After he was thrown down, he moved by a certain space in the water, in such sort that the river whereinto he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent blood was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonied, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every man returned home pensive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding, no man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the town of Ensisheim, A.D. 1525.

"These things I did understand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins!"

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Such was the wickedness then of those days, and yet is still, that whosoever was perceived to favour the gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the pope's church, he was hated and despised of the rulers, lawyers, and all other papists through the whole country about; but especially of priests, monks, and friars. And though the life of the gospellers were never so sound and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the pope's friends against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rustical people of the country rising in armour inordinately against their rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole country of Germany, and no less to their own destruction; of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length, when this rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the pope's friends, to work their malice against the gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be gospellers and protestants. And although the said gospellers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not; for causes were made, false witnesses brought, corrupt judges suborned, to condemn the innocent; and many were put to death, their cause neither being heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom; in the number of whom was this poor man also, whose story by Ecolampadius is thus described:

"There was," saith he, "a certain man of the country, which in my judgment was a good man, and lover of justice, and a mortal enemy of all the cruel exactions of the gentlemen which oppressed the poor people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented because he had cried 'alarm,' when a great number of horsemen ranged about the country to seek out those which had been the authors of that sedition. This poor man was taken by policy, and so upholden with fair promises, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into prison, where he was long time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him. But, after he had tarried a long time in prison, they put him to the pinbank, laying divers and many grievous offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the truss of the cord the space of six hours, hanging a great stone fastened at his feet.

"The sweat that dropped from his body for very pain and anguish, was almost blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the tormentors' hearts. When all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor man lay even as a stock, not moving any part or member of his body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the man, (whom they sought by all means to destroy,) in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

"Amongst them there was one who brought vinegar and rose water; and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After they had caused him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep dungeon, where he could see neither sun nor moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain articles unto him, which he constantly

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denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of torments, to the intent they might, even of force, extort something of this poor man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after, these tyrants hired a hangman, (a man sure worthy of his office,) which left no kind of cruelty unpractised; yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous torments. Yet these tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two witnesses against him; thus concluding, that he was worthy of death, because he had cried 'alarm' after the truce was taken, and would have moved a new sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the hangman and a friar into the prison.

"In the mean time this poor man thought with himself, that they would have showed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison. Then they let down a cord and a staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather choose to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel torments; notwithstanding, if they would promise him not to put him any more to the truss of the cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just judges, on that condition he would come out; although he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his life in that dungeon. There were present certain councillors which promised to perform his request, and thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As soon as he saw the friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'O miserable and wretched man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived; for my latter hour is at hand. I see well the dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard.' The friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden cross out of his sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because that they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. 'Poor man,' said the friar, thou hast had good and gentle judges; at the least thou shalt go to God; therefore confess thy sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go straight to the kingdom of heaven.' The poor man answered, 'Thou wicked friar! get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my sins and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy absolution, which thou thyself dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical life. I know well enough what thou art; thou playest the ape with me, but thou hast a subtle and a crafty heart, which hath deceived much simple people. If thou hast any comfort or consolation out of the gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy portues.'

"The friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The hangman, being wiser than the friar, bade him read unto the poor man something of the passion, wherein the poor man would take great pleasure. This foolish friar had no other consolation to comfort him withal, but to hold the crucifix of wood before him, saying, 'Behold thy Saviour which died for thee; look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted.' Then said the poor man, 'I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thee away from me, thou naughty person! with thy marmoset of wood; my Saviour dwelleth in heaven, in whom I trust that he will

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not deliver my soul to eternal death.' The friar crossed himself, showing the semblance of a man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor man was fallen into desperation. Then he was led forth into the market-place, where, according to the custom, openly before all the people, his confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the man had been a seditious person, and that in the time of truce he had cried, 'Alarm,' even in the night, when all men were at rest.



A Good Man Beheaded

"When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with glaves and halberts hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's prayer, the hangman bade him

kneel down; but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the people, thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked judges. 'Those,' said he, 'Which know me, shall be sufficient good witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury. In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when all ways both of God and man are turned topsy turvy. I was adherent to the tumult and sedition of the men of the country, as many others were, which dwelt thereabout. But what then? are there not also many gentlemen which followed the peasants' army, and many strong towns. which went also with them? I was not the author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any man to move any broil or tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our gentlemen what we should do, when the bands of the peasants were assembled in the fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of myself, I did never understand or know what the articles were that were published, neither was there ever any man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the bands of the countrymen were risen, neither wherefore every man moved his neighbour to put on armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious man, and made me to endure so great torments?' He continued a long time declaring his innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the hangman drew his sword, and, at the commandment of the judge, struck off his head, as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good man of the country ended his days, against whom the false judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those which suffer for his name.

Wolfgangus Schuch, a German, burned in Lorraine.



WOLFGANGUS Schuch, coming to a certain town in Lorraine, bearing the name of St. Hippolyte, and being received in the said town to be their pastor, laboured by all means how to extirpate out of the hearts of the people, idolatry and superstition. Which, through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to pass according to his desire; insomuch that the observation of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination also of the mass, in the same town was utterly abolished: so reformable God made the hearts of the people there, and such affection had they to their minister, It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of Duke Anthony, prince of Lorraine, (under whose dominion they were,) through the swift report of the adversaries, falsely belying these Hippolytanes to the duke; as though they, in relinquishing the doctrine and faction of the pope, went about to reject and shake off all authority and power of princes, and all superior governors. By the means of which sinister report they incensed the prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatened to subvert and utterly to destroy the town with sword and fire. Wolfgangus, having word of this, wrote unto the duke his epistle in most humble and obedient wise, in defence both of his ministry, of his doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the gospel.

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In which epistle, first, he excused the people to be innocent and blameless, and rather those slanderous reporters were worthy to be blamed, and also punished, for their false rumours and forged slanders raised up against them. After that, he opened and explained the cause and state of the gospel, and of our salvation, consisting only in the free grace of God, through faith in Christ his Son; comparing also the same doctrine of the gospel with the confused doctrine of the Church of Rome. That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour, and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to princes here and potentates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in earth; unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times pressed and most ready to obey, with all service and duty, &c.

But with this epistle Wolfgangus did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adversary part took more effect to win credit with the duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the town should come into any danger for his cause, the good man, of his own accord, came to the city of Nancy, (which is the head town of Lorraine,) there to render a confession of his doctrine, and also to deliver the town of St. Hippolyte out of peril, drawing all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinent hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a strait and stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled under the custody of the churlish and cruel keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus, continuing in that prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the straitness of the prison, nor with the hardness of his keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his wife and children, of which he had about six or seven. Then was he had to the house of the Grey Friars, to profess there his faith; where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood against him.

There was a friar named Bonaventure, provincial of that order, of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind ignorance; and a man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honesty; who, being long confessor to the duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, as he was an enemy to virtue and learning, so was he ever persuading the duke to banish out of the court and country of Lorraine all learned men; neither could he abide any person which seemed to know more than his elders knew before. The sum of all his divinity was this, to be sufficient to salvation only to know the Pater-noster and Ave Maria. And thus was the duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the duke himself oftentimes in talk with his familiars would confess. This Bonaventure, being chief judge and moderator where Wolfgangus disputed or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but "Thou heretic! "" Judas! "Beelzebub!" &c. Wolfgangus, bearing patiently those private injuries which pertained to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting, or rather confounding his adversaries; who being not otherwise able to make their party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the margin into their monastery, and burned it. At the last disputation Duke Anthony himself was said to be there, altering his apparel because he would not be known; who, albeit he understood not the speech of Wolfgangus speaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gave sentence that he should be burned, because he denied the church, and

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sacrament of the mass. Whereupon it followed shortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the 122nd Psalm.

As he was led to the place of execution, passing by the house of the Grey Friars, Bonaventure the great Cyclops, sitting at the door, cried out to him, "Thou heretic! do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy saints;" showing to him the idols standing at the friar's gate: to whom Wolfgangus answered again, "Thou hypocrite! thou painted wall! the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation unto light." When they were come to the place of his martyrdom, first his books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would have his pain minished or shortened? to whom he said, "No," bidding them to do their will; "for," said he, "as God hath been with me hitherto, so trust now he will not leave me when I shall have most need of him;" concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution: and so beginning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, he entered into the place heaped up with faggots and wood, continuing in his Psalm, and singing till the smoke and the flame took from him both voice and life.

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 as much the minds of his adversaries, and wrought to their confusion. For shortly after his death, the commendator of St. Anthony of Vienna, who sat as spiritual judge over him, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly down and died. Also his fellow, who was abbot of Clarilocus, and suffragan to the bishop of Metz, suddenly, at the coming of the duchess of Denmark into the city of Nancy, stricken with sudden fear at the crack of guns, fell down and died, as they which were present and saw it have made faithful relation of the same. A.D. 1525.

John Huglein, martyr, burned at Merseburg.

Of John Huglein, priest, mention is made in the Commentaries of John Sleidan; in lib. vi., who, the next year following, A.D. 1526, was burned at Merseburg, by the bishop of Constance, for that he did not hold with the bishop of Rome's doctrine in all points.

Moreover, besides other matters in this year occurrent, here is also a memorandum to be made to all posterity, that in this present year 1526, unto John Frederic, son and heir to the prince and elector of Saxony, was promised the Lady Katharine, the emperor's younger sister, in marriage, and writings made of the same. But when the alteration of religion was sent by God's providence into Saxony, they swerved from their covenants; and Hawnart, which was then the emperor's ambassador in Germany, said plainly that there was no promise to be kept with heretics: wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the council of Constance, as before you have partly heard in the story of John Huss, and of the emperor Sigismund.

George Carpenter of Emerich, martyr, burned in the town of Munich, in Bavaria.

The eighth day of February, in the year of our salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and spectacle in the town of Munich in Bavaria, which was this: A certain man, named George Carpenter, of Emerich, was there burnt. When he was taken out of the prison called Falken-Tower, and led before the council, divers friars and monks followed him, to

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instruct and teach him; whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the council, his offences were read, contained in four articles.

I. That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.

II. That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.

III. That he did not believe that God was in the bread which the priest hangeth over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

IV. That he did not believe that the very element of the water itself, in baptism, doth give grace.

Which four articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came unto him a certain schoolmaster of St. Peter, in the town of Munich, saying, "My friend George! dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldst thou return to thy wife and children?" Whereunto he answered, "If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and well-beloved children?" Then said the schoolmaster, "Revoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty." Whereunto George answered: "My wife and my children are so dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but, for the love of my Lord God, I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake unto him again in the midst of the market-place, saying, "Good George! believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign." Whereunto he answered, "I believe this sacrament to be a sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us." Then said the schoolmaster, moreover, "What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem baptism, knowing that Jesus Christ suffered himself to be baptized in Jordan?" Whereunto he answered, and showed what was the true use of baptism; and what was the end why Christ was baptized in Jordan; and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross, wherein only standeth our salvation. "The same Christ," said he, "I will confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe."

After this came unto him one Master Conrad Scheter, the vicar of the cathedral church of our Lady in Munich, a preacher, saying, "George! if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy 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:" whereunto George Carpenter answered, "God suffer me not to err, I beseech him." Then said the schoolmaster unto him, "Do not put the matter on that hazard, but choose unto you some good Christian brother, Master Conrad, or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy heart; not to confess thyself, but to take some godly counsel of him." Whereunto he answered, "Nay, not so, for it would be too long." Then Master Conrad began the Lord's prayer: "Our Father which art in heaven;" whereunto Carpenter answered, "Truly thou art our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with thee." Then Master Conrad went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be thy name." Carpenter answered, "O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world!" Then said Master Conrad, "Thy kingdom come." Carpenter answered, "Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy kingdom." Then said Conrad, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Carpenter answered, "For this

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cause, O Father! am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine." Then said Conrad, "Give us this day our daily bread." Carpenter answered, "The only living bread Jesus Christ, shall be my food." Then said Conrad, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Carpenter answered, "With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries." Then said Master Conrad, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Whereunto Carpenter answered, "O my Lord! without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope." Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Carpenter answered, "O my God! in thee alone do I trust; in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other creature; albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise." In this manner he answered to every word; which his answers, if they should be described at length, would be too long.

This prayer ended, the schoolmaster said unto him, "Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy mouth?" Hereunto he answered; "It were a very hard matter for me, if that I, which am here ready to suffer death, should not believe that with my heart, which I openly profess with my mouth: for I knew before that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ, who saith, Where thy heart is, there also is thy treasure, Luke xii.; and whatsoever thing a man doth fix in his heart to love above God, that he maketh his idol." Then said Master Conrad unto him, "George! dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any man should pray for thee, or say mass for thee?" 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 have I no more need of your prayers."

When the hangman should bind him to the ladder, he preached much unto the people. Then he was desired by certain Christian brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token what his faith or belief was. To whom 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, good reader! what an incredible constancy was in this godly man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any man before. His face and countenance never changed colour, but cheerfully he went unto the fire. "In the midst," saith he, "of the town this day will I confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, and the hangman put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, "Let it so be, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" And when the two hangmen lifted him up upon the ladder, smiling, he bade a certain Christian farewell, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He with a loud voice cried out, "Jesus! Jesus!" Then the hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, "Jesus! Jesus!" and so joyfully yielded up his spirit.

Leonard Keyser, martyr, burned at Schardingham.

Here also is not to be passed over the marvellous constancy of Master Leonard Keyser, of the country of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. This Keyser was of the town of Rawbe, four miles from Passau, of a famous house. This man, being at his study in Wittenberg, was sent

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for by his brethren, which certified him, that if ever he would see his father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither when, by the commandment of the bishop of Passau, he was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accused of, for which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

That faith only justifieth.

That works are the fruits of faith.

That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, For confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastity, purgatory, difference of days, for affirming only two sacraments, and invocation of saints.

He also maintained three kinds of confession.

The first to be of faith, which is always necessary.

The second of charity, which serveth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a man may see by that which is written in Matt. xviii.

The third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient ministers of the church.

And forasmuch as all this was contrary to the bull of Pope Leo, and the emperor's decree made at Worms, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular power. The persecutors who sat in judgment upon him, were the bishop of Passau; the suffragans of Ratisbon and Passau; also Dr. Eckius, being guarded about with armed men. His brethren and kinsfolks made great intercession to have his judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known. Also John Frederic, duke of Saxony, and the earls of Schauenburg and Shunartzen, wrote to the bishop for him, but could not prevail. After the sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harnessed men out of the city again, to Schardingham, the thirteenth of August; where Christopher Frenkinger, the civil judge, receiving him, had letters sent him from Duke William of Bavaria, that forthwith, tarrying for no other judgment, he should be burned alive. Whereupon the good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short gown, and a black cap set upon his head, all cut and jagged, so was delivered unto the officer. As he was led out of the town to the place where he should suffer, he boldly and hardily spake in the Almain tongue, 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 to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, "O Jesus! I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me; "and therewithal he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head. And because the fire was not great enough,

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the hangman plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook, from underneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire, and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good man, who suffered for the testimony of the truth, on the sixth of August, A.D. 1527.

Wendelmuta, widow, martyr, at the Hague.

In Holland also the same year, 1527, was martyred and burned a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmuta, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchenstein. This widow, receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace by the appearing of the gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the castle of Werden; and shortly after from thence was brought to Hague, the fifteenth day of November, there to appear at the general sessions of that country; where was present Hochstratus, lord president of the said country, who also sat upon her the seventeenth day of the aforesaid month. Divers monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in that truth wherein she was planted, would not be removed. Many also of her kindred, and other honest women, were suffered to persuade with her; among whom there was a certain noble matron, who loved and favoured dearly the said widow being in prison. This matron coming and communing with her, in her talk said, "My Wendelmuta! why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life? To whom she answered again: "Ah," said she, "you know not what you say. It is written, With the heart we believe to righteousness, with the tongue we confess to salvation," &c., Rom. x. And thus she, remaining firm and stedfast in her belief and confession, on the twentieth day of November was condemned, by sentence given as against a heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated; she taking the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

After she came to the place where she should be executed, and a monk there had brought out a blind cross, willing her many times to kiss and worship her God; "I worship," said she, "no wooden god, but only that God which is in heaven:" and so, with a merry and joyful countenance, she went to the stake, desiring the executioner to see the stake to be fast, that it fall not. Then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending herself into the hands of God. When the time came that she should be strangled, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head, as one that would take a sleep: which done, the fire then was put to the wood, and she, being strangled, was burned afterwards to ashes; instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven. A.D. 1527.

Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach, put to death at Cologne.

In the number of these German martyrs, are also to be comprehended Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach; two men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy word. Which two, A.D. 1529, (for that they did dissent from the papists in divers points, and especially touching the supper of the Lord, and other the pope's traditions and ceremonies,) after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half, by the commandment of the archbishop and senate, were to put to death and burned in Cologne, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians; all the fault being put upon certain divines, which at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons should pacify the wrath of

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God, which then plagued Germany grievously with a new and strange kind of disease: for at that season the sweating sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany.

A preface to the table following.

If thou well remember in reading this book of stories, loving reader! it was before mentioned and declared how in the year of grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's passion, as the crown, cross, nails, scourges, and spear, were seen in Germany upon the garments of men and women. Which miraculous ostent, passing the ordinary course of natural causes, as it was sent of God, no doubt, to foreshow the great and terrible persecution, which afterwards fell in the country of Germany, and other regions besides, for the testimony of Christ; so, if the number and names of all those good men and women, which suffered in the same persecution, with their acts and doings, should be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the history which we have in hand, partly also to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the discourse thereof, drawing, as in a compendious table, the names of the persecutors, and of the martyrs who suffered, and the causes thereof, in as much shortness as I may; referring the full tractation of their lives and doings to those writers of their own country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an order in the same table, as much as in such a confused heap of matters I may, according to the order and distinction of the countries in which these blessed saints of Christ did suffer; I have so divided the order of the table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in Germany, then in France, also in Spain, with other foreign countries more; showing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the rest to the further explication of their own story-writers, from whence they be collected: the which table being finished, my purpose is, Christ willing, to return to the full history of our own matters, and of the martyrs who suffered here in England.

A table of the names and causes of such martyrs as gave their lives for the testimony of the gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other foreign countries, since Luther's time: in which table are contained the persecutors, the martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.

The martyrs of Germany.



Of divers who suffered in Germany for the witness of the gospel, partly some rehearsal is made before, as of Voets and Esch, of Sutphen, John Castellane, Peter Spengler, with a certain godly minister, and another simple man of the country, mentioned in Ecolampadius: also of them in Dithmarsch and Prague, of M. George of Halle, Gasper, Tambert, George of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, John Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyser, Wendelmuta, Peter Flisteden, Adolphus Clarebach, and others. The residue follow in order of this table here to be showed.

Persecutors: Charles the emperor; also two servants of a butcher, who did apprehend one Nicholas at Antwerp, A.D. 1524.
Nicholas of Antwerp, a martyr.

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Persecutors: Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, princess of Holland; also M. Montane, M. Rosemund, and M. Anchusanus, inquisitors; also M. Jodocus Lovering, vicar of Mechlen, A.D. 1524.

Johannes Pistorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kin to Erasmus of Rotterdam, a martyr.

Persecutor: Sebastian Braitestein, abbot. In Suevia, A.D. 1525.
Matthias Weibell, schoolmaster, a martyr.

Persecutors: certain noblemen, after the commotion of the countrymen in Germany, A.D. 1525.
A certain godly priest, a martyr.

Persecutor: the name of the persecutor appears not in the story.
George Scherter, a martyr, at Radstadt, by Saltsburg, A.D. 1528.

Persecutor: Balthasar, official.
Henry Fleming at Dornick, 1535, a martyr.

Persecutor: a popish priest, and a wicked murderer.
A good priest dwelling not far from Basil, 1539, a martyr.

Persecutors: Charles, the emperor's procurator; Dr. Enchusanus, inquisitor; and Latomus.
Twenty-eight Christian men and women of Louvain, A.D. 1543, martyrs.

Persecutor: the name of the persecutor appeareth not in the story.
Master Perseval, a martyr at Louvain, A.D. 1544.

Persecutor: Dorsardus, a potentate in that country, and a great persecutor.
Justus Imsberg, a martyr at Brussels, A.D. 1544.

Persecutor: the parson of Brussels.
Giles Tilleman, a martyr at Brussels, A.D. 1544.

Great persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders, by the friars and priests thereof.

As Charles the emperor did lie in Gaunt, the friars and doctors there obtained, that the edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. This being obtained, great persecution followed, so that there was no city nor town in all Flanders, wherein some either were not expelled, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual prison, or had not their goods confiscated: neither was there any respect of age or sex. At Gaunt especially, many there were of the head men, which for religion sake were burned.

Afterwards, the emperor coming to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people, namely, in Brabant, Hennegow, and Artois; the horror and cruelty whereof is almost incredible: insomuch that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the country about into the city, of whom some were drowned, some buried

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quick, some privily made away, others sent to perpetual prison: whereby all the prisons and towers thereabout were replenished with prisoners and captives, and the hands of the hangman tired with slaying and killing; to the great sorrow of all them which knew the gospel, being now compelled either to deny the same, or to confirm it with their blood. The story hereof is at large set forth by Francis Encenas, a notable learned man, who also himself was prisoner the same time at Brussels: whose book, written in Latin, I myself have seen and read, remaining in the hands of John Oporine at Basil.

Persecutors: The Franciscan Friars of Gaunt.
Martin Hœurblock, fishmonger at Gaunt, a martyr, A.D. 1545.

This Martin ever, almost to his later age, was a man much given to all wickedness and fleshly life, so long as he continued a follower of the pope's superstition and idolatry. Afterward, (as God hath always his calling,) through the occasion of a sermon of his parish priest, beginning to taste some workings of grace and repentance of his former life, went out of Gaunt for the space of three months, seeking the company of godly Christians, such as he heard to use the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he being more groundedly instructed, returned again to the city of Gaunt, where all his neighbours first began to marvel at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans, which knew him before so beneficial unto them, now seeing him so altered from their ways and superstition, and seeing him to visit the captives in prison, to comfort them in persecution, and to confirm them in the word of God which went to the fire, conspired against him: whereby he was detected and laid in bands.

After that, with sharp and grievous torments they would have constrained him to utter other of the same religion. To whom thus he answered: that if they could prove by the Scripture, that his detecting and accusing of his brethren, whom they would afflict with the like torments, were not against the second table of God's law, then he would not refuse to prefer the honour of God before the safeguard of his brethren. Then the friars examined him in the sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, "seeing," said they, "it is but a naked sacrament, as you say?" To whom he answered, that the elements thereof were naked, but the sacrament was not naked, forasmuch as the said elements of bread and wine, being received after the institution of Christ, do now make a sacrament and a mystical representation of the Lord's body, communicating himself with our souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, because it is the institution of the Lord, "Who is he," said Martin, "that dare alter the same?" Then was he brought before the council of Flanders. The causes laid against him were the sacrament, purgatory, and praying for the dead; for the which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt, in Verle-place, all his goods being confiscated. As he stood at the stake, a Franciscan friar said to him, "Martin, unless thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this fire to everlasting fire." "It is not in you," said Martin again, "to judge." For this the friars afterwards were so hated, that many bills and rhymes were set forth in divers places against them.

Persecutors: The council of Flanders.
Nicholas Vanpole, and John de Bruck and his wife; martyrs at Gaunt, A.D. 1545.

Persecutors: The same council.
Ursula, and Maria, virgins of noble stock, martyrs at Delden, A.D. 1545.

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Delden is a town in Lower Germany, three miles from Deventer, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned; who, after diligently frequenting of churches and sermons, being instructed in the word of the Lord, defended, that seeing the benefit of our salvation cometh only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he useth to sell to the people for money, was needless. First, Maria, being the younger, was put to the fire; where she prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soul to God; at whose constancy the judges did greatly marvel.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, at least that she should require to be beheaded. To whom she said, that she was guilty of no error, nor defended any thing but which was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of punishment, she said, she feared not the fire, but rather would follow the example of her dear sister that went before. This was marvellous, that the executioners could in no wise consume their bodies with fire, but left them whole, lying upon the ground white; which certain good Christians privily took up in the night, and buried. Thus God many times showeth his power in the midst of tribulations.

Persecutors: The parson of St. Katharine's; Dr. Tapert; and William Clericken, ruler of Mechelen.

Andreas Thiessen, and Katharine his wife; also Nicholas Thiessen, and Francis Thiessen, their sons, martyrs at Mechelen, A.D. 1545.

Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechelen, of his wife Katharine had three sons and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the gospel, and despised the doings of popery: wherefore being hated and persecuted of the friars and priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study; and returning again to their mother, and sister, and younger brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of God's gospel. Which being not unknown to the parson there of St. Katharine's, he called to them Drs. Rupert and Tapert, and other masters and friars, who taking counsel together with William Clericken, the head magistrate of the town of Mechelen, agreed that the mother, with her four children, should be sent to prison, separated one from another; where great labour was employed to reclaim them home unto their church, that is, from light to darkness again. The two younger, to wit, the daughter with the younger brother, being not yet settled either in years or doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The mother, which 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 administered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; that there was no purgatory. The friars they called hypocrites, and contemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was their master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ, who bare his cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the judges: their articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags, or balls of wood, were thrust into their mouths, which they, through vehemency in speaking, thrust out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so, singing with a loud voice, Credo in unum Deum, &c., they went, and were

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fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors; and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard, "Ah!" said he, "what a small pain is this, to be compared to the glory to come?" Thus the patient martyrs, committing their spirits to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the crown of martyrdom.

Persecutors: The names of their accusers appear not in the authors.
Marion, wife of Adrian Taylor, martyr at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

In the same persecution against Bruley and his company in Dornick, was apprehended also one Adrian, and Marion his wife. The cause of their trouble, as also of the others, was the emperor's decree made in the council of Worms against the Lutherans mentioned before. Adrian, not so strong as a man, for fear gave back from the truth, and was but only beheaded. The wife, stronger than a woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the uttermost; and being enclosed in an iron grate, formed in shape of a pasty, was laid in the earth and buried quick, after the usual punishment of that country for women. When the adversaries first told her that her husband had relented, she believed them not; and therefore, as she went to her death, passing by the tower where he was, she called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before.

Persecutors: The magistrates of Dornick or Tournay.
Master Peter Braley, preacher, a martyr, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

Master Peter Bruley was preacher in the French church at Strasburg, who at the earnest request of faithful brethren came down to visit the lower countries about Artois and Dornick, in Flanders; where he most diligently preached the word of God unto the people in houses, the doors standing open. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Dornick had shut the gates of the town, and had made search for him three days, he was privily let down the wall in the night by a basket: and as he was let down to the ditch ready to take his way, one of them that let him down, leaning over the wall to bid him farewell, caused unawares a stone to slip out of the wall, which falling upon him, brake his leg, by reason whereof he was heard of the watchman complaining of his wound, and so was taken, giving thanks to God, by whose providence he was there staid to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in prison, he ceased not to supply the part of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming all them 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 wrote also another epistle unto them that were in persecution; another also to all the faithful; also another letter to his wife, the same day that he was burned. 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. Although the priests and friars made the fire but small, to multiply his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and constantly took his martyrdom, and suffered it. The letters of Duke Frederic, and of the landgrave, came to entreat for him; but he was burned a little before the letters came.

Persecutor: The senate of Dornick, and Doctor Hasarde, a Grey Friar.
Peter Miocius, a silk-weaver, and one Bergiban, martyrs, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

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Persecutor: A certain prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of Pannonia.
A priest of Germany, a martyr.

Persecutors: Alphonsus Diazius, a Spaniard; Petrus Malvenda, the pope's prolocutor at Ratisbon, a Spaniard; the emperor's confessor, a Black Friar, a Spaniard; also Marquina.
John Diazius, Spaniard, a martyr, killed by his own brother at Neoberg, in Germany, A.D. 1546.

Persecutor: A bishop in Hungary.
A godly priest in Hungary, a martyr.

Persecutor: Charles, the emperor.
John Frederic of Saxony, elector, A.D. 1547, martyr.

Persecutor: Charles the emperor, and Mary his sister.
The landgrave of Hesse, A.D. 1547, martyr.

Persecutor: Charles the emperor.
Herman, archbishop of Cologne, martyr, A.D. 1547.

With these holy martyrs above recited may also be numbered Herman, archbishop of Cologne, who, a little before the emperor had war against the protestants, had reformed his church from certain papistical superstitions, using therein the aid and advice of Martin Bucer. Wherefore Charles the emperor sent word to Cologne, that he should be deposed; which he patiently did suffer. In his room was set Adolphus, earl of Scauvenburg.

Persecutor: The president or mayor of Dornick.
Master Nicholas Frenchman; also Marion, wife of Augustine, a barber, martyrs, A.D. 1549.

Master Nicholas and Barbara his wife; also Augustine, a barber, and Marion his wife, born about Hennegow, after they had been at Geneva a space, came into Germany, thinking that way to pass over into England. By the way, coming to Hennegow, Augustine desired Master Nicholas, because he was learned, to come to Bergis to visit and comfort certain brethren there: which he willingly did. From thence, passing by Dornick (or Tournay) they held on their journey toward England. But in the way Augustine and his wife, being known, were detected to the lieutenant of Dornick, who, in all speedy haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond Dornick. Augustine (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The soldiers then, laying hands upon Nicholas and the two women, brought them back again unto Dornick. In returning by the way, when Master Nicholas at the table gave thanks, as the manner is of the faithful, the wicked ruler, scorning them, and swearing like a tyrant, said, "Now let us see, thou lewd heretic, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand." To whom Nicholas, answering again modestly, asked, What had Christ ever offended him, that he with his blasphemous swearing did so tear him in pieces? desiring him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they, being bound hands and feet, were brought to Bergis, and there laid in the dungeon. Then Duke Ariscote, accompanied with a great number of priests and Franciscan friars, and with a doctor, which was their warden, came to talk with them. Nicholas, standing in the

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midst of them, being asked what he was, and whither he would; answered them perfectly to all their questions: and moreover, so confounded the friars, that they went away ashamed, saying, that he had a devil, and crying, "To the fire with him, Lutheran!"

As they continued looking still for the day of their execution, it came to the rulers' minds to ask of Nicholas in what house he was lodged, when he came to Bergis? Nicholas said, He had never been there before; and therefore, being a stranger, he could not tell the name of the house. When Nicholas would confess nothing, Duke Ariscotus came to Barbara, the wife of Nicholas, to know where they were lodged at Bergis, promising many fair words of delivery, if she would tell. She being a weak and timorous woman, uttered all; by the occasion whereof great persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly even upon the same, the son of the said Duke Ariscotus was slain, and buried the same day when Augustine was burned. To be short, Nicholas shortly after was brought before the judges, and there condemned to be burned to ashes; at which sentence-giving, Nicholas blessed the Lord, who had courted him worthy to be a witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have a ball of wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice: "O Charles, Charles! how long shall thy heart be hardened?" And with that one of the soldiers gave him a blow. Then said Nicholas again; "Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy, to whom the word of God should be preached." And thus he spake as they were binding him to the stake. The friars came out with their old song, crying, that he had a devil; to whom Nicholas spake the verse of the Psalm, Depart from me, all ye wicked! for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping. And thus this holy martyr, patiently taking his death, commended up his spirit unto God in the midst of the fire.

Marion, wife of Augustine, above mentioned, a martyr, at Bergis in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

After the martyrdom of this Master Nicholas, Marion, the wife of Augustine, was called for, with whom they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's supper? To whom she answered, that the sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's institution, of the which she was no celebrator, but a partaker. The sentence of her condemnation was this, that she should be interred quick. When she was let down to the grave, kneeling upon her knees, she desired the Lord to help her; and before she should be thrown down, she desired her face might be covered with a napkin or some linen cloth; which being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the hangman stamped upon her with his feet till her breath was past.

Persecutors: The watchmen or soldiers of Bellimont.

Augustine, the husband of Marion, martyred at Bellimont, in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

Ye heard before how Augustine escaped before, at the taking of Nicholas and the two women. After this he gave himself to sell spices, and other pedlary ware, from place to place; who, at length, coming to the town of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was known and detected to the magistrate; whereof he, having some intelligence before, left his ware and ran away. And seeing, moreover, the house beset about with harnesssed men where he was hosted, he began to

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be more afraid, and hid himself in a bush; for he was very timorous, and a weak-spirited man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certain standing upon the town wall, which might well see him go into the thicket or bush, gave knowledge thereof to the soldiers, which followed him to the bush, and took him. Being taken, he was had to Bergis, the head town of Hennegow, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his doctrine, answered his adversaries with great boldness.

Wherein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the work of the Lord, how this man, being before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with God's grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his enemies. Among others came to him the warden of the Grey Friars, with a long oration, persuading him to relent, or else he should be damned in hell-fire perpetually. To whom Augustine answering again, said, "Prove that which you said by the authority of God's word, that a man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing, rather like a doctor of lies than of truth," &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at Bellimont, was brought to the inn where he should take horse, where was a certain gentleman, a stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of wine, desired him to have pity upon himself; and if he would not favour his life, yet that he would favour his own soul. To whom said Augustine, after he had thanked him for his good will, "What care I have," said he, "of my soul, you may see by this, that I had rather give my body to be burned, than to do that thing that were against my conscience." When he was come to the town of Bellimont, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great burial of the son of Duke Ariscotus, which was slain a little before (as is before touched); by the occasion whereof many nobles and gentlemen were there present, who, hearing of this Augustine, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people, being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at a horse's tail, to the place of burning; but the Lord would not suffer that. In fine, being tied to the stake, and fire set unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and so in the fire patiently departed.

A certain woman of Augsburg who narrowly escaped martyrdom there; A.D. 1550.
Two virgins, in the diocese of Bamberg, martyrs, A.D. 1551.

In the diocese of Bamberg, two maids were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and cheerful countenances. They had garlands of straw put on their beads; whereupon the one comforted the other, going to their martyrdom: "Seeing Christ," said she, "for us bare a crown of thorns, why should we stick to bear a crown of straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us again better than crowns of gold." Some said that they were Anabaptists; and it might be (saith Melancthon) that they had some fond opinion admired withal; yet they did hold (saith he) the foundation of the articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in a good conscience, and knowledge of the Son of God. Few do live without errors. Flatter not yourselves, thinking yourselves so clear that you cannot err.

Persecutors: James Hesselius, chamberlain of Gaunt, and the friars there.
Hostius, otherwise called George, martyred at Gaunt, A.D. 1555.

This Hostius, born at Gaunt, was cunning in graving in armour and in steel. He first was in the French church here in England, during the reign of King Edward. After the coming of Queen Mary, he went to Norden, in Friesland, with his wife and children. From thence, having

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business, he came to Gaunt, where (after a certain space that he had there continued, instructing divers of his friends) he heard that there was a Black Friar, who used to preach good doctrine to the people: wherefore he, being desirous to hear, came to his sermon; where the friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of transubstantiation. At the hearing of which his heart was so full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the sermon was finished. As soon as the friar was come down, he burst out and charged him with false doctrine, persuading the people, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the bread was but a sacrament only of the Lord's body. The friar, not willing to hear him, made signs unto him to depart; also the throng of the people was such, that it carried him out of the doors. He had not gone far, but Hesselius the chamberlain overtook him and carried him to prison. Then were doctors and other friars, as Pistorius, and Bunderius, brought to reason with him of the sacrament, of invocations of saints, and purgatory. He ever stood to the trial only of the Scripture, which they refused. Then was it agreed that he should declare his mind in writing, which he did. He wrote also to his wife at Emden, comforting her, and requiring her to take care of Samuel and Sarah his children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the people. Hesselius the officer made great haste to have him despatched; wherefore he, mildly like a lamb, praying for his enemies, gave himself to be bound, patiently taking what they would do against him: whom first they strangled, and then consumed his body, being dead, with fire. And thus was the martyrdom of Hostius.

John Frisius, abbot in Bavaria, A.D. 1554.

Persecutors: The bailiff of Hennegow; the governor of the town and castle of Dornick; Peter Deventiere, lieutenant of the said bailiff; Philip de Cordis, chief councillor in criminal causes; Nicholas Chambree; Peter Rechelier; James de Clerke; Nicholas of Fernague; Master Hermes, of Wingles, one of the council for the said bailiwick.
Bertrand le Blas, martyred at Dornick, A.D. 1555.

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyranny showed unto him horrible, the constancy of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk-weaver, went to Wesel, for the cause of religion, who being desirous to draw his wife and children from Dornick to Wesel, came thrice from thence to persuade with her to go with him thither. When she in no wise could be entreated, he, remaining a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and his brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done, he went upon Christmas day to the high church of Dornick, 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 hath: with other words more to the people, to persuade them that the cake or fragment of bread, was not Jesus their Saviour. At the sight hereof the people, being struck with a marvellous damp, stood all amazed. At length such a stir thereupon followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life.

It was not long but the noise of this was carried to the bailiff of Hennegow, and governor of the castle of Dornick, who lay sick the same time of the gout at Biesme; who, like a madman, cried out, that ever God would or could be so patient, to suffer that contumely, so to be trodden under the foot by such a miser: adding, moreover, that he would revenge his cause in such sort, as it should be an example for ever to all posterity; and forthwith the furious tyrant commanded himself to be carried to the castle of Dornick. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked

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whether he repented of his fact, or whether he would so do, if it were to be done again? Who answered, that if it were a hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had a hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the pinbank, and tormented most miserably, to utter his setters-on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the sentence, more like tyrants than Christian men; by the tenor of which sentence, this was his punishment:

First, he was drawn from the castle of Dornick to the market-place, having a ball of iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage, where his right hand, wherewith he took the host, was crushed and pressed between two hot irons, with sharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and fashion of his hand was misshapen. In like manner they brought other like irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who, notwithstanding, with continual crying, ceased not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moved: whereupon the tormentors thrust the iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower stage, he going to the same no less cheerfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an iron chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire; whom the aforesaid governor, there standing by and looking on, caused 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 whereupon the priest stood was burnt; the marble stone whereupon the host did light, was broken in pieces. And, finally, forasmuch as the said Bertrand had received his doctrine at Wesel, commandment was there given, that no person out of that country should go to Wesel, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the emperor's placard.

Two hundred ministers of Bohemia, A.D. 1555.

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

The preachers of Locrane.

Locrane is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these also had received the gospel, and the five pages of the Helvetians, above-mentioned, were not well-pleased therewith, but would have them punished, and great contention was among the Helvetians about the same, it was concluded at length, that the ministers should be exiled; whom the Tigurines did receive.

Francis Warlut, and Alexander Dayken, martyred at Dornick, A.D. 1562.

Persecutor: The earl of Lalaine.

Gillot Viver, James Faber his father-in-law, Michael Faber, son of James; also Anna, wife of Gillot, and daughter of James Faber, martyred at Valence.

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These, in the cause of the gospel, suffered at Valence.

James Faber, being an old man, said, that although he could not answer or satisfy 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 the like martyrdom!

Michella Caignoucle, martyred at Valence, A.D. 1550.
Godfride Hamelle, martyred at Dornick, A.D. 1552.

Besides these Germans above specified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower countries of Germany, which were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise in prison made away; whose names, although they be not known to us, yet they are registered in the book of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch book of Adrian, divers other be numbered in the catalogue of these German martyrs, which likewise suffered in divers places of the lower country. The names of certain whereof be these.

At Bergis, or Berg, in Hennegow, were burnt, A.D. 1555, John Malo, Damian Witrock, Weldrew Calier; buried quick, John Porceau. At Aste suffered also one Julian, A.D. 1541, and Adrian Lopphen, A.D. 1555: at Brussels, A.D. 1559, one Bawdwine beheaded: another called Gilleken Tielman burnt, A.D. 1551.

Add moreover to the same catalogue of Dutch martyrs, burnt and consumed in the lower countries under the emperor's dominion, the names of these following. W. Swolle, burnt at Mechelen, A.D. 1529; Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt; Robert Orgvier, and Joan his wife, with Baudicon and Martin Orgvier, their children, who suffered at Lisle, A.D. 1556; M. Nicholas, burnt at Mons; John Fosseau at Mons; Cornelius Volcart at Bruges, A.D. 1553; Hubert the printer, and Philip Joyner, at Bruges, A.D. 1553; a woman buried with thorns under her; Peter le Roux at Bruges, A.D. 1552. At Mechlen suffered Francis and Nicholas Thiis, two brethren, A.D. 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian a painter, and Henry a tailor, A.D. 1555; also Cornelius Halewine, locksmith, and Herman Janson, the same year. Master John Champ, schoolmaster, A.D. 1557; with a number of other besides, who in the said book are to be seen and read.

A.D. 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, by the priests of that place.

149. Martyrs in France – I.

And here ceasing with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending in a like table the names and causes of such as in that kingdom suffered for the word of God, and cause of righteousness, as in this brief summary consequently hereunder ensueth.

Another table, of those who suffered in France, for the like witness of the gospel.

The French martyrs.

James Pavane, schoolmaster, at Paris, A.D. 1525.
Persecuted by Dr. Martial of Paris.

This James, first being taken by the bishop of Melden, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Dr. Martial. Afterwards returning again to his confession, he was burned at Paris, A.D. 1525.

Denis de Rieux, at Melden, or Meaux, A.D. 1528.

This Denis was one of them who were first burned at Melden, for saying, that the mass is a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. He was always wont to have in his mouth the words of Christ; He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father; and to muse upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment.

Johannes Cadurcus, bachelor of the civil law, A.D. 1533.

This John, first for making a sermon or exhortation to his countrymen of Limosin, in France, upon Allhallow's-day, and afterwards, sitting at a feast where it was propounded that every one should bring forth some sentence; for that he brought forth this, Christ reign in our hearts; and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words; was thereupon accused, taken, and degraded, and after burned. At his degradation, one of the Black Friars of Paris preached, taking for his theme the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv., The Spirit speaketh, that in the latter days, men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying spirits and doctrine of error, &c.; and in handling that place, either he could not or would not proceed further in the text, Cadurcus cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The friar stood dumb, and could not speak a word. Then Cadurcus, taking the text, did prosecute the same as followeth: Teaching false doctrine in hypocrisy, having their conscience marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving, &c.

Bartholomew Myler, a lame cripple; John Burges, merchant, the receiver of Nantz; Henry Poille of Couberon; Cantella, a schoolmistress; and Steven de la Forge, merchant, A.D. 1533.
Persecuted by the promoters of Paris.

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These five here specified, for certain bills cast abroad and set up, sounding 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 with an iron wire tied fast to one of his cheeks; who likewise with the others was burned as is aforesaid.

Alexander Canus, priest; otherwise called Laurence Cruces, at Paris, A.D. 1534.

For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christ's true religion, he was burned at Paris, having but a small fire, and did abide much torment.

John Pointer, a surgeon, at Paris, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by the Grey Friars in Paris, and by Dr. Clerke, a Sorbonist.

Peter Gaudet, knight sometime of Rhodes, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by a certain knight of Rhodes, uncle to this Peter.

Quoquillard, martyr, A.D. 1534.

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

Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, and Stephen Burlet, martyrs, A.D. 1534.

Mary Becandella, at Fontaine, A.D. 1534. Persecuted by a Grey Friar in the city of Rochelle.

This Mary, being virtuously instructed of her master, where she lived; and being afterwards at a sermon where a friar preached, after the sermon found fault with his doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures; whereat he disdainingly, procured her to be burned at Fontaine.

John Cornon, a martyr, A.D. 1535.

Martin Gonin, in Dauphine, A.D. 1536. Persecuted by George Borel, a tailor; by the procurator of the city of Grenoble in France, and by the inquisitor.

This Martin, being taken for a spy, in the borders of France towards the Alps, was committed to prison. In his going out, his jailer espied about him letters of Farellus, and of Peter Viret: wherefore, being examined by the king's procurator, and by the inquisitor, touching his faith, after he had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, he was cast into the river and drowned.

Claudius Painter, a goldsmith, martyr, at Paris, 1540. Persecuted by his kinsfolks and friends, and by Morinus, an officer.

Claudius, going about to convert his friends and kinsfolks to his doctrine, was by them committed to Morinus, a chief captain, who condemned him to be burned: but the high parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added moreover, that he should have his tongue cut out before, and so be burned.

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Stephen Brune, a husbandman, at Rutiers, A.D. 1540. Persecuted by Gasper Augerius, the bishop's renter; and by Domicellus, Franciscan and inquisitor.

Stephen Brune, after his confession given of his faith, was adjudged to be burned; which punishment he took so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His adversaries commanded after his death to be cried, that none should make any more mention of him, under pain of heresy.

Pantaleon addeth moreover, that at the place of his burning, called Planuoll, the wind rose and blew the fire so from him, as he stood exhorting the people, that he there continued the space of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or scarcely touched with any flame; so that, all the wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new faggots, and vessels of oil, and such other matter; and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but stood safe. Then the hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head: to whom the holy martyr, being yet alive, said, "When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with staves like a dog?" With that the hangman with his pike thrust him through the belly and the entrails, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the wind.

Constantinus, a citizen of Rouen, martyred with three others, A.D. 1542.

These four, for defence of the gospel being condemned to be burned, were put in a dung-cart; who, thereat rejoicing, said, that they were reputed here as excrements of this world, but yet their death was a sweet odour unto God.

John du Becke, priest, martyred, A.D. 1543.

Aymond de Lavoy, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1543, persecuted by the parish priest of the town of St. Faith in Anjou, and by other priests of the same country; also by Master Riveracus and his servant.

This Aymond preached the gospel at St. Faith's in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish priest there, and by other priests more, to have taught false doctrine, to the great decay of their gains. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out their apparitor to apprehend him, he, having intelligence thereof, was willed by his friends to fly and shift for himself; but he would not, saying, that he had rather never have been born, than so to do. It was the office of a good shepherd (he said) not to fly in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered: or else lest peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple upon their minds, thus to think, that he had fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore, beseeching them to move him no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yield up both body and soul in the quarrel of that truth which he had taught; saying, with St. Paul, that he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the city of Bourdeaux, but also to die, Acts xxvi.

To contract the long story hereof to a brief narration, the sumner came, and was in the city three days, during which time Aymond preached three sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew upon the sumner, to deliver him out of his hands; but Aymond desired them

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not to stop his martyrdom: seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not (he said) resist. Then the consuls suffered the sumner, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux, where many witnesses, the most part being priests, came in against him, with M. Riverack also, and his servant; which Riverack had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their accusation was only for denying purgatory.

About nine months he remained in prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came down letters, whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, bade him tell what fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, that he had no other fellows but such as knew and did the will of God his Father, whether they were nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: "This body," said he, "once must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever." In the time of his tormenting, he swooned. Afterwards, coming to himself again, he said, "O Lord! Lord! why hast thou forsaken me?" To whom the president, "Nay, wicked Lutheran," said he, "thou hast forsaken God." Then said Aymond, "Alas, good masters! why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord! I beseech thee, forgive them; they know not what they do." "See," said the president, "this caitiff, how he prayeth for us." Nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession, whom he refused, choosing to him one of his own order, the parish priest of St. Christopher's, bidding the friars depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. "Do you not see," said he, "how I am troubled enough with men; will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my body, will ye also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you!" At last, when he could not be suffered to have the parish priest, he then took a certain Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart; with whom he, having long talk, at last did convert him to the truth. Shortly after that came unto him the judges, Cassegnes and Longa, with other counsellors more; unto whom the said Aymond began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's supper. But Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him thus:

A judge. "First declare unto us your mind, what you think of purgatory?"

The martyr. "In Scripture all these are one: to purge, to cleanse, and to wash: whereof we read in Isaiah, in the Epistles of St. Paul, Heb. ix., and St. Peter, 1 Pet. i.; He hath washed you in his blood. Ye are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ, &c. And how often do we read, in the Epistles of St. Paul, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins," &c.

Judge. "These epistles are known to every child."

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The martyr. "To every child? Nay, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself."

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

The martyr. "That I leave for you to say, if you please. What! would ye have me damn mine own soul, and to say that which I know not?"

Judge. "Dost not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to purgatory? and he that dieth in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into paradise?"

The martyr. "Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into paradise."

Another judge. "Where is paradise?"

The martyr. "There, where the majesty and glory of God is."

Judge. "The canons do make mention of purgatory; and you, in your sermons, have used always much to pray for the poor."

The martyr. "I have preached the word of God, and not the canons."

Judge. "Dost thou believe in the church?"

The martyr. "I believe, as the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed."

Judge. "What church is that?"

The martyr. "The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say, that whensoever the faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Christian religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them."

Judge. "By this it should follow, that there be many churches; and where any rustical clowns do assemble together, there must be a church."

The martyr. "It is no absurd thing to say that there be many churches or congregations amongst the Christians: and so speaketh St. Paul, To all the churches which are in Galatia, &c. And yet all these congregations make but one church."

Judge. "The church wherein thou believest, is it not the same church which our creed doth call the holy church?"

The martyr. "I believe the same."

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Judge. "And who should be the head of that church?"

The martyr. "Jesus Christ."

Judge. "And not the pope?"

The martyr. "No."

Judge. "And what is he then?"

The martyr. "A minister, if he be a good man, as other bishops be of whom St. Paul thus writeth, 1 Cor. iv., Let a man so esteem of us, as ministers and dispensers of the secrets of God," &c.

Judge. "What then, dost thou not believe the pope?"

The martyr. "I know not what he is."

Judge. "Dost thou not believe that he is the successor of Peter?"

The martyr. "If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter upon the true rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his works and ordinances to be good."

Then the judges, leaving him with the friars, departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding, Aymond, 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: but rather have I pity of you, said he, and so they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way Psalm cxiv., *In exitu Israel de Ægypto, &c.*; and as he passed by the place where he before had been imprisoned, he called to his prison-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the president. He thanked moreover 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 showed to him, he proceeded forward toward his execution. As he came against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. "I ask mercy," said he, "of God and his justice, but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did that thing for which I should ask her mercy." From thence he passed forward to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the soldiers to the driver or carter, willing him to drive apace, "for here is preaching," said he, "enough." To whom said Aymond, "He that is of God, heareth the words of God," &c. In passing by a certain image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her: whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invoke any other, saving him alone. Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for his word. More he would have spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the

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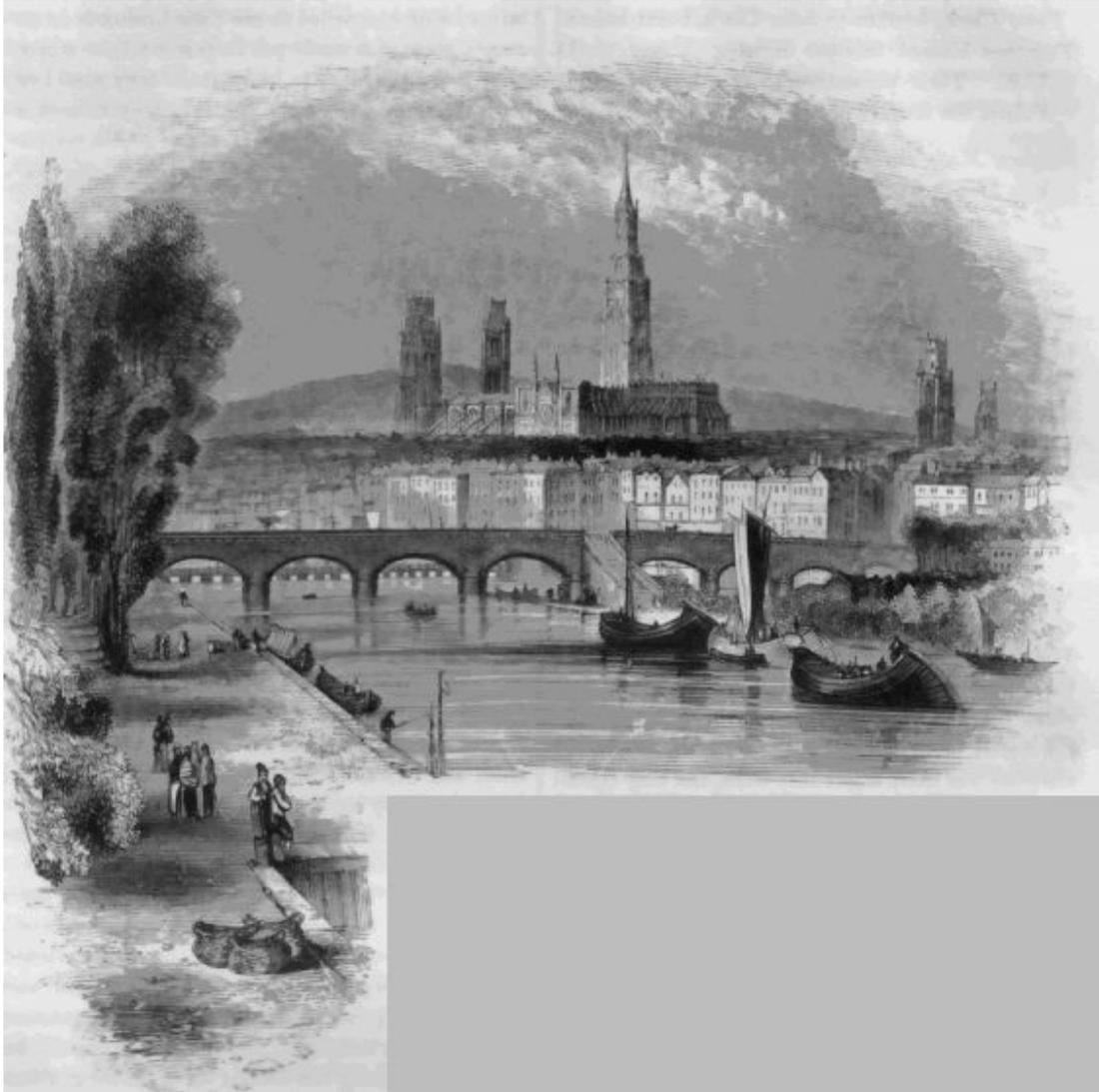
officers, crying, "Despatch him, despatch him, let him not speak." Then he, speaking a few words softly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he had converted, was bid to step up to the stage; where the people beginning to give a little audience, thus he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me! tarry not! do not despise the work of thy hands! And you, my brethren! that be students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel: for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God; and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls." And after that, "My flesh," said he, "repugneth marvellously against the Spirit; but shortly I shall cast it away. My good masters! I beseech ye pray for me. O Lord my God! into thy hands I commend my soul." As he was oft repeating the same, the hangman took and haled him upon the steps in such sort, that he strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life; whose body afterward was with fire consumed.

Francis Bribard, martyred A.D. 1544.

Francis Bribard was said to be the secretary of the cardinal of Ballaie; who being also for the gospel condemned, after his tongue was cut off, did with like constancy sustain the sharpness of burning.

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William Husson, an apothecary at Rouen, was persecuted by the high court of Rouen, by a widow, keeping a victualling-house in the suburbs of Rouen, and by a Carmelite Friar, A.D. 1544.



Rouen

William Husson, apothecary, coming from Blois to Rouen, was lodged with a certain widow in the suburbs of the city, who asking her, at what time the council or parliament did rise; she said, at ten o'clock. About which time and hour he went to the palace, and there scattered certain hooks concerning Christian doctrine, and the abuse of men's traditions; whereat the council was so moved, that they commanded all the gates of the city to be locked, and diligent search to be made in all inns and hostelries, to find out the author. Then the widow told of the

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party who was there, and asked of the rising of the council; and shortly upon the same he took his horse and rode away. Then were posts set out through all quarters, so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Dieppe, and brought again to Rouen; who, being there examined, declared his faith boldly, and how he came of purpose to disperse those books in Rouen, and went to do the like at Dieppe.

The week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the sentence given he was brought in a cart, accompanied with a doctor, a Carmelite Friar, before the great church, who, putting a torch into his hand, required him to do homage to the image of our Lady, which because he refused to do, his tongue was cut out. The friar then making a sermon, when he spake any thing of the mercies of God, the said William hearkened to him; but when he spake of the merits of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head. The friar looking upon the countenance of Husson, lift up his hand to heaven, saying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was possessed with a devil. When the friar had 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; and 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 nor stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonied thereat, and were in divers opinions; some saying that he had a devil, others maintained the contrary, saying, If he had a devil, he should have fallen into despair.

This Carmelite Friar above said, was called Delanda, who afterwards was converted, and preached the gospel.

James Cobard, a schoolmaster, and many others taken at the same time, A.D. 1545. Their persecutors were three popish priests, and the duke of Lorraine.

This James, schoolmaster, in the city of St. Michael in the dukedom of Barents in Lorraine, disputed, with three priests, that the sacrament of baptism and of the supper did not avail, unless they were received with faith: which was as much as to say, as that the mass did profit neither the quick nor dead. For the which, and also for his confession, which he, being in prison, sent of his own accord by his mother unto the judge, he was burned, and most quietly suffered.

Peter Clerk, brother to John Clerk, burnt before.

Fourteen blessed martyrs burnt at Meaux, A.D. 1546. Their persecutors were the Franciscan Friars, the doctors of Sorbon, and others.

Stephen Mangine, James Bouchbeck, John Brisebar, Henry Hutinote, Thomas Honorate, John Boudovine, John Flesch, Peter and John Picquere, John Mathestone, Philip Little, Michael Caillow, Francis Clerk, and Couberon, a weaver.

These fourteen dwelt at Meaux, a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where William Briconete, being bishop there, did much good, brought to them the light of the gospel, and reformed the church. Who straitly being examined for the same, relented; but yet these with many others remained constant, who, after the burning of James Pavane before-mentioned, and

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seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Mangine's house, and to set up a church to themselves, after the example of the French church in Strasburg. For their minister they chose Peter Clerk. First they, beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in short time to three or four hundred: whereupon the matter being known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken; of whom sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms; especially the seventy-ninth Psalm. To these it was chiefly objected, that they, being laymen, would minister the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Of these sixty-two, fourteen chiefly did stand fast, which were condemned, and racked to confess more of their fellows: but they uttered none. The rest were scourged and banished the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted; but that would not be. Then they, being sent in a cart to Meaux to be burned, by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain weaver called Couberon by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord; who also was taken, and bound with them in the cart. Coming to the place of execution, which was before Mangine's house, it was told them, that they which would be confessed should not have their tongues cut out; the others should: of whom seven there were, who, to save their tongues, confessed; the other seven would not. Of the first was Stephen Mangine, who, having his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, "The Lord's name be blessed!" As they were burning, the people sung psalms. The priests seeing that, would also sing their songs: *O salutaris hostia*, and *Salve Regina*, till the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were afterwards put in prison; from whence they being promised to be let go, if they would say that their husbands were damned, they refused so to say.

Peter Chapot, at Paris, A.D. 1546, apprehended by John Andre, bookseller, promoter; and examined by three Sorbonist doctors, M. Nicholas Clerici, doctor of divinity, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard.

Peter Chapot first was a corrector to a printer in Paris. After he had been at Geneva, to do good to the church of Christ, like a good man he came with books of Holy Scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. Which great zeal of his caused him to be apprehended by John Andre, which was the common promoter to Liset the president, and to the Sorbonists.

This good Chapot being taken and brought before the commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his faith; unto whom he exhibited a supplication, or writing, wherein he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Then were three doctors of Sorbon assigned, Nicholas. Clerici, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute with him; who when they could find no advantage, but rather shame at his hands, they waxed angry with the judges for letting them dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting together upon his condemnation, could not agree; so that Chapot, as it seemed, might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the process, sought and wrought his condemnation; which condemnation was at length concluded thus: that he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The doctor appointed to be at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly encumbered; for this friar called upon him still not to speak to the people; but he desired him that he might pray. Then

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he bade him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. He 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, making haste to his execution, and said, unless he would say Ave Maria, he should be burnt quick. Then Chapot prayed, "O Jesus, Son of David! have mercy upon me." Maillard then bade him say, "Jesus Maria!" and so he should be strangled. Chapot again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. "Say," said Maillard, "Jesus Maria! or else thou shalt be burned quick." As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, suddenly, as it happened, Jesus Maria! escaped out of his mouth, but he, by and by, repressing himself, "O God!" said he, "what have I done? pardon me, O Lord! to thee only have I sinned." Then Maillard commanded the cord to be plucked about his neck to strangle him; notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Mallard, all full of anger, went to the council house, called *La Chambre Ardente*, declaring what an uproar there had almost happened amongst the people; saying that he would complain upon the judges for suffering those heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made, that all who were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which law diligently afterwards was observed.

Saintinus Nivet, at Paris, A.D. 1546. Persecuted by M. Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris.

After the burning of those fourteen, whose names are described before, this Saintinus (who was a lame cripple) with his wife removed out of Meaux to Montbelliard, where when he had continued a while in safe liberty of religion, and saw himself there to do no good, but to be a burden to the church, cast in his mind to return home to Meaux again, and so did. Where at last, as he was selling certain small wares in the fair, he was there known and apprehended: whereof when information was given, he, being examined, at once confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this inquisition, as they were examining him of certain points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand to what he said, or not? he gave this answer, 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?" So little regard had he to save his own life, that he desired the judges both at Meaux, and at Paris, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own lives and souls, and to consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily, in fighting against Christ Jesus and his gospel.

At last, being brought to Paris, through the means of M. Peter Liset, a great persecutor, for that they of Meaux should take by him no encouragement, there he was detained, and suffered his martyrdom; where no kind of cruelty was lacking, which the innocent martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be put unto.

Stephen Polliot, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1546.

Stephen Polliot, coming out of Normandy (where he was born) unto Meaux, tarried not there long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a town called La Fere, where he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison, in which he was kept in bands and fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light. At length, being called for before the senate, and his sentence given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his satchel of books hanging about his neck: "O Lord," said he, "is the world in blindness and

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darkness still?" for he thought, being in prison so long, that the world had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ, having his books about his neck, was put into the fire, where he, with much patience, ended this transitory life.

John English. A.D. 1547.

He 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. A.D. 1547.

This tailor, being apprehended for the gospel's sake, was judged first, if he would turn, to be beheaded; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. Who being asked, whether 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 abide the fire. He was burned at Warden by Tournay.

Leonard de Prato. A.D. 1547.

This Leonard, going from Dijon to Bar, a town in Burgundy, with two false brethren, and talking with them about religion, was betrayed of them, and afterwards burned.

Seven martyrs burned at Langres: John Taffington, and Joan his wife; Simon Mareschal, and Joan his wife; William Michaut; James Boulerau; James Bretany. A.D. 1547.

All these seven, being of the city of Langres, for the word and truth of Jesus Christ were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort but especially Joan, which was Simon's wife, being reserved to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her husband and all the others with words of singular consolation; declaring to her husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever.

Four martyrs burned at Paris: Michael Mareschal, John Camus, Great John Camus, and John Serarphin. A.D. 1547.

These also, the same year, and about the same time, for the like confession of Christ's gospel were condemned by the senate of Paris, and in the same city also with the like cruelty were burned.

Octovian Blondel, a merchant of precious stones at Paris, A.D. 1548, betrayed by his host, at Lyons; and by Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur.

This Octovian, as he was a great occupier in all fairs and countries of France, and well known both in court and elsewhere, so was he a singular honest man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's word; who, being at his host's house at Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk, and superstitious behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing to him a

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grudge, chanced to have certain talk with Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels, of this Octovian.

Thus these two, consulting together, did suborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain sum of crowns, which because Octovian refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods: but such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated of their purpose. Then Blondel, being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine, which he had learned; for the which he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners there. For some that were in debt, he paid their creditors and loosed them out. To some he gave meat, to others, raiment. At length, through the importune persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave over and changed his confession. Notwithstanding the presenteur, not leaving him so, appealed him up to the high court of Paris. There Octovian being asked again touching his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to, he, being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence given thereby to the faithful, said he would live and die in his first confession, which he defended to be consonant to the verity of God's word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned, and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the court might come between, and save his life.

Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a young man, a tailor, at Dijon, A.D. 1549.

Hubert, being a young man of the age of nineteen years, was burned for the gospel at Dijon; who, neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, could be otherwise persuaded, but constantly to remain in the truth unto death.

Master Florent Venote, priest, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1549. Persecuted by Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris, and other Sorbonists.

This Florent remained in prison in Paris four years and nine hours. During which time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow prison or break, so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the hose or boot, *ad Nectar Hippocratis*; because it is strait beneath, and wider above, like to the instrument wherewith apothecaries are wont to make their hypocras. In this he remained seven weeks, where, the tormentors affirm, that no thief or murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of life or madness.

At last, when there was a great show in Paris at the king's coming into the city, and divers other martyrs in sundry places of the city were put to death, he, having his tongue cut off, was brought to see the execution of them all; and last of all, in the Place of Maulbert, was put into the fire, and burned, the 9th of July at afternoon.

Ann Audebert, an apothecary's wife and widow, martyred at Orleans, A.D. 1549.

She, going to Geneva, was taken and brought to Paris, and by the council there adjudged to be burned at Orleans. When the rope was put about her, she called it her wedding-girdle wherewith she should be married to Christ; and as she should be burned upon a Saturday, upon

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Michaelmas-even; "Upon a Saturday," said she, "I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again." And seeing the dung-cart brought, wherein she should be carried, she rejoiced thereat, showing such constancy in her martyrdom as made all the beholders to marvel.

A poor godly tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of St. Anthony at Paris, A.D. 1549. Persecuted by Henry the Second, the French king; apprehended by an officer of the king's house; examined by Peter Castellane, bishop of Macon.

Amongst many other godly martyrs that suffered in France, the story of this poor tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembered. His name is not yet sought out in the French stories for lack of diligence in those writers; more is the pity. The story is this: Not long after the coronation of Henry the Second, the French king, at whose coming into Paris divers good martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a spectacle, as is abovesaid, a certain poor tailor, who then dwelt not far from the king's palace, in the street bearing the name of St. Anthony, was apprehended by a certain officer in the king's house, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his occupation, and did work for his living. Before he was had to prison, the officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no observation to the holy day?

To whom he answered, that he was a poor man, living only upon his labour; and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of his living. Then the officer began to ask of him many questions; whereunto the poor tailor did so answer, that eftsoons he was clapped in prison. After that, the officer, coming into the court to show what good service he had done for the holy church, declared to certain estates, how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a holy day; showing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to prison. When the rumour hereof was noised in the king's chamber, through the motion of those who were about the king, the poor man was sent for to appear, that the king might have the hearing of him.

Hereupon the king's chamber being voided, save only a few of the chiefest peers remaining about the king, the simple tailor was brought. The king, sitting in his chair, commanded Peter Castellane, bishop of Macon, (a man very fit for such inquisitions,) to question with him. The tailor, being entered, and nothing appalled at the king's majesty, after his reverence done unto the prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then Castellane, entering talk, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of religion; whereunto the tailor without fear, or any halting in his speech, with present audacity, wit, and memory, so answered for the sincere doctrine and simple truth of God's gospel, as was both convenient to the purpose, and also to his questions aptly and fitly correspondent.

Notwithstanding, the nobles there present, with cruel taunts and rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but with boldness of heart, and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord, neither flattering with their persons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them all a singular admiration, to behold that simple poor artificer to stand so firm and bold, answering before a king, to those questions propounded against him. Whereat when the king seemed to muse with himself, as one somewhat amazed, and which might soon have been induced, at that present, to

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further knowledge, the egregious bishop and other courtiers, seeing the king in such a muse, said, he was an obstinate and stubborn person, confirmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be sent to the judges, and to be punished. And therefore, lest he should trouble the ears of the said Henry the king, he was commanded again to the hands of the officer, that his cause might be informed: and so, within few days after, he was condemned, by the high steward of the king's house, to be burned alive. And lest any deep consideration of that excellent fortitude of the poor man might further, peradventure, pierce the king's mind, the cardinals and bishops were ever in the king's ear, telling him, that these Lutherans were nothing else but such as carry vain smoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire, would soon vanish. Wherefore the king was appointed himself to be present at his execution, which was sharp and cruel, before the church of Mary the Virgin; where it pleased God to give such strength and courage to his servant, in suffering his martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the king than all the other did before.

Claudius Thierry, at Orleans, A.D. 1549.

The same year, and for the same doctrine of the gospel, one Claudius also was burned at the said town of Orleans, being apprehended by the way coming from Geneva to his country.

Leonard Galimard, at Paris, A.D. 1549.

This Leonard, for the confession likewise of Christ and his gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there, by the sentence of the council, was judged to be burnt the same time that Florent Venote, above-mentioned, did suffer at Paris.

Macæus Moreou, martyred at Troyes, A.D. 1549.

He was burned at Troyes in Champagne, (a town in France,) remaining constant to the end in the gospel, for the which he was apprehended.

Johan Godeau, and Gabriel Berandine, A.D. 1550.

These two were of the church of Geneva. Afterward, for their friendly admonishing a certain priest, which in his sermon had abused the name of God, they were taken at Chambery. Godeau standing to his confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began a little to shrink for fear of the torments, yet being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau, recovered again, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out; who, notwithstanding, through God's might, did speak so as he might be understood. Whereupon the hangman, being accused for not cutting off his tongue rightly, said that he could not stop him of his speech. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in God's truth, gave their life for Christ's gospel.

Thomas Sanpaulinus, at Paris, A.D. 1551. His persecutors were John Andreas, promoter; Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris; Maillard and others, Sorbonists; also one Aubertus, a councillor.

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This Thomas, a young man of the age of eighteen years, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked there a man for swearing; for the which cause he, being suspected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the council of Paris, and put in prison, where he was racked and miserably tormented; to the intent he should either change his opinion, or confess other of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore, through the setting on of Maillard and other Sorbonists, that the sight thereof made Aubert, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy against the gospel, to turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at last was had to Maulbert Place in Paris to be burned; where he, being in the fire, was plucked up again upon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? to whom he said, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martyr, remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with constant confession of his truth.

Maurice Secenate, in Provence, A.D. 1551.

He, first having interrogations put to him by the lieutenant of that place, made his answers thereunto, so as no great advantage could be taken thereof. But he being greatly compuncted and troubled in his conscience for dissembling with the truth, and called afterward before the lord chief judge, he answered so directly, that he was condemned for the same, and burned in Provence.

John Putte, or de Puteo, surnamed Medicus, at Uzez, in Provence, A.D. 1551.
Accused by a citizen of Uzez.

This Medicus, being a carpenter and unlettered, had a controversy about a certain pit with a citizen of the town of Uzez, where he dwelt. He, to cast this Medicus, in the law, from the pit, accused him of heresy, bringing for his witnesses those labourers whom Medicus had hired to work in his vineyard; wherefore he, being examined of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, was condemned and burned at Uzez, in Provence.

Claudius Monerius, at Lyons, A.D. 1551.

His persecutors were, the governor of Lyons, and the official of the archdeacon of Lyons.

This man, being well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, for the which he was also driven from Avernia, came to Lyons, and there taught children. Hearing of the lord president's coming to the city, went to give warning to a certain familiar friend of his, and so conducted him out of the town. In returning again to comfort the man's wife and children, he was taken in his house; and so he, confessing that which he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much affliction in prisons and dungeons, was condemned and burned at Lyons. He was noted to be so gentle and mild of conditions, and constant withal, and also learned, that certain of the judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

The said Monerius, being in prison, wrote certain letters, but one especially very comfortable to all the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of these histories shall be inserted. He wrote also the questions and interrogatories of the official, with his answers likewise to the same; which summarily we have contracted, as followeth

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The official. "What believe you of the sacrament? is the body of Christ in the bread, or no?" *The martyr.* "I worship Jesus Christ in heaven, sitting at the right hand of God the Father." *Official.* "What say you by purgatory?"

The martyr. "Forasmuch as there is no place of mercy after this life, therefore no need there is of any purgation; but necessary it is that we be purged before we pass hence."

Official. "Of the pope what think you?"

The martyr. "I say he is a bishop as other bishops are, if he be a true follower of St. Peter."

Official. "What say you of vows?"

The martyr. "No man can vow to God so much, but the law requireth much more than he can vow."

Official. "Are not saints to be invocated?"

The martyr. "They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God hath appointed his angels about us, to minister in our necessities."

Official. "Is it not good to salute the blessed Virgin with Ave Maria?"

The martyr. "When she was on this earth she had then 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 unto her."

Official. "Are not images to be had?"

The martyr. "For that the nature of man is so prone to idolatry, ever occupied and fixed 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, which is a Spirit, and him we must worship only in spirit and truth."

Official. "What say you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?"

The martyr. "To hours and times, prayer ought not to be tied: but whensoever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any necessity driveth us, then ought we to pray."

Then the official asked, what he thought of holy oil, salt, with such other like? to whom the martyr answered, that all these things were a mere Maranismus, that is, savoured of the law of Maranorum, and of the superstition of the Jews.

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Renate Poyet, at Saumur, in France, A.D. 1552.

Renate Poyet, the son of William Poyet, which 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 Saumur, A.D. 1552.

John Joyer, and his servant, a young man, at Toulouse, A.D. 1552.

These two coming from Geneva to the country with certain books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had 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 over, 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.

Hugh Gravier, a schoolmaster and minister, of Cortillon, in the country of Neufchatel, at Berg, A.D. 1552.

At Berg, in Bresse, a day's journey from Lyons, this Gravier was burned. He coming from Geneva to Neufchatel, there was elected to be minister. But first, he going to see his wife's friends at Macon, there, as he was coming away out of the town, was taken upon the bridge, with all his company; and in the end, he, willing for the women and therest of the company to lay the fault on him for bringing them out, was sentenced to be burned, notwithstanding that the lords of Bern sent their heralds to save his life, and also that the official declared him to be an honest man, and to hold nothing but agreeing to the Scriptures.

Martial Alba, Peter Scribe, Bernard Seguine, Charles Faber, Peter Navihere, at Lyons, A.D. 1553.

Their persecutors were: Tignatius, the governor or deputy of Lyons; Buatherius, official to the archbishop of Lyons; Cleprierus, chamberlain; three Orders of Friars; Judge Melierus; Dr. Cunuban, a Grey Friar; Judge Vilard; Primatius, the official; Cortrierus, a judge.

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne a certain time, consulted amongst themselves, being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his country, to the intent they might instruct their parents and other their friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So, taking their journey from Lausanne, first they came to Geneva, where they remained awhile. From thence they went to Lyons, where they, sitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended and led to prison, where they continued a whole year; that is, from the first of May to the sixteenth of the same month again. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed; especially Peter Scribe or Scrivener, and Seguine.

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They were examined sundrily of the sacrament of the Lord's body, of purgatory, of confession and invocation, of free-will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they burned in the said town of Lyons. Being set upon the cart, they began to sing psalms. As they passed by the market-place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews: The God of peace, which brought again from death the great Pastor of the sheep in the blood of the eternal testament, &c. Coming to the place, first the two youngest, one after another, went up 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; who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, desired this petition of the governor, which was that he might go about his fellows tied at the stake, and kiss them: which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, "Farewell, my brother." Likewise the other four, following the same example, bade each one, "Farewell, my brother." With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer, and so departed.

Their examinations briefly touched.

The friar. "Thou sayest, friend! in thy confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church; I will prove contrary. The pope is successor of St. Peter: ergo, he is supreme head of the church."

The martyr. "I deny first your antecedent."

Friar. "The pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: ergo, he is the successor of St. Peter."

The martyr. "I will grant neither of both: first, because that he which succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter, yet should he not therefore be the head of the church, but a member only of the same. The head of men and angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul, Eph. i."

Friar. "Although Christ be the head of the whole church militant and triumphant, yet his vicar here on earth is left to supply his room."

The martyr. "Not so, for the power of his Divinity being so great, to fill all things, he needeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence."

Friar. "I will prove, that although Christ be King both of heaven and earth, yet he hath here on earth many vicars under him, to govern his people."

The martyr. "It is one thing to rule in the civil state, another thing to rule spiritually. For in civil regiment we have kings and princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the observation of public society: in the spiritual regiment and kingdom of the church it is not so."

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Another friar. "Thou sayest St. Peter is not the head of the church; I will prove he is. Our Lord said to Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas; which Cephas is as much as to say in Latin, caput: ergo, Peter is head of the church."

The martyr. "Where find you that interpretation? St. John, in his first chapter, doth expound it otherwise: Thou shalt be called Cephas, that is as much (saith he) as petrus, or stone."

Then the judge Vilard, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so; whereupon the friar was utterly dashed, and stood mute.

Friar. "Thou sayest in thy confession, that a man hath no free-will; I will prove it. It is written in the Gospel, Luke x., how a man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, and was spoiled, maimed, and left half dead, &c. Thomas Aquinas expoundeth this parable to mean free-will, which, he saith, is maimed; yet not so, but that some power remaineth in man to work."

The martyr. "This interpretation I do refuse and deny."

Friar. "What! thinkest thou thyself better learned than St. Thomas?"

The martyr. "I do arrogate no such learning unto myself. But this I say, this parable is not so to be expounded, but is set forth for example of the Lord, to commend to us charity towards our neighbour, how one should help another."

Friar. "Thou sayest in thy confession, that we are justified only by faith, I will prove that we are justified by works. By our works we do merit: ergo, by works we are justified."

The martyr. "I deny the antecedent."

Friar. "St. Paul, in the last chapter of Hebrews, saith, Forget not to do good, and to distribute unto others: for by such oblations God is merited. We merit God by our works: ergo, we are justified by our works."

The martyr. "The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: With such sacrifices God is delighted, or is well pleased."

Vilard, the judge, turned to the book, and found the place even to be so as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, What he thought of confession? To whom the martyr answered, that confession only is to be made to God, and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and other, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars stood, having nothing to say against it.

A Black Friar. "Dost thou not believe the body of Christ to be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove the same. Jesus Christ taking bread, said, This is my body: ergo, it is truly his body."

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The martyr. "The verb est is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as showing the nature of a thing in substance, as in philosophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing signified, after the manner and phrase of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the sign is called by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is circumcision called by the name of the covenant, and yet is not the covenant; so the lamb hath the name of the passover, yet is not the same; in which two sacraments of the old law, ye see the verb est to 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. "The sacraments of the old law and of the new do differ greatly; for these give grace, so did not the other."

The martyr. "Neither the sacraments of the old, nor of the new law, do give grace, but show Him unto us, which giveth grace indeed. The minister giveth the sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth grace by the operation of the Holy Ghost: of whom it is said, This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost," &c.

Friar. "The fathers of the Old Testament, were they not partakers of the same grace and promises with us?" John ii.

The martyr. "Yes, for St. Paul saith, that the fathers of the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual meat, and did drink of the same spiritual drink with us."

Friar. "Jesus Christ saith, John vi., Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: ergo, they were not partakers of the same grace with us in the New Testament."

The martyr. "Christ here speaketh of them which did not eat that manna with faith, which was a type and figure of that Bread of Life that came from heaven; and not of them which did eat the same with faith, as Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb, and such others; who, under the shadows of the Old Testament, did look for Christ to come. For so it is written of Abraham, that he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced; — not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith."

Here the doltish doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but "Hear, friend; be not so hot, nor so hasty, tarry a while, tarry a while." At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

Friar. "I will prove that they of the Old Testament were not partakers of the same grace with us. The law (saith St. Paul) worketh anger; and they that are under the law, are under malediction: ergo, they of the old law and testament were not partakers of the same grace with us."

The martyr. "St. Paul here proveth, that no man by the law can be justified, but that all men are under the anger and curse of God thereby, forasmuch as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every man to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing no man can be saved by the law. For whosoever trusteth to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still under malediction: not

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because the law is cursed, or the times thereof under curse, but because of the weakness of our nature, which is not able to perform the law."

Friar. "St. Paul, Rom. vii., declareth in the Old Testament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the New Testament to be grace and mercy, in these words where he saith, Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ."

The martyr. "St. Paul in this place neither meaneth nor speaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual man notwithstanding, through the faith of Christ, hath the victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not gratis Dei, but gratias ago Deo, per Jesum Christum," &c.

Primacius, the official, seeing the friar almost here at a point, set in, and said, "Thou lewd heretic, dost thou deny the blessed sacrament?"

The martyr. "No, sir, but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, so as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles."

Official. "Thou deniest the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and thou tallest the sacrament bread."

The martyr. "The Scripture teacheth us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not on earth; where we read, Col. iii., If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the earth; but for the things which are in heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, &c. And whereas I affirm the sacrament not to be the body, but bread, speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, herein I do no other but as St. Paul doth, which doth call it bread likewise, four or five times together," 1 Cor. xi.

Friar. "Jesus Christ said, that he was the bread of life."

Official. "Thou naughty heretic! Jesus Christ said that he was a vine, and a door, &c., where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively; but the words of the sacrament are not so to be expounded."

The martyr. "Those testimonies which you allege, make more for me than for you."

Official. "What sayest thou, lewd heretic! is the bread of the Lord's supper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?"

The 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 be of the same nature and substance with the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life."

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And this was the effect of their examinations.

Petrus Bergerius, at Lyons, A.D. 1553.

About the same time when these five students above specified were apprehended, this Bergerius also was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made also the like confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same martyrdom. He had been before an occupier or merchant of wines. He had wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him was a certain thief and malefactor, which had lain there the space of seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment cried out of God, and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with such bread as dogs and horses had refused to eat: so it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayers of this Bergerius, he was brought to repentance of himself, and knowledge of God; learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached unto him. Touching his conversion, he wrote a sweet letter to those five students above mentioned, wherein he praiseth God for them, and specially for this Bergerius; declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the gospel, and framed himself to patience, according to the same, his lice, which he could pluck out before no less than twenty at once, betwixt his fingers, now were so gone from him that he had not one. Furthermore, so the alms of good men were extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good: such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his truth. The name of this convert was John Chambone.

Stephen and Dionysius Peloquine, brethren, at Ville Franche, near Lyons, A.D. 1553.

Stephen Peloquine, brother to this Dionysius, was taken about two or three years before, with Ann Audebert above mentioned, and also martyred for the testimony of the gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After whom followed Dionysius Peloquine, in the same steps of martyrdom, who was his brother. This Dionysius had been sometime a monk, and changing his weed, took a wife, with whom he lived a certain space at Geneva in godly order and modesty of life. Coming afterward to Ville Franche, six miles from Lyons, from thence he was had to Lyons, where he remained in prison ten months. From thence he was reversed to Ville Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The articles whereupon he was condemned, were for the mass, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the pope's supremacy. He suffered on the eleventh of September, A.D. 1553. In his martyrdom, such patience and fortitude God gave, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceased holding up his hands to heaven, and calling upon the Lord; to the great admiration of them that looked on.

Ludovicus Marsace, and Michael Gerard, his cousin; also Stephen Gravot, carpenter: at Lyons, A.D. 1553. Their persecutors were, the king's lieutenant at Lyons; the official; and the friars.

At Lyons the same year these three also were apprehended and sacrificed. Ludovicus had been of the order of the Demi-lances, which served the king in his wars: afterwards coming to Geneva, he was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers articles he was examined, as the invocation of saints, and of the Virgin Mary; free-will, merits and good works, auricular confession, fasting, and the Lord's supper. In his second examination, they

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inquired of him, and also of the other two, touching vows, the sacraments, the mass, and the vicar of Christ; in all which articles, because his and their judgment dissented from the doctrine of the pope's church, they were condemned. The answers of Marsace to the articles, are to be seen at large in the Book of the French Martyrs, set out by John Crispine.

The lieutenant, among other blasphemies, had these words: "Of the four evangelists, but two were pure, Matthew and John; the other two, Mark and Luke, were but gatherers out of the others. The Epistles of St. Paul, but that the doctors of the church had authorized them, he would otherwise esteem them no better than the fables of Æsop."

Item, The said lieutenant said to M. Cope's maid, speaking somewhat of the law, "Cursed be the God of that law."

When the sentence of condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad thereof, that they went out praising God, and singing psalms. This troubled the judges sore, to see them so little to esteem their death: insomuch that the lieutenant caused them to be made to hold their peace; saying, "Shall these vile objects so vaunt themselves against the whole state of the realm?" Then as Marsace was going into a corner by, to pray, one of the soldiers would not suffer him: to whom he said, "That little time which we have, will you not give us to pray?" With that the soldier, being astonished, went his way.

As they should be brought out of prison to the stake, the hangman tied a rope about the necks of the other two. Marsace seeing himself to be spared because of his order and degree, called by the way to the lieutenant, that he might also have one of the precious chains about his neck, in honour of his Lord; which being granted, so were these three blessed martyrs committed to the fire, where they, with meek patience, yielded up their lives to the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his gospel.

Matheus Dimonetus, merchant, at Lyons, A.D. 1553. The persecutors were the lieutenant of Lyons, Primacius and Buatherius, officials, and Orus, an inquisitor.

This merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life, full of much corruption and filthiness. He was also a secret enemy and searcher-out of good men, when and where they convented together; who, being called, notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favour of his word, shortly after was taken by the lieutenant, and Buatherius the official, in his own house at Lyons; and so, after a little examination, was sent to prison. Being examined by the inquisitor and the officials, he refused to yield any answer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the lieutenant. His answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal church of Christ did truly believe, and all the articles of the creed. To the article of the holy catholic church, being bid to add also "Romanam," that is, the Church of Rome, that he refused. Advocates he knew none, but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the cross and passion of the Lamb, which purgeth 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 such whom we have offended. The eating of 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 the mouth, and that sacrament to be bread and wine under the name and signification of the body and blood of Christ; the mass not to be instituted of Christ,

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being a thing contrary to his word and will. For the head of the church, he knew none, but only Christ. Being in prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own 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 spake much to the people, and was heard with great attention. He suffered on the fifteenth of July, A.D. 1553.

William Neel, an Austin Friar, at Evreux in France, A.D. 1553. His persecutors were Legoux, the Dean Ilierensis; and M. Simon Vigor, the penitentiary of Evreux.

Henry Pantaleon, and likewise Crispine and Adrian, make mention also of one William Neel, a friar Augustine, who suffered in much like sort the same year, and was burned at Evreux in France. The occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the priests there, and of the dean, named Legoux: for the which the dean caused him to be sent to Evreux, to the prison of the bishop. The story of this William Neel, with his answers to their articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth book of Pantaleon, and others.

Simon Laloe, at Dijon, A.D. 1553. His persecutor was the bailiff or steward of the city of Dijon.

Simon Laloe, a spectacle-maker, coming from Geneva into France for certain business, was laid hand of 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 them of the same city of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other answer but this with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his sentence, and pursued the execution of the same, which was on the twenty-first of November, A.D. 1553. The executioner, who was named James Silvester, seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly martyr, was so compuncted with repentance, and fell in such despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all the promises of the gospel, to recover any comfort in him. At last, through the mercy of Christ, he was comforted, and converted; and so he, with all his family, removed to the church at Geneva.

Nicholas Nayle, at Paris, A.D. 1553.

This Nicholas, a shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain fardels of books, was there apprehended; who, stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what fellows he had besides of his profession, so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another; but so constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an hospital, where they willed 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 grieved, 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 parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so the blessed martyr departed.

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Peter Serre, near Toulouse, A.D. 1553. His persecutors were a woman of Toulouse; the official of the bishop of Toulouse; and the inquisitor and chancellor of the bishop of Cozeran.

Peter Serre was first a priest; then changing his religion, he went to Geneva, and learned the shoemakers' craft, and so lived. Afterwards, upon a singular love, he came to his brother at Toulouse, to the intent to do him good. His brother had a wife, which was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She, in secret counsel, told another woman, one of her neighbours, of this. What doth she, but goeth to the official, and maketh him privy to all. The official thinking to foreslack no time, taking counsel with his fellows, laid hands upon this Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor; to whom he made such a declaration 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, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring of what occupation he 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 science of all others in the whole world besides. The judge and the people, supposing that he had been some thief or cutpurse, inquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said, that he had been a priest! The judge thereupon was so moved, that he condemned him; first, enjoining him in his condemnation, to ask the king forgiveness, he then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this sentence, he appealed to the parliament of Toulouse: not for that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the king's forgiveness, whom he had never offended; also because he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the sentence of that parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned for asking forgiveness of the king, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their religion.

As he went to burning, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was bid to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate; which because he refused, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut off: and so being put to the fire, he stood so quiet, looking up to heaven all the time of his burning, as though he had felt nothing; bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said, that way was not the best, to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more hurt than good.

Stephen King, and Petrus Denocheus, at Chartres, A.D. 1553. Persecuted by the governor of Marches.

Stephen King, after he had been at Strasburg a while, returned again into his country, dwelling in a town bearing the name of St. George, not far from Chaustors; where he served in the place of a notary, and had under him a clerk named Peter Denoche, who also had been at Geneva, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous swearers, and other offenders. These two were not long together but they were both suspected of Lutheranism, and so apprehended by the governor of the Marches, or the marshal, and so were carried to Chartres, where, after their constant confession, upon their examination made, they

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were enclosed in prison, and there sustained long and tedious endurance; during which mean time, Stephen King made many worthy songs and sonnets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when, after long persuasions and fair promises of the bishop and of others, they could not be revoked from the doctrine of their confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation they appealed to the court of Paris, but the council there, confirming their former sentence, returned them again to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel punishment of fire.

Antonius Magnus, or Magnæus, at Paris, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by the priests of Bruges.

Antonius Magnus was sent by the five who were in prison at Lyons, above-mentioned, and by others also that were in captivity at Paris, to Geneva, to commend them to their prayers unto God for them; who, after certain business there despatched, returned again into France, and there, within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain priests at Bruges, and there delivered by the said priests unto the official. After a few days the king's justices took him from the official, and sent him to Paris, where, after great rebukes and torments he suffered in the prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the truth, by their capital sentence was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and so was burned at Maulbert Place in Paris.

William Alençon, bookseller; also a certain shear-man, at Montpelliers, A.D. 1454. Betrayed by false brethren.

This Alençon did much good in the provinces of France by carrying books. Coming to Montpelliers, he was there circumvented by false brethren, detected and laid in prison. In his faith he was firm and constant to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the seventh of January, 1554.

There was the same time at Montpelliers a certain shearman or clothworker, who had been long in durance for religion, but at length, for fear and infirmity, he revolted; to whom it was enjoined by the judges to make public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alençon aforesaid: at the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this man such boldness, that he desired the judges, that he might burn with this Alençon, or else be brought again into prison, saying, that he would make no other recantation, but so. Wherefore, within three days after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the town aforesaid.

Paris Panier, a lawyer, at Dol, A.D. 1554.

At Dol was beheaded a good and godly lawyer, Lamed Paris Panier, for constant standing to the gospel of Christ, A.D. 1554.

Peter du Val, shoemaker, at Nismes, A.D. 1554.

At Nismes in Dauphine, Peter du Val sustained sore and grievous rackings and torments; wherewith his body being broken, dissolved, and maimed, yet he, notwithstanding, manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there consumed, A.D. 1554.

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Johannes Filiolus, or Filiolus, carpenter; and Julianus le Ville, point-maker, at Sanserre, A.D. 1554. Their persecutors were Giles le Hers, lieutenant for the marshal of St. Andrew, and inquisitor for the province of Bourbon; and also John Bergeronius, another inquisitor or counsellor.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva, with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by Giles le Pers; who, in the way overtaking them, and most wickedly and Judasly pretending great favour to them, and to their religion, which he (as he said) supposed them to be of, with these and many other fair words circumvented and allured them to confess, what was their faith? whither they went with their children? and also that their wives were at Geneva? When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to his horsemen, and so were these simple saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the castle of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined of many things, whereunto they answered uprightly, according to their faith.

First, touching the sacrament, they affirmed the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome to be against the article of the Creed, which saith that Christ is gone up to heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God: and therefore the bread and the wine must needs remain in their properties; bearing, notwithstanding, a sacrament, or a holy sign, of the body and blood of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed, spiritually hath the like operation in the souls of the believers.

For the mass, they said it was a thing most superstitious, and mere idolatry; and if we put any part of salvation therein, (they said,) it was utterly a robbing of the passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a Christian mouth. Also, that those who say that Peter either was pope, or author of the said mass, are far deceived. And as for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error (they said) more of madmen, than any of sadmen: forasmuch as God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the blood of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the saints of God of their due honour, so neither the saints themselves (said they) will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

As touching confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and causes of conscience belong to no man, but only to God.

After these answers given and written, they were sent to the monastery of St. Peter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by inventory, and them to be banished. But Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear mass. From that court they appealed to the court of Paris; but the matter there was nothing amended, where behold the judgment of God. In the mean time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor, Giles le Pers, was suddenly struck mad and died in a frenzy; which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more constant.

At last, the decree of the sentence was read against them.

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- I. For speaking against the sacrament: which they denied.
- II. For speaking against baptism: which also they denied.
- III. For speaking contumely against the saints: which they in like manner denied.

After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments, which they sustained very extreme, the space from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a friar Dominic, a man captious and sophistical, to press them in disputation: but as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden cross, which they took with their teeth, and flung away: for which, the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Herein appeared another marvellous work of the Lord: for nevertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, "We bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter." Divers other words they spake besides, which the people did hear and note. At last, when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, "Go to," said Filiolus, "salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh." Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they, persisting constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms.

Dionysius Vayre, at Rouen, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by William Langlois, under-sheriff, and John Langlois, the king's procurator.

In the same year suffered, at Rouen, Denis Vayre, who, first leaving his popish priesthood, went to Geneva, where he learned the art of bookbinding, and brought many times books into France. After that, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he came to Jersey, and there was minister, and preached. After the death of King Edward, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to Geneva, he came into Normandy with his books, into a town called Feueillet; where he, going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois his brother, came in and stayed his books, and him also who had the custody of them. Denis, albeit he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed; the other was delivered. First, after two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a spy, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen; where sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up and let down again into the fire. After the sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, that the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion: notwithstanding, he would utter no man's name unto them. And as for their torments, he said, he cared not; for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to care for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and first, they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he, coming by the image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same, they cried, "Cut out his tongue:" and so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up; but the flame went so high, that the hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help, and so did

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the officers with their staves lay upon the people, to help their tormentors, but never a man would stir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.

150. Martyrs in France – II.

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in jest to the friars of St. Francis, "You wear a rope about your bodies, because St. Francis once should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope." Upon 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 he, to save his life, was contented to recant; and so did. The friars, hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved; and so calling upon the officers, caused them to make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, said they, lest he fall again. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the friars.

To this merchant may also be adjoined the brother of Tamer, who, when he had before professed the truth of the gospel, and afterwards by the counsel and instruction of his brother was removed from the same, fell in desperation and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himself.

Thomas Galbergne, a coverlet-maker, at Tournay, A.D. 1554.

This Thomas had copied out certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This book being espied, he was called for by the justice, and examined of the book, which, he said, contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture; and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the town-house, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, "Turn, Thomas! Thomas! yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour." To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, "And I trust to be one of that sort;" and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit.

Add also to this, one Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt. These two should have been placed among the Dutch martyrs in the table before.

Richard Feurus, a goldsmith, at Lyons, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by the latrunculator, or under-marshal or examiner of Dauphine; also by the lieutenant, and his attorney, and a scribe, with divers others.

Feurus, a goldsmith, born at Rouen, first being in England, and in London, there received the taste and knowledge of God's word, as in his own epistle he recordeth. Then he went to Geneva, where he remained nine or ten years; and from thence returning to Lyons, there he was apprehended and condemned. Upon this he appealed to the high court of Paris, through the motion of his friends; where, in the way, as he was led to Paris, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty; which was A.D. 1551.

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After that, continuing at Geneva about the space of three years, he came upon business to the province of Dauphine, and there, as he found fault with the grace said in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his inn at night, by the under-marshal, or him which had the examination of malefactors. The next day he was sent to the justice, from him to the bishop; who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the lieutenant, who sent his advocate with a notary to him in the prison, to examine him of his faith. The whole process of his examinations, with his adversaries and the friars, in his story described, is long; the principal contents come to this effect:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe the Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "No, I do believe the catholic and universal church."

Inquisitor. "What catholic church is that?"

The martyr. "The congregation or communion of Christians."

Inquisitor. "What congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?"

The martyr. "It consisteth in the number of God's elect, whom God hath 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?"

The martyr. "It is dispersed through the universal world, in divers regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith 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, to be a more true church than the holy Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "Yea, verily, for these have the notes of the true church."

Inquisitor. "What difference then make you between those churches and the Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "Much; for the Church of Rome is governed only with traditions of men, but those are ruled only by the word of God."

Inquisitor. "Where learned you this doctrine first?"

The martyr. "In England; at London."

Inquisitor. "How long have you been at Geneva?"

The martyr. "About nine or ten years."

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Inquisitor. "Dost thou not believe the Virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and advocate to God for sinners?"

The martyr. "I believe, as in the word of God is testified, that Jesus Christ is the only mediator and advocate for all sinners: albeit the Virgin Mary be a blessed woman, yet the office of an advocate belongeth not unto her."

Inquisitor. "The saints that be in paradise, have they no power to pray for us?"

The martyr. "No; but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with the grace and glory which they have; that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God."

Inquisitor. "And what then judge you of them who follow the religion of the Church of Rome? think you them to be Christians?"

The martyr. "No, for that Church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same."

Inquisitor. "Do you then esteem all them who separate themselves from the Church of Rome to be Christians?"

The martyr. "I have not to answer for others, but only for myself. Every man, saith St. Paul, shall bear his own burden."

And thus the advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, departed to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan Friar, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his inn, asked him, why grace might not be said in Latin?" Because," said he, "by the word of God, Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood, and serveth best to the edification of the hearers."

Then the friar, bringeth forth his Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c., Laus Deo, Pax, vivis, Requies defunctis, &c., began thus to reason:

Friar. "God understandeth all tongues, and the Church of Rome hath prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient church and the fathers, who used then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be 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?"

The martyr. "My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be understood, and may edify the hearers."

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Friar. "When Christ entered the city of Jerusalem, the people cried, lauding him with Hosanna filio David; and yet understood they not what they said, as Jerome writeth."

The martyr. "It may be that Jerome so writeth, how they understood not the propheticall meaning, or the accomplishment of these words upon Christ's coming: but that they understood the phrase of that speech or language which they spake, speaking in their own language, Jerome doth not deny."

Then the friar, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin tongue, inferred the authorities of councils and doctors, and testimonies of men; which seemed to move the officer not a little, who, then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, also with rebellion against princes and kings, came at last to the matter of the sacrament, and demanded thus:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe the holy host which the priest doth consecrate at the mass or no?"

The martyr. "I believe neither the host, nor any such consecration."

Inquisitor. "Why? dost thou not believe the holy sacrament of the altar, ordained of Christ Jesus himself?"

The martyr. "Touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, I believe that whensoever we use the same according to the representation 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."

The friar then inferred the words of St. John's Gospel, saying, My flesh is meat indeed, &c., and said, that the doctors of the church had decided that matter already, and had approved the mass to be a holy memorial of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The martyr. "The sacrament of the supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a stirring up of our thanksgiving to him; in which sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered of God to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son."

And thus the advocate with the friar, bidding the notary to write the words that he had spoken, departed; who after eight days, being accompanied by the said Franciscan, and other friars more of the Dominics, sent for the said Richard Feurus again to his house, and thus began to inquire:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe any purgatory?"

The martyr. "I believe that Christ with his precious blood hath made an end of all purgatory, and purgation of our sins."

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Inquisitor. "And dost thou think then that there is no place after this life, where souls of men departed remain till they have made satisfaction for their sins?"

The martyr. "No; but I acknowledge one satisfaction once made 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 Matthew xviii., Christ, speaking, 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, saith, That he shall not come out from thence till he hath paid the uttermost farthing: by which similitude is signified unto us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins."

The martyr. "First, the satisfaction for our sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures; as in these places: Come to me, all you that labour and be burdened, and I will refresh you. I am the door, he that entereth by me, shall be saved. I am the way, verity, and life. Blessed be they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours. Also to the thief who hanged with the Lord, it was said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise, &c. Secondly, as touching this similitude, it hath no other demonstration but to admonish us of our duty, in showing charity, and forgiving one another; which unless we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God."

Friar. "If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither purgatory nor any limbus, which were against our Christian faith and our Creed, which saith, He descended into hell," &c.

Deputy. "Dost thou not believe there is a Limbus?"

The martyr. "Neither do I believe there is any such place, nor doth the Scripture make any mention thereof."

Friar. "Where were the old fathers then, before the death of Christ?"

The martyr. "In life, I say, eternal, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Abraham, and the patriarchs, in the seed to come."

Deputy. "What, dost thou believe that the pope hath any power?"

The martyr. "Yea verily."

Deputy. "Dost thou believe that the pope, as the vicar of Jesus Christ, can here bind and loose?"

The martyr. "That I do not believe."

Deputy. "How then dost thou understand the power of the pope?"

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The martyr. "I understand the power of the pope so as St. Paul declareth, 2 Thess., saying, that because the world refused to receive the love of the truth unto salvation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his ministers, power of illusions and errors, that men should believe lies, and set up to themselves pastors and teachers such as they deserve."

Friar. "Christ gave to St. Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the pope, for the government of the church, that it might have one head in the world, as it hath 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 teacheth in the twenty-third of Matthew."

The martyr. "If the pope and his adherents would preach the word purely and sincerely, admixing no other inventions of their own, nor obtruding laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, howsoever their lives were to the contrary: according as Christ doth tell us of the scribes and Pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives. But there is great difference, whether they that take the governance of the church do sit in Moses's chair, which is the seat of truth, or else do sit in the chair of abomination, spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he saith, that the man of perdition shall sit in the temple of God, vaunting himself insolently above all that is called God."

"And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, Christ therein assigned to Peter and other apostles the office of preaching the word of the gospel, which they did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the word; in the which word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the church to have two heads, one in heaven, another in earth; the head whereof is but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be head alone both in heaven and earth, as St. Paul in many places of his Epistles doth teach."

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?"

The martyr. "I know no other confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbour, which Christ and his apostles have commended to us."

Friar. "Have you not read in the gospel, how Christ doth bid us to confess to the priest, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to show himself to the priest?"

The 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 hath intruded this manner of confessing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the leper whom the Lord sent to the priest, he was not sent therefore to whisper his sins in the priest's ear, but only for a testimony of his health received according to the law."

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"Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of the prophet David full in the Psalms, where he saith, that he confessed his sins unto the Lord, and received forgiveness of the same."

After this, the friar, proceeding further to make comparison between the Church of Rome and the Church of Geneva, would prove that the pope hath power to set laws in the church without any express word of God: for so it is written, said he, that there were many other things besides, which are not written in this book. Also, where Christ promiseth to his disciples, to send unto them the Holy Ghost, which should induce them into all truth. Moreover, such decrees and ordinances as are in the church, were decided, said he, and appointed by the doctors of the church and by all the councils, directed, no doubt, by the Holy Ghost. Furthermore he inferred, that the Church also of Geneva had their ordinances and constitutions made without any word of God. And for example, he brought forth the order of the Psalms and service publicly observed and appointed upon Wednesday, in the Church of Geneva, as though that day were holier than another.

To this the martyr answered again, declaring that the ordinance of those public prayers and psalms on Wednesday in the Church of Geneva, was not to bind conscience, or for any superstitious observation, or for any necessity which either should bind the conscience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement; but only for an order or commodity for public resort, to hear the word of God, according as ancient kings and temporal magistrates have used in old time to do, in congregating the people together; not to put any holiness in the day, or to bind the conscience to any observation, (as the pope maketh his laws,) but only for order's sake, serving unto commodity.

And as touching that any thing should be left for doctors and councils to be decided, without the express word of God, that is not so; for that all things be expressed and prescribed by the word, whatsoever is necessary either for government of the church, or for the salvation of men; so that there is no need for doctors of the church, or councils, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

Paul saith, that he durst utter nothing but what the Lord had wrought by him. St. John, speaking of the doctrine of Christ Jesus, willet us to receive no man, unless he bring with him the same doctrine. St. Paul warneth the Galatians, not to believe an angel from heaven, bringing another doctrine than that which they had already received. Christ, calling himself the good shepherd, noteth them to be his sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others. And St. Peter admonishing the pastors of the church, forewarns them to teach only the word of God, without any seeking of lordship or dominion over the flock. From this moderation how far the form of the pope's church doth differ, the tyranny which they use doth well declare.

Friar. "In the old church priests and ministers of the church were wont to assemble together for deciding of such things as pertained to the government and direction of the church; whereas in Geneva no such thing is used, as I can prove by this your own testament here in my hands, that you the better may understand what was then the true use and manner of the church."

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The martyr. "What was the true order and manner that the apostles did institute in the church of Christ, I would gladly hear, and also would desire you to consider the same; and when you have well considered it, yet shall you find the institution and regiment of the Church of Geneva, not to be without the public counsel and advisement of the magistrates, elders and ministers of that church, with such care and diligence as Paul and Silas took in ordering the church of Thessalonica, Berea, &c., wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's word, as appeareth in the 17th chapter of the Acts. As likewise also in stablishing the church of Antioch, when the apostles were together in council for the same, there was no other law nor doctrine followed, but only the word of God, as may appear by the words of the council, *Quid tentatis Deum, jugum imponere?* &c. And albeit the ministers of the Church of Rome, and the pope, were not called to the institution of the aforesaid Church of Geneva, yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawful order observed, either in establishing that church or any other."

Friar. "You were first baptized in the church of the pope, were ye not?"

The martyr. "I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindereth the grace of God; but he may renovate and call to further knowledge whom he pleaseth."

A councillor. "I would wish you not to stick to your own wisdom and opinion. You see the churches in Germany, how they dissent one from another; so that if you should not submit your judgment to the authority of the general councils, every day you shall have a new Christianity."

The martyr. "To mine own wisdom I do not stick, nor ever will, but only to that wisdom which is in Christ Jesus, although the world doth account it foolishness. And where ye say, that the churches of Germany dissent among themselves one from another; that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of Christian faith. Neither is there any such fear that every day should rise up a new Christianity, unless the church be balanced with authority of the councils, as you pretend. For so we read in the prophet David, in Psalm xxxiii., and in other places of Scripture more, that the councils of the nations and people shall be overthrown and subverted by the Lord, &c. Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsel of God and his word, and prefer the authority thereof before all other counsels and judgments of men. And thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and settle myself in this little Christianity, be it ever so small, than in that populous papality, be it ever so great in multitude."

And thus was this godly Feurus commanded again by the deputy to the bishop's prison, and from thence shortly after removed to Lyons, not by the open and beaten way, but by secret and privy journeys, lest perhaps he should be taken from them again, as he was before.

After he was come to Lyons, he was brought before Tignatius the judge, and a doctor of Sorbonne, called Furnosus, who questioned with him touching sundry articles of religion. But in conclusion, when they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promises allure him, nor with threatening terrors stir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray those whom he knew not, which took him away before from his keepers, they proceeded at last to the

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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, on the seventh of July, A.D. 1554.

Nicholas du Chense, at Gry, near Besancon, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by an inquisitor monk.

The cause and occasion why this Nicholas came in trouble was, for that he, going from Lausanne, (where he abode for his conscience,) to fetch his sister, and her husband, and certain other of his friends; as he went from Besancon, toward the town of Gry, did not do homage to a certain cross in the way; where a certain monk, who was an inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the same monk, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gry; where the justice of the place coming in incontinent took him. Nicholas seeing how he was by the monk, his conductor, betrayed; "O false traitor!" said he, "Hast thou thus betrayed me?" Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdom, by the way he was promised, that if he would kneel down and hear a mass, he should be let go as a passenger. But Nicholas, armed with perseverance, said, he would rather die than commit such an act; who calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently.

John Bertrand, a forester, or keeper of the forest of Marchenoir, at Blois, A.D. 1556. Persecutors: The seigniors or lords of Estnay and Ciguongnes, dwelling by the town of Marchenoir; and Denis Barbes, councillor of Blois.

For the religion and gospel of Christ this John was apprehended by these persecutors here specified, and led bound to Blois, where he was examined by Denis the councillor, of divers points: as, whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the church, and the he-saints and the she-saints of paradise? whereunto he said, No. Item, Whether at any time he had called the mass abominable? which he granted, for that he, finding no mass in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. Paul, that if an angel from heaven would bring any other gospel besides that which was already received, he should account it accursed. After his condemnation they would have him to be confessed, and presented to him a cross to kiss: but he bade the friars with their cross depart; "That is not the cross," said he, "that I must carry." 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 quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the post, he sang Psalm xxv. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding cheerful and amiable, his eyes looked up to heaven. "O the happy journey," said he, seeing the place where he should suffer, "and the fair place that is prepared for me! "When the fire was kindled about him, "O Lord," cried he, "give thy hand to thy servant; I commend my soul unto thee; "and so meekly yielded up his spirit: whose patient and joyful constancy so astonied the people, that of long time before nothing did seem to them so admirable.

Peter Rousseau, A.D. 1556. Persecuted by his own brother-in-law.

Peter Rousseau, coming from Geneva and Lausanne to his country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the word of God, partly for other certain affairs, because he required his inheritance of his brother-in-law, was by him betrayed. Then, being constant in his confession which he offered up, he was put to the rack three times, which he

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suffered constantly with great torments. Afterward he had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air and let down three times; and when he was half burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, saying, "Jesus Christ, assist me." And so this blessed martyr gave up his life to God.

Arnold Moniere, and John de Cazes, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1556. The name of his persecutor was Anthony de Lescure, the king's attorney.

After that Arnold Moniere was taken and examined of the justice, and so was laid in prison, John de Cazes, resorting to the same town of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreover, that if he went to him he should be impeached of heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon a hurdle to the place, accompanied by a number of bills, glaves, gunners, and trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no such cause, (they being two simple poor men,) yet the magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many earnest exhortations unto the people. But, to stop the hearing of these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound, who, during all the time of their suffering, never ceased. The hangman, preparing himself first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall down from the top of the post to the pavement, and brake his head in such sort as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding, recovering himself, he went to Moniere, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for as his legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, "My God! my Father!" and so gave up his life.

And further, to note the work of God that followed when these two mild and martyred saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly, without matter or cause, such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the justices and the people, notwithstanding that they had the gates locked to them, and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took them to their legs, in such haste fleeing away, that they overran one another. The prior of St. Anthony's fell down, so that a great number went over him. The judge Pontacke on his mule, with his red robe, fleeing as the other did, was overthrown with the press in the street called Poteuin, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to Pichon's house, a widow, and there cried within, "Hide me; save my life; I am dead! I see even the like matter as at the last commotion! My friends! hide my mule, that no man see her nor know her." Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every man shut up their houses. After the fear was past, every man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the enemies of God's truth perceive, who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of any adversary about them. This story is testified, and to be found both in the volume of the French martyrs, printed by John Crispine, lib. vi., also in the book of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrian.

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Bartholomew Hector, at Turin, A.D. 1556. Persecuted by a gentleman called Perriere; by M. Bartholomew Eme, president; and by M. Augustine d'Eglise, councillor.

First, this Hector was a traveller about the country, and a seller of books, having his wife and children at Geneva. As he came into the vale of Angrogne, in Piedmont, to get his living with selling of 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 spake any thing to the people, his tongue should be cut off; nevertheless he ceased nothing to speak. After his prayers made, wherein 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 convert; which he refused. Then he prepared himself to his death, which he took patiently: whereat many of the people wept, saying, "Why doth this man die, who speaketh of nothing but God?"



Martyrs Burned at the Stake

Philip Cene, and James his fellow, at Dijon, A.D. 1557.

This Philip Cene was an apothecary at Geneva. He was taken at Dijon, and there imprisoned, and in the same town of Dijon he, with one James his companion, was burned. As this Philip went to his death singing psalms, the friar, standing by, stopped his mouth with his hand. The most part of the people wept bitterly, saying, "Be of good courage, brethren! be not afraid of this death;" which when one of the adversary part heard, he said to one of the

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magistrates, "Do you not see how almost the half part of the people is of their side, and doth comfort them?"

Archambant Seraphon, and M. Nicholas du Rousseau, at Dijon, A.D. 1557.

These two were in prison together with Philip and James above-mentioned, at Dijon. Archambant, going about with a packet of pedlary ware to get his living, and coming towards his wife, heard of certain prisoners at Dijon, to whom he wrote, to comfort them with his letters. The next day after, he was searched at Aussone, and letters of certain scholars of Paris found about him. Then he was brought to Dijon, where he, with the other, called M. Nicholas du Rousseau, constantly suffered.

The same Archambant had been also condemned three years before at Toul, and as he was led to Bourdeaux, he escaped.

Philbert Hamlin, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1557. Persecuted by the king's attorney of Saintes Ville.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest: he then went to Geneva, where he exercised printing, and sent books abroad. After that he was made minister at the town of Allenart, in Saintonge, in which and in other places more he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended at Saintes Ville, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel; and after confession made of his faith, he, with the said priest, was carried to Bourdeaux before the president. As he was in prison on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture to say mass in the prison; whom Philbert, seeing to be re-vested, 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; saying, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailer, hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him; whereby he was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen withal; and there continued eight days. A little before, perceiving the priest his host to decline from the truth, he did what he could to confirm him in the same: but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ and his word, he said unto him, "O unhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth? Know you therefore, that although you have, by your foolishness, avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all apostates." He had no sooner ended his talk, but the priest, going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen which had a quarrel to him: whereof when Master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the providence of God, which by the occasion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

At last the aforesaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdom before the palace; and as he was exhorting the people, to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so, being fastened to the post, this holy

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martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body with fire consumed on Palm-Sunday eve.

Nicholas Sartorius, at Aost, by Piedmont, A.D. 1557. His persecutors were Ripet, a secretary; Anthony Eschaux, bailiff; and the king's procurator.

Nicholas Sartorius, of the age of six and twenty years, born in Piedmont, came to the parts of Chambery in Lent, where a certain warden of the friars in the town of Aost had preached on Good Friday, upon the passion. The report of which sermon being recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him, Sartorius reprehended the error and blasphemies thereof, which were against the Holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him went to a secretary, named Ripet, who covertly came to entrap Nicholas, demanding him of the friar's sermon: "And did not our preacher," said he, "preach well?" "No," said Nicholas, "but he lied falsely." Ripet, entering further with him, demanded, "And do you not believe the body of the Lord to be in the host?" to whom Nicholas then answered again, "That is against our Creed, which saith, that he ascended up and sitteth," &c. Incontinently Ripet went to the friar and his companions, to cause him to be apprehended. The friends of Nicholas, perceiving the danger, willed him to avoid and save himself, and also accompanied him out of the town about the space of three leagues. Then was great pursuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the town of St. Remy, at the foot of the mountain of Great St. Bernard, where he was examined before Anthony Eschaux, bailiff of the town, and other justices, before whom he answered with great boldness for his faith. Then they brought him to the rack, and when the serjeant refused to draw the cord, the bailiff himself, and the receiver, with a canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithstanding that the lords of Berne wrote for him to the town of Aost, requiring to have their own subject delivered unto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence that he should be burned; which sentence he received 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 one of Tours, an embroiderer; also Nicholas, a shoemaker, of Jenvile, at Tours, A.D. 1558.

The printer of the story of the French martyrs, named Crispine, among others maketh also memorial of George Tardif, an embroiderer of Tours, and of Nicholas of Jenvile, declaring that all these three were together in prison, and afterwards were dissevered, to suffer in sundry places one from the other; of whom, first, George Tardif was executed in 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 should be examined, he desired the judges that he might pray; which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein 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, unto the shedding of tears; seeking (as it seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. Notwithstanding he at last was sent unto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdom.

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The third, who was Nicholas, being but young of years, and newly come from Geneva to his country, for certain money, by means of a lady there dwelling, was caused to be apprehended. When he was condemned and set in a cart, his father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the officers not suffering it, would have struck the old man. The son, crying to the officers, desired them to let his father alone, saying, that his father had power over him to do with him what he would. And going to the place where he should suffer, having a ball of iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the town of Jenvile, where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, A.D. 1558.

The Congregation of Paris persecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, A.D. 1558; by the priests of the college of Plessis; the doctors of Sorbonne; Dr. Demochares; Cenalis, bishop of Auranches; Martin, the king's attorney; the cardinal of Lorraine; Maillard; and lastly, Henry the Second, the French king.

In 1558, the fourth of September, a company of the faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convented at Paris, in a certain house having before it the college of Plessis, in the street of St. James, and behind it the college of Sorbonne, who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lord's supper: but incontinently that was discovered by certain priests of Plessis, who, gathering together such as were of that faction, came to beset the house, and made an outcry, that the watch might come and take them; so that in short time almost all the city of Paris was up in armour, thinking some conspiracy to have been in the city; who then following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood, and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none should escape. The faithful, albeit God had given them leisure to finish their administration and prayers with such quietness as they never had better, seeing the suddenness of the thing, were struck with great fear; who then, being exhorted by the governors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsel of some who knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men who had weapons should adventure through the press. Only the women and children remained in the house, and a few men with them who were less bold than the others, to the number of six or seven score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, who, notwithstanding that the lanes and passages were stopped, and the fires made, did all escape save only one, who was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed. Certain that remained in the house with the women, afterwards leaped into gardens, where they were stayed till the magistrates came. The women, who were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted, seeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the people, went up to the windows, crying, "Mercy!" and showing their innocent intent, required ordinary justice. Thus as they were enclosed about six or seven hours, at last came Martin the king's attorney, with force of commissaries and serjeants, who, with much ado appeasing the outrage of the people, entered into the house; where he, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregation, perceived testimonies sufficient of their innocency, insomuch that in considering thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison within the little castle. I omit here the furious usage of the people by the way, how despitefully they plucked and haled the women, tore their garments, thrust off their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt. Neither were they better treated in prison than they were in the streets; for all

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the villains and thieves there were let out of their holes and stinking caves, and the poor Christians placed in their room.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, followed then (which was worst of all) the cruel and slanderous reports of the friars and priests, who, in their railing-sermons, and other talk, cried out on the Lutherans, persuading the people most falsely, that they assembled together to make a banquet in the night, and there, putting out the candles, they intended to commit most filthy abominations: adding moreover, (to make the lie more likely,) that certain nuns also and monks were with them. Also that they should conspire against the king, and other like heinous crimes, whatsoever their malice could invent for defacing of the gospel. With such-like malicious misreports and slanders, Satan went about to extinguish the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time, accusing the innocent Christians then of incest, conspiracy, killing of infants, putting out of candles, and filthy whoredom, &c. These sinister rumours and cursed defamations were no sooner given out, but they were as soon received, and spread far, not only to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the estates of the court, and even to the king's ears. The cardinal of Lorraine the same time bare a great sway in the court, who then procured a certain judge of the castle to come in, declaring to the king, that he found there lying on the floor of the aforesaid house divers couches and pallets, which they intended to use for evil purposes; also much other furniture and preparation appointed for a sumptuous feast or banquet: wherewith the king was mightily inflamed against them, neither was there any one person that durst contrary it.

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the gospel, with all the friends thereof, was overthrown for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation were among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but, as well as they could, they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private families: secondly, to stop the running bruits of 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: wherein the Christians learnedly and discreetly both cleared themselves of those reports, and showed the malice of their enemies, especially of Satan, who ever, from the beginning of the church, hath gone, and still doth go, about to overrun the right way of the Lord. Declaring further, by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive time, how the nature of the church hath ever been to suffer vexations, and slanderous reports and infamation by the malignant adversaries, &c. And lastly, coming to the king, they craved that their cause might not be condemned, before it had had indifferent hearing, &c.

Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose; forasmuch as the adversaries incontinently denied all that was written to the king, making him to believe, that all were but excuses pretended; neither was there any person that durst reply again. But the other

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apology, to the people, did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumours, and defending the true cause of the gospel. Whereupon certain doctors of Sorbonne began to write both against the apology and the persons, of whom one was called Demochares, who, taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all heretics, cried out for justice, with bills, glaves, fire, and sword.

Another Sorbonist, more bloody than the first, not only exclaimed against them for putting out the candles in their detestable concourses and assemblies, but also accused them as men who maintained that there was no God, and denied the Divinity and humanity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh; and briefly, all the articles of true religion. And thus he charged them without any proof, moving both the king and people, without any form of law, to destroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

The third that wrote against them was Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, who debated the same matter, but with less vehemency than the others, defending impudently, that their assemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the judges because they were no sharper with them, saying, that their softness was the cause why the number of them so much increased. Among other points of his book this one thing he disputeth marvellous pleasantly, touching the signs and marks of the true church; first, presupposing this one thing, which is true, that the true church hath its signs, by the which it may be known from the false church: and thereupon (making no mention at all either of preaching, or ministration of sacraments) thus he inferreth: that their church, which was the catholic church, had bells by which their assemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath claps of harquebusses and pistolets for signs, whereby they (as it is commonly bruited) are wont to congregate together. Upon this supposal, as upon a sure foundation, he grounding his matter, he vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great conquest, and made a long antithesis or comparison, by which he would prove that bells were the mark of the true church. "The bells," said he, "do sound; the harquebusses do crack or thunder. The bells do give a sweet tune and melodious; the signs of the Lutherans make a foul noise and terrible. The bells do open heaven; the others do open hell. Bells chase away clouds and thunder; the others engender clouds, and counterfeit thunder;" with many other properties more, which he brought out to prove that the Church of Rome is the true church, because it hath those bells.

Mark, good reader! the profound reasons and arguments which these great doctors had, either to defend their own church, or to impugn the apologies of the Christians.

Briefly, to finish the residue of this story: as the faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries again with their faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other open places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of those whose religion they hated.

Finally, the seventeenth day of September, commission was directed out by the king, and certain presidents and councillors appointed to oversee the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted gospellers were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom, as anon, Christ willing, you shall hear.

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Henry Pantaleon, partly touching this persecution of the Parisians, referreth the time thereof to A.D. 1557, which the French chronicles do assign to the year 1558; and addeth moreover, that the Germans being at the same time in a certain colloquy at Worms, divers learned men resorted thither from Geneva and other quarters, desiring of the princes and protestants there, that they, by their ambassadors sent to the French king, would become suitors unto him for the innocent prisoners, who, for the cause abovesaid, were detained in bands at Paris. By the means of their intercession, (saith he,) and especially for that the French king was then at war, as God provided, with Philip king of Spain, a great part of the captives were rescued and delivered; albeit certain of the said number were executed before the coming of the German ambassadors, the names and martyrdom of whom hereunder do ensue.

Nicholas Clinet, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by certain priests of the college of Plessis; and by Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist.

Of this godly company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was Nicholas Clinet, of the age of sixty years, who first being a schoolmaster to youth at Saintonge, where he was born, was there pursued, and had his image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where, for his godly conversation, he was made one of the elders or governors of the church. For his age he was suspected of the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chiefest of the Sorbonists, and especially Maillard, whom he did so confute both in the Scriptures, and also in their own Sorbonical divinity, (wherein he had been well exercised and expert,) in the presence of the lieutenant-civil, that the said lieutenant confessed that he never heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Taurin Gravelle, a lawyer, at Paris, A.D. 1558.

Persecuted by Dr. Maillard, a Sorbonist.

Taurin Gravelle first was a student of the law at Toulouse: after that he was made an advocate in the court of Paris: lastly, for his godliness, he was ordained an elder to the said congregation, with Clinet above mentioned. This Taurin, having in his hands the keeping of a certain house of one M. Barthomier, his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of a room, received them into the said house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, albeit he might have escaped with the rest, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would answer for the fact, in receiving the said assembly into the house. The constancy of this man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. Maillard, especially, he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well, even from his youth upwards, that whensoever the said doctor would open his mouth to speak against the saints for their nightly assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts, &c., that neither they who heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious that almost all the children in the streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical doctor shamed not to impeach good men of immorality, for their godly assemblies in the night; whose life was as far from all chastity, as were their holy assemblies clear from all impurity. In fine, these two godly elders, in cruel pains of the fire, finished their martyrdom.

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Philippe de Luns, a gentlewoman, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the lieutenant-civil; Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist; Mosnier, lieutenant; evil neighbours; Bertrand, lord-keeper of the seal, and cardinal of Sens; and the marquis of Trane.

Next unto these abovesaid, was brought out Mme. Philippe, gentlewoman, of the age of twenty-three years. She came first from the parts of Gascony with her husband, who was lord of Graveron, unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband also had been a senior or elder; who, in the month of May before, was taken with an ague, and deceased, leaving this Philippe a widow, who nevertheless ceased not to serve the Lord in his church, and also in the house was taken with the said company. Many conflicts she had with the judges and the Sorbonists, especially Maillard; but she always sent him away with the same reproach as the others did before, and bade him, "Avaunt wretch!" saying she would not answer one word to such a villain. To the judges her answer was this: that she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and in the same would live and die. And being demanded whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament: "How is that possible," said she, "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 seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and that twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their infant to be baptized, for it was baptized in the church of the Lord. Among her other neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germain in the suburbs; between whom, incontinent, arose a strife, wherein one of them struck the other with a knife. The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened of the lord-keeper of the seal, Bertrand, cardinal of Sens, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Trane, for to have the confiscation of her goods.

These three holy martyrs above recited, were condemned on the twenty-seventh of September, by the process of the commissioners and the lieutenant-civil: and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them, but their valiant constancy remained unmovable. After that they were had out of their prison, and sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever cried by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the verity of God. And being asked of a doctor, whether he would believe St. Austin, touching certain matters? he said, "Yea;" and that he had said nothing but what he would prove by his authority.

The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said, that she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain councillors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden cross, according to the custom of them that go to their death, alleging how Christ commanded every one to bear his cross, she answered, "My lords!" said she, "you make me in very deed to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of."

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Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and showed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he passed for his condemnation; and being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned, "I see well," said he, "that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not." And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would return, he said, that was not so contained in the arrest, and therefore he was unwilling to grant unto it; but afterward, perceiving the same so to be agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent spake plainly these words: "I pray you pray to God for me."

The gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: "Seeing I do not stick to give my body, shall I stick to give my tongue? No, no." And so these three, having their tongues cut out, were brought to Maulbert Place. The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groanings to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection by praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, which neither changed countenance nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in mourning weed, after 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 going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse Jesus Christ. And thus these three, with singular constancy, were burned: Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philippe, the gentlewoman, was strangled, after she had a little tasted the flame with her feet and visage; and so she ended her martyrdom.

Nicholas Cene and Peter Gabart, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Their persecutors: the lieutenant, Dr. Maillard, councillors, and friars.

Of the same company was also Nicholas Cene, a physician, brother to Philip Cene above mentioned, and martyred at Dijon, and Peter Gabart; which two, about five or six days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, on the second of October.

Nicholas Cene was but newly come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the assembly which then was congregated in the street of St. James; and (as he desired nothing more than to hear the word of God) came thither even as he was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy gospel unto death.

The other was Peter Gabart, a solicitor of processes, about the age of thirty years, whose constancy did much comfort the prisoners. He was put among a great number of scholars in the little castle, whom when he heard to pass the time in talking of philosophy, "No, no," said he, "let us forget these worldly matters, and learn how to sustain the heavenly cause of our God, which lies here in defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour." And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of Christian doctrine, as well as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but only studied divinity; and yet was he but very simply learned. Then was he sent from them apart to another prison, full of filthy stench and vermin; where, notwithstanding, he ceased not to sing psalms, that the others might well hear him. He had a nephew in prison by, being but a child, of whom he asked what he had said to the judges? He

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said, that he was constrained to do reverence to a crucifix, painted. "O thou naughty boy!" said he, "have not I taught thee the commandments of God? Knowest thou not how it is written, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," &c. And so began to expound to him the commandments; whereunto he gave good attention.

In their examinations, many questions were propounded by the doctors and friars, touching matters both of religion, and also to know of them what gentlemen and gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the sacrament: whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other brethren from blame, saying that they would live and die in what they had said and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they perceived that the judges had intended, that if they would relent, they should be strangled; if not, they should burn alive, and their tongues be cut from them: which torments being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his tongue; whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawn out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of St. Germain; whom the people in rage and madness followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves upon them, maugre the hangmen. The cruelty of their death was such as hath not lightly, been seen; for they were holden long in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed saints ceased not in all these torments to turn up their eyes to heaven, and to show forth infinite testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles at the same time also were burnt.

Upon the sight of this cruelty, the friends of the other prisoners who remained behind, fearing the tyranny of these judges, presented certain causes of refusal against the said judges, requiring other commissioners to be placed. But the king, being hereof advertised by his solicitor, sent out his letters patent, commanding the said causes of refusal to be frustrated, and willed the former judges to proceed, all other lets and obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding: and that the presidents should have power to choose to them other councillors, according to their own arbitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent; amongst whom also the said solicitor was received, instead of the king's procurator, to pursue the process. By these letters patent it was decreed, that these stubborn Sacramentaries (as they were called) should be judged accordingly, save only that they should not proceed to the execution, before the king were advertised. These letters aforesaid stirred up the fire of this persecution not a little, for that the judges at this refusal took great indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding so it pleased God, that a young man, a German, called Albert Hartung, born in the country of Brandenburg, and godson to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, by the king's commandment was delivered, through the importunate suit of the said marquis.

Frederic Danville, and Francis Rebezies, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecutors: two presidents, twenty-five councillors, the lieutenant-civil, doctors, friars, Sorbonists, Benedict, Jacobin, Demochares, and Maillard.

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Mention was made above of certain young scholars and students who were in the little castle with Peter Gabart. Of the which number of scholars were these two, Frederic Danville and Francis Rebezies, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbonne, their own letters left in writing do make record; the effect whereof briefly to touch is this: and first touching Frederic Danville.

The lieutenant-civil, who before was half suspected, but now, thinking to prove himself a right catholic, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture, "Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father," &c.: that done, he asked him what he thought of the sacrament. To whom Frederic answered, that if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the priest's hands after the sacramental words, (as they call them,) then should he believe a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which saith that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father: also to the testimony of the angels, who spake both of the ascending of Christ, and of his coming down again. After this he questioned with him touching invocation of saints, purgatory, &c., whereunto he answered so that he rather did astonish the enemies, than satisfy them.

Furthermore, on the twelfth of September, the said Frederic again was brought before Benedict Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, called Nos-ter Magister; who thus began to argue with him.

The doctor. "What think you to be the true church, the church of the protestants, or the church of Paris?"

The martyr. "I recognise that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his apostles."

Doctor. "And is the church, think you, of Geneva such a one as you speak of?"

The martyr. "I so judge it to be."

Doctor. "And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?"

The martyr. "Yea, if you will prove it by the Scripture."

Doctor. "Or will you believe St. Austin and other holy doctors innumerable?"

The martyr. "Yea, so they dissent not from the Scripture and the word of God."

Doctor. "By the authority of St. Austin the church is there where is the succession of bishops; whereunto I frame this argument: There is the church, where is the perpetual succession of bishops: in the church of Paris is such succession of bishops: ergo, the church of Paris is the true church."

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The martyr. "To your major I answer, that if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true bishops indeed, who truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, such bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments duly administered, and not in the church of Paris. But otherwise, if St. Austin mean the succession of false bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's word, so is the same in no wise to be granted."

Doctor. "Calvin is there by his own thrusting in, and only by the choosing of the people."

The martyr. "And that soundeth more for him to be of God's divine election, forasmuch as by him the gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no man shall bring me."

After this disceptation, the ninth of the same month came against him another doctor with two Sorbonists, who bringing forth a scroll out of his bosom, pretended that a certain scholar, coming from Geneva, made his confession, wherein was contained, that in receiving of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the same confession.

The martyr. "Whatsoever I have said unto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word *really*, I know right well, that they of Geneva do not take it for any carnal presence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination."

Doctor. "I marvel much that you so refuse the word *really*, and use only *spiritually*, seeing that Calvin himself doth use the same word *really*."

The martyr. "Calvin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do."

Doctor. "What say you of confession auricular?"

The martyr. "The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, that I take it for a plantation, not planted by God in his word."

Doctor. "The Almain, in their confession which they sent to our king to be approved, have these words: We do not reject auricular confession; for it is a gospel secret and privy. And also Melancthon, in his Book of Common Places, doth call it *Evangelium Secretum*."

Another time the said Frederic was called again before the lords, the twentieth of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain questions, as where he was born, and whether he had heard in his country at Oleron, that M. Gerard, the bishop there, did sing mass. "Yea," said he. "And why do not you also," said they, "receive the same?" He answered, "Because he did it, to retain and keep his bishopric." The martyr, for lack of paper, could proceed herein no further.

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The examinations of the aforesaid Francis Rebezies.

Rebezies had three sundry examinations: the first with the lieutenant-civil; the second with the presidents and the councillors; the third with the friars. First, the lieutenant, inquiring of his name, country, and parents, asked whether he was at the communion, whether he received with them the bread and wine, and whether he was a servitor to M. Nicholas Cene, senior of the congregation? Whereunto he said, "Yea." Also whether he was a distributor of the tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied.

Then he was brought into the council chamber, before two presidents, and twenty-five councillors; who, after other questions about his country and parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered, Yea. What he had to do there? To hear the word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst, or would enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was, (said he,) that he knew there two or three. Who were they? M. Gravelle, Clinet, and John Sansot, feigning that name of himself. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to resort unto their beautified temples, to hear mass, or whether he did not take the mass to be a holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up of the devil. Whether he did not acknowledge purgatory? Yea, that purgatory, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the whole world. The death of Christ is the principal thing, (said they,) but thou must also believe another. Alas, (said he,) can we never content ourselves with the simplicity of the gospel, but man always will be putting to something of his own brain: in so many places of the Scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as John i., Apocalypse v., Hebrews ix., Isaiah xliii., where the Lord himself saith, that it is he, who, for his own sake, putteth away our iniquities, &c. As St. Paul also saith, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, &c. And on the contrary, when they objected the words of the parable, Thou shalt not come out till thou hast paid the last farthing: to this he answered, that the words of that parable had no such relation, but to matters civil; and this word "until" meaneth there, as much as never.

After that he was charged there by one, for reading the books of Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The president asked, if he were not afraid to be burned as were the others before, and to bring his parents into such dishonour? He answered, that he knew well, that all who would live godly in Christ Jesus should suffer persecution; and that to him either to live or to die were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his parents, Christ himself (said he) doth premonish, that whosoever loveth father or mother more than him, is not worthy to be his, &c. "Jesus Maria!" said the president, "what youth are these now-a-days, who cast themselves so headlong into the fire!" And so was he commanded away.

Thirdly, He was brought before Benet, master of the doctors of Sorbonne, and another called Jacobin, on the fourteenth of October; where he chancing to speak of the Lord, the doctor began thus to object as followeth:

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The doctor. "See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the pronoun, our. So may the devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face."

The martyr. "The devils call the Lord in such sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the adulteress before him, and called him master; yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his disciples: whose case I trust is nothing like to ours, which know, and confess (as we speak) him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do."

Doctor. "I know well you hold the church to be, where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments are sincerely administered, according as they are left by Christ and his apostles."

The martyr. "That do I believe, and in that will I live and die."

Doctor. "Do you not believe that whosoever is without that church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?"

The martyr. "Whosoever doth separate himself from that church, to make either sect, part, or division, cannot obtain, as you say."

Doctor. "Now let us consider two churches, the one wherein the word is rightly preached, and the two sacraments are administered accordingly as they be left unto us: the other, wherein the word and sacraments be used contrarily. Which of these two ought we to believe?"

The martyr. "The first."

Doctor. "Well said. Next is now to speak of the gifts given to the said church: as the power of the keys, and confession for remission of sins after we be confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the same church truly administered, as they be here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is ministered, and the gospel is truly preached."

The martyr. "Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole commonalty of Christians. And as concerning the power of the keys, and your confession, I believe, that for the remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but only to God, as we read in 1 John i., If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to pardon our offences, and he will purge us from all our iniquities, &c. Also in the prophet David, in the nineteenth and thirty-second Psalms: I have opened my sin unto thee," &c.

Doctor. "Should I not believe that Christ, in the time of his apostles, gave to them power to remit sins?"

The martyr. "The power that Christ gave to his apostles, if it be well considered, is nothing disagreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to say (which I here confess) that the Lord gave to his apostles to preach the word, and so to remit sins by the same word."

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Doctor. "Do you then deny auricular confession?"

The martyr. "Yea, verily I do."

Doctor. "Ought we to pray to saints?"

The martyr. "I believe no."

Doctor. "Tell me what I shall ask, Jesus Christ being here upon the earth? Was he not then as well sufficient to hear the whole world, and to be intercessor for all, as he is now?"

The 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 do the same as well now also?"

The martyr. "So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministry, and prayed one for another, as needing human succours together; but now, they being in paradise, all the prayer that they make, is this: that they wish that they who be yet on earth, may attain to their felicity; but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we must have recourse only to his Son."

Doctor. "If one man have such charge to pray for another, may not he then be called an intercessor?"

The martyr. "I grant."

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 an intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so ought we verily to believe."

The martyr. "You understand not, sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then shall we never be able to stand in his sight: for if he shall look upon us, he can see nothing but sin; and if the heavens be not pure in his eyes, what shall be thought then of man, so abominable and unprofitable, who drinketh iniquity like water, as Job doth say?"

Then the other friar, seeing his fellow to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth.

Doctor. "Nay, 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 them which have their recourse unto his saints."

The martyr. "Sir, we must not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth: For this is the trust that we have in him, that if we demand any thing after his will, he will hear us."

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Doctor. "As no man cometh to the presence of an earthly king, or prince, without means made by some about him; so, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above," &c.

The 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."

Then they came to speak of adoration, which the said Rebezies disproved by the Scripture, Acts x. xiii. xiv.; Apocalypse xix. xxii: Hebrews x. xii.: where is to be noted, that where the martyr alleged the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews; the doctors answered, that it was in the eleventh chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the eleventh, nor in the twelfth, but in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts. So well seen were these doctors in their divinity.

Doctor. "Touching the mass, what say you? believe you not that when the priest hath consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample sort, as he was, hanging upon the cross?"

The martyr. "No, verily; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth by Hebrews x., 1 Cor. xv., Colossians iii. And therefore (to make short with you) I hold your mass for none other, but for a false and counterfeited service, set up by Satan, and retained by his ministers, by the which you do annihilate the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own body; and you know right well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated."

Doctor. "You deceive yourselves in the word reiteration, for we do not reiterate it so as you think; as by example I will show. You see me now in this religious garment; but if I should put upon me a soldier's weed, then should I be disguised, and yet for all that I should remain the same still within my doublet, that I was before in my friar's weed. So is it with the sacrifice: we confess and grant, that *naturaliter*, that is, naturally, he was once offered in sacrifice; and also in sitting, *naturaliter*, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; but *supernaturaliter, et subscriptive*, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration. *Supernaturaliter* we sacrifice him; but that sacrifice is only disguised, to understand that he is contained under that curtain and whiteness which you see."

The martyr. "Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice is a diabolical sacrifice; and this you may take for a resolution."

Doctor. "And how is your belief touching the holy supper?"

The martyr. "That if it be ministered unto me by the minister, in such usage as it hath been left of Christ and his apostles; preaching also the word purely withal; I believe that, in receiving the material bread and wine, I receive with lively faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ spiritually."

Doctor. "Say corporally."

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The martyr. "No, sir, for his words be spirit and life; and let this content you."

Doctor. "What say you, Is it lawful for a priest to marry?"

The martyr. "I believe it to be lawful for him, in such sort as the apostle saith, Whosoever hath not the gift of continency, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn. And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of bishops and elders, 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i."

And thus these doctors, affirming that he denied priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, "God have mercy on you!" "So be it," said he.

After this, about the twenty-second of October, the said Rebezies and Frederic Danville, were brought up to a chamber in the castle, to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the congregation; in which chamber they found three councillors, who thus began with them: "Lift up thy hand. Thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image here thou seest" (showing him a great marmoset there painted on paper); whereunto Rebezies answered, "Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart." "Why dost not thou swear to us," said the councilors, "as we say unto thee?" "Because," said he, "it is a great blasphemy against the Lord." Then the councillors read their depositions, and, first beginning with Rebezies, said: "Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of this assembly?" Rebezies named, as he did before, Gravel, Clinet, (which were already burnt,) and John Sansot. To whom they said, that the court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should 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, and being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary. But he neither would 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 in the air, he began to cry, "Come, Lord! and show thy strength, that man do not prevail," &c. But they cried, "Tell truth, Francis! and thou shalt be let down."

Nevertheless he continued still in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the councillors said, "Wilt thou say nothing else?" "I have nothing else," said he, "to say." And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire-side. Who, being loosed, said to them, "Do you handle thus the poor servants of God?" And the like was done to Frederic Danville also, his companion, (who at the same time was also very sick,) of whom they could have no other answer but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his servants, as ever he did any else, as by their own letters and confession it doth appear.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture unto their fellow prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederic did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, why he so did? he said, it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. "Notwithstanding," said he, "be strong, brethren! and be not afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, who hath succoured us, and also will comfort you." Rebezies with the rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one

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side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, there he wrote his confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried twice or thrice together, "Away from me, Satan!" Frederic, being in bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether Satan would stop him of his course? Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his parents; "but by the grace of God," said he, "he shall do nothing against me."

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the councillors, and required to show what fellows they had more of the said assembly: which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, 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 afterwards be strangled; and so be turned into ashes.

Afterwards came the friars and doctors, Demochares, Maillard, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a cross to kiss, which they refused. Then Demochares by force made Rebezies to kiss it whether he would or no, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the sacrament. "What," said Frederic, "will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of the Father?" Demochares said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any miracles, as the apostles and other holy martyrs did. Frederic asked them, if they required any miracle?" No," said they; and so stood mute, save only that Demochares prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. Maillard also added, that he would gage his soul to be damned, but it was true. Frederic answered, that he knew it was contrary.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. "Let God," saith they, "reign alone." The people standing by, "Ali mischievous Lutheran!" said they. "Nay, a true Christian I am," said he. When they were tied to their stakes, after their prayers made, when they were bid to be despatched, one of them comforting the other, said, "Be strong, my brother! be strong Satan, away from us!" As they were thus exhorting, one standing by said, "These Lutherans do call upon Satan." One John Morel, (who afterwards died a martyr,) then standing by at liberty, answered, "I pray you let us hear," said he, "what they say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God." Whereupon the people listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their mouths being stopped could utter, "Assist us, O Lord." And so they, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdom.

After the martyrdom of these two abovesaid, the intention of the judges was to despatch the rest one after another in like sort, and had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain gentlewoman, then prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of exceptions or refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the enemies was stayed to the month of July following. In the mean time, as this persecution was spread into other countries, first the faithful cantons of the Switzers 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. The same time also came letters from the county palatine, elector,

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tending to the same end, to solicit the king for them. The king, standing the same time 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 for that time ceased. 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; of whom some shrunk back; others, being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the official to make their confession, and to receive absolution ordinary. Divers made their confession ambiguous and doubtful, &c.

Rena Seau and John Almarick, at Paris. A.D. 1558.

These two young men were also of the company above specified, and were in prison, where they sustained such cruelty, being almost racked to death, that Almarick could not go when he was called to the court to be judged. And being upon the rack, he rebuked their cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, who came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no dolour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure confession of Christ's church.

John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, Peter Bourdon, Andrew de Fou, in the country of Brasil, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by Villegaignon, a French captain.

Mention is made in the French story of one Villegaignon, lieutenant for the French king, who made a voyage into the land of Brasil with certain French ships, and took an island nearly to the same adjoining, and made therein a fortress. After they had been there a while, Villegaignon (for lack of victuals, as he pretended) sent certain of them away in a ship to the river Plata, towards the pole antarctic, a thousand miles off. In this ship were these four here mentioned; who, forsaking their ship by occasion of tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the land of Brasil, and afterwards to their own countrymen. Villegaignon, being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his leave. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false suspicion and vain dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had been sent as privy spies by the Brasilians, because they came from them, and had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under some colour of treason: but the cause was religion. For albeit sometime he had been a professor of the gospel, yet afterwards, growing to some dignity, he fell to be an apostate, and cruel persecutor of his fellows. But when no proof or conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he, knowing them to be earnest protestants, drew out certain articles of religion for them to answer, and so entrapping them upon their confession, he laid them in irons and in prison, and secretly with one executioner and his page, he took one after another, beginning with John Bordel, and first brought him to the top of a rock, and there being half strangled, without any judgment threw him into the sea; and after the like manner, ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murdered and drowned; to wit, John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, and Peter Bourdon. The fourth, who was Andrew de Fou, he caused by manifold allurements somewhat to incline to his sayings, and so he escaped the danger; not without great offence taken of a great part of the Frenchmen in that country.

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Geneva

Geffery Varagle, at Turin, in Piedmont, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the king's lieutenant.

In the same year, 1558, suffered also Geffery Varagle, preacher in the valley of Angrogne, at the town of Turin, in Piedmont, who first was a monk, and said mass the space of seven and twenty years. Afterwards, returning from Buske toward Angrogne to preach, as he had used before to do, sent by the ministers of Geneva, and other faithful brethren, was apprehended in the town of Bruges, and brought before the king's lieutenant; where he was questioned with, touching divers articles of religion: as of justification, works of supererogation, free-will, predestination, confession, satisfaction, indulgences, images, purgatory, the pope, &c. Whereunto he answered again in writing, with such learning and reason, alleging against the pope's own distinctions, that, as the story reporteth, the court of Turin, marvelling at his learning, condemned him more for reproach of shame, than upon true opinion grounded on judgment. When he was brought to the place of execution, the people which stood by and heard him speak, declared openly, that they saw no cause why he should die. A certain old companion of his, a priest, calling him by his name, "Master Geffery," desired him to convert from his opinions: to whom he patiently answered again, desiring him, that he would convert from his condition. And

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thus after he had made his prayer unto God, and had forgiven his executioner, and all his enemies, he was first strangled, and then burned. In the aforesaid story, relation is made moreover, concerning the said Geffery, that at the time of his burning a dove was seen, as was credibly reported of many, flying and fluttering divers times about the fire; testifying, as was thought, the innocency of this holy martyr of the Lord. But the story addeth, that upon such things we must not stay: and so concludeth he the martyrdom of this blessed man.

Benet Romaine, a mercer or haberdasher, at Draguignan in Provence, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by Lanteaume Blanc; De Lauris, councillor and son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the cruel persecutor; Anthony Revest, the lieutenant; Barbosi, judge-ordinary of Draguignan; Joachim Partavier, the king's advocate; Caval and Cavalieri, consuls; the official; Gasper Siguire, officer in Draguignan; and also a friar observant.

The lamentable story of Benet Romaine is described at large among other French martyrs, by John Crispine, printer: the brief recital whereof here followeth. This Benet, having wife and children at Geneva, to get his living used to go about the country with certain mercenary ware, having cunning also, amongst other things, how to dress corals. As he was coming toward Marseilles, and passed by the town of Draguignan, he happened upon one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc, who, being desirous to have of his corals, and could not agree for the price, also knowing that he was one of Geneva, went to a councillor of the court of Aix; being then at Draguignan, whose name was De Lauris, son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the great persecutor against Merindol, &c. This De Lauris, consulting together with the aforesaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certain of his coral which he saw to be very fair, and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred crowns, incontinent after his departing from him, he sent to the officer of the town to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the world. Thus when he was arrested for the king's prisoner, Blanc and his fellows, which, sought nothing but only the prey, were ready to seize on his goods; and likewise of the other two men whom he hired to bear his merchandise. Then were these three poor men separated asunder, and Romaine examined before the consuls, and the king's advocate, and other councillors, where he kept his Easter? whether he received at the same Easter? whether he was confessed before, and fasted the Lent. Also he was bid to say his Pater Noster, the Creed, and Ave Maria; which two first he did, but refused to say Ave Maria. Then was he asked for worshipping of saints, women-saints and men-saints, and when he heard mass? He said, he would worship none but God alone: mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would. Whereupon he was committed to a stinking and loathsome place, with iron chains upon his legs. De Lauris thus having his will upon the poor man, sent for the lieutenant, named Anthony Revest, told him what he had done, and willed him to see the prisoner. The lieutenant, being angry, that he did so usurp upon his office, denied to go with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy savour of the place. Notwithstanding, the same day the lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romaine to come before him, of whom he inquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and the cause of his coming; also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom he answered again simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his conscience; and thereunto, being required, (because he could not write,) he put to his mark. After this confession being thrice made, and his answer taken, certain faithful brethen of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seek means to

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escape out from his enemies, which sought nothing but his death; and showed unto him what he should say unto the lieutenant. But he refused so to do, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.

The fame of his constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi, a man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to see him, and asked, "What, do they believe," said he, "in any God in Geneva?" Romaine looking upon him, "What art thou," said he, "that so wretchedly dost blaspheme?" "I am," said he, "the judge-ordinary of this place." "And who hath put thee," said Romaine, "such a gross and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be infidels, and no Christians? And if the devils themselves do confess a God, suppose you that they of Geneva do deny their God? No! no! we believe in God, we invoke his name, and repose all our trust in him," &c. Barbosi took such grief with this, departing from Romaine, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.

The lieutenant then being urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this Barbosi and other, prepared to proceed in judgment against him, taking to him such judges and advocates as the order there required. There was at the same time an Observant Friar, who had there preached all the Lent. He, being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian burned, and seeing the judges intentive about the business, to set the matter forward, said, that he would go and say mass of the Holy Ghost, to illuminate their intents to have the said Romaine condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured Caval and Cavalieri, the consuls, to threaten the lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the high court of parliament, if he would not after that sort condemn him to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Christians of the said town, fearing lest by his racking danger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romaine again in the prison certain instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God: but when the lieutenant came, the poor man forgot his instructions; so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtleties of this world.

When the time came that the judges were set, and the process should be read, Barbosi, with other whom the friar had procured, had agreed before, that he should be fired alive, and put to the rack, to disclose his fellows, and also gagged, that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the advocates, (albeit a man wholly superstitious,) seeing the rage of the others, gave contrary advice, saying, that he should be sent home again, for that he was a town-dweller of Geneva, neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books, or had they any informations against him; and that which he had spoken, was a thing constrained by his oath, forced by the justice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other but as other young men did follow, which were either of the one part, or of the other; and therefore that here remained no more, but only the lieutenant to give his verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and also because the lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew near, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The Friar Observant in this mean while was not idle, inciting still the consuls and the people, who, at the ringing of a bell being assembled together with the official and the priests in a great rout, came crying to the lieutenant to burn the heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his family; and in semblable wise did the same to the other judges and advocates: the official moreover added, that if it were not better seen unto than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and so shut up their church doors, that no man should enter in. Then, because the lieutenant would not take to him other judges after

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their minds, in all post-haste the people contributed together, that at their own charge the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix, and so compelled the lieutenant to bring the process unto judgment, every man crying, "To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned!!"

The lieutenant, being not able otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix, and so he did. They, hearing the information of the cause, commanded the lieutenant and the other judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the process and the prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Draguignan, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent out to the parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was sent down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined to take unto him such ancient advocates, as their old order required, and to certify them again within eight days. And so Romaine, by the sentence of those old judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled, and before the execution, to be put upon the rack, to the intent he should disclose the rest of his company; from the which sentence Romaine then appealed, saying that he was no heretic. Whereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the Commandments as he passed by the town of Draguignan: which when the king's advocate did see, looking out of his window, he said unto him, that he was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him; Romaine answered again, and said, "God will judge us all in the last day of judgment." After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the councillors, before whom he remained no less constant and firm than before. Then was a fumish friar sent, who, being three hours with him, and could not remove him, came out to the lords, and said that he was damned: by reason whereof, the sentence given before his condemnation was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At this return again from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes unto the curates, that they should signify unto their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come; also caused to be cried through the town by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market-place, to burn the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday, the sixteenth of May, the poor servant of God was first brought to the rack or torture, where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, irons, and weights, to terrify him. Then, said they, he must utter his complices, and renounce his religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, that he had no other accomplices nor companions, neither would he hold any other faith but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the town, or in the province to be of his faith? He said, No. Item, What he had to do in that town? He said, To sell his coral. Item, Who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the gin or rack, where he, being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but that he would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead; for which they sent him to the barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, were afraid lest he had been past, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So, after they had essayed him by priests and friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the hangman to bear him, all

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broken and dismembered as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron which was let down upon the faggots. Romaine, seeing himself to be alone lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say Ave Maria: which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these anguishes the meek saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead; but so soon as they descended down from the wood, he began to pray to God again in such sort as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great friar, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the wood unto him, to admonish him. Romaine thought at first that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech; but afterwards when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romaine lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great temptation. Then a certain father, a warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out and said, "He blasphemeth! he blasphemeth! he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary!" Whereat Barbosi cried, "Stop his mouth, let him be gagged!" The people cried, "To the fire! let him be burned!" Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. Romaine still remained hanging in the air till he died. When all his nether parts were burnt well near, he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips, without any cry: and so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God!

Of this assembly there were divers judgments and sundry bruits. Some said, that if good men had been about him, it had gone better with him; and that those priests and monks which were about him, were whoremasters and infamous.

Others said, that he had wrong, and that a hundred of that company there were, who more deserved death than he, especially among those who condemned him. Other went away marvelling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished of this valiant and thrice blessed martyr-and servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God.

Francis Civaux, at Dijon, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the convent of the Jacobin Friars at Dijon, and a priest of that place.

This Francis Civaux was secretary to the French ambassador here in England in Queen Mary's time, who afterwards, being desirous to hear the word of God, went to Geneva. Also he was placed to be secretary to the senate or council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year. Having then certain business, he came to Dijon.

There was the same time a priest that preached at Dijon such doctrine, that the said Francis, being worthily offended thereat, came friendly unto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, showing by the Scriptures how and where he had erred. The priest excused himself, that he was not so well instructed to dispute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man, whom he knew there in the town, and desired the said Francis to go with him to breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in conference together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest incontinent went to the Jacobin Friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the breakfast time Francis there unawares should be apprehended.

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When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin Friar, who, pretending much fair friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a breakfast with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content, and to prepare himself the better to that conflict, sat up almost all the night writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis with his fellow were preparing themselves toward the breakfast, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the justice of the town, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was standing at the justice's door, the companion of Francis, seeing the friar there stand, began to mistrust with himself, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the friar. Moreover, the same night Francis had in his dream, that the said friar should commit him to the justice. But he, either not caring for his dreams, or else not much caring for the danger, committed himself to the hands of God, and went. As they were together disputing in the convent of the Jacobins, Francis, thus betrayed of the priest, was apprehended by the officers, carried to prison, and within seven days after, being Saturday before the nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned. And as touching the fellow and companion of this Francis above mentioned, he was also apprehended with him, and put in prison; but because he was but a young novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

Peter Arondeau, at Paris, A.D. 1559. His persecutors were the priests of Rochelle, Manroy a priest, the lieutenant of Rochelle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and two presidents, to wit, Magister and St. Andre.

The town of Rochelle, as it is a place of great commodity because of the sea, so was it not inferior to other good towns in France, for nourishing and supporting the holy assemblies of the Lord. Unto the which town, about A.D. 1559, resorted one Peter Arondeau, a man of base condition, with a little packet of mercery ware there to sell: who there, being known to join himself to the church and congregation of the faithful, was demanded of certain ministers of antichrist, whether he would go to hear mass or no? He said, that he had been there too oft to his great grief; and that since the time that the Lord had taken the veil from his eyes, he knew the mass to be abominable, forged in the shop of the enemy of all mankind. They to whom he thus answered were priests; amongst whom was one named Manroy, who, taking the others there present for witnesses, brought him straight to the lieutenant. The deposition being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his body should be attached. And although by one of his friends he was admonished to save himself, and to avoid the danger, yet he ceased not to put himself into his enemy's hands; and so was led prisoner. As he was in prison, many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only them which came to comfort him, but also the others who were there prisoners with him. The priests left no diligence unsought to stir up the lieutenant, which was of himself too much inflamed in such matters.

Arondeau, after many interrogations, and threatening words, and also fair promises of his pardon, still continued one man. Then the lieutenant seeing his constancy, condemned him to death. Arondeau, praising God for his grace given, did not a little rejoice that he might suffer in that quarrel, and in token of rejoicing, did sing a psalm, being fully resolved to accept the said condemnation, without any appeal. But his friends, not pleased with his resolution, came to him; and so persuaded with him not to give his life so good cheaply over to his enemies' hands, that he

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was turned from that, and made his appeal. The appeal being entered, the lieutenant, seeking to gratify the adversaries of the gospel, and especially the cardinal of Lorraine, secretly, by the backside of the town, and out of the highway, conveyed the poor prisoner unto Paris; who, being brought unto Paris by privy journeys, as is said, was put into prison, committed to the custody of two presidents, to wit, Magister, and St. Andre; by the means of whom the sentence of the lieutenant was confirmed, and also put in execution the fifteenth day of November, in the year abovesaid; on the which day the said Arondeau was burned quick at the place called St. John, in Greve, at Paris. The constancy heroical which God gave him, and wherein he endured victorious unto death, was a mirror or glass of patience unto M. Anne du Bourge, councillor in the parliament of Paris, and to divers others then prisoners; and was to them a preparation toward the like death, which shortly after they suffered.

Not long after the happy end of this blessed martyr, the aforementioned Manroy, which was the principal accuser and party against him, was struck with a disease called apoplexia, and thereupon suddenly died.

By this, and many other such-like examples, the mighty judgment of God most evidently may appear; who, albeit commonly he doth use to begin his judgment with his own household in this world, yet neither do his adversaries themselves always escape the terrible hand of his justice.

Also the lord lieutenant which was his condemner tarried not long after the priest, but he was arrested personally to appear before the king's council, through the procurement of a certain gentleman of Poland, called Anthony de l'Eglise, against whom the said lieutenant had given false and wrong judgment before; by reason whereof the aforesaid gentleman so instantly did pursue him before the lords of the council, that all the extortions and pollings of the lieutenant were there openly discovered, and so he condemned to pay to the gentleman a thousand French crowns of the sum, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Also he was deposed of his office, and there declared unworthy to exercise any royal office hereafter for ever, with infamy and shame perpetual.

Thomas Moutard, at Valenciennes, A.D. 1559.
Persecuted by a priest of that town.

In the town of Valenciennes, not far from France, in the same year, which was 1559, in the month of October, suffered Thomas Moutard; who, first being converted from a disordered life to the knowledge of the gospel, is to us a spectacle of God's great gracious mercy toward his elected Christians. This Moutard was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus: That his god of the host was nothing but an abomination, which abused the people of God. These words were taken first as spoken in drunkenness; but the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no, he said, "Yea; for it is an abuse," said he, "to seek Jesus Christ any otherwhere than in heaven, sitting at the glory and right hand of God his Father: and in this he was ready to live and die." His process being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But, as he was carried from the town-house to the place of punishment, it was never seen a man with such constancy to be so assured in heart, and so to rejoice at that great honour which God had called him unto. The

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hangman hasted as much as was possible, to bind him, and despatch him. The martyr, in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, cried to the Lord that he would have mercy on his soul; and so in great integrity of faith and perseverance, he gave up his life to God.

This Dutch story should have gone before with the Dutch martyrs; but seeing Valenciennes is not far distant from France, it is not much out of order to adjoin the same with the French martyrs; who, at length, shall be joined altogether in the kingdom of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly. Amen!

Thus have we (through the assistance of the Lord) deduced the table of the French, and also of the Dutch martyrs, unto the time and reign of Queen Elizabeth, that is, to the year 1560. Since the which time divers also have suffered both in France and in the lower country of Germany; whose story shall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of Queen Elizabeth. In the mean season, it shall suffice for this present to insert their names only, which here do follow.

The residue of the French martyrs.

Anne du Bourge, councillor of Paris; Andrew Coffier, John Isabeau, John Indet, martyrs, of Paris; Geffery Guerien, John Morel, John Barbeville, Peter Chevet, Malin Marie, Margarite Rich, Adrian Daussi, Giles le Court, Philip Parmentier, Marin Rosseau, Peter Milot, John Berfoy: besides the tumult of Amboise, and the persecution of Vassy; also Austin Marlorat, and Master Mutonis.

The residue of the Dutch martyrs.

James de Lo, of the isle of Flanders; John de Buissons, at Antwerp; Peter Petit, John Denys, Guymon Guilmein, Simeon Herme, of the Isle of Flanders: John de Lannoy, at Tournay; Andrew Michel, a Mind man, at Tournay; Francis Varlut, at Tournay; Alexander Dayken, of Bramcastle; William Cornu, in Hainault; Anthony Caron, of Cambray; Renaudine de Francville. Certain suffered at Tournay: Michel Robilert, of Arras; Nicaise de le Totnbe; Roger du Mont.

To the catalogue of French martyrs above rehearsed, the story of Merindol and Cabriers, with the lamentable handling of them, is also to be annexed. But because the tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a short discourse, therefore we have deferred the same to a more convenient room, after the table here following next of the Spanish and Italian martyrs, where better opportunity shall be given to prosecute more at full that tragical persecution, the Lord so permitting.

151. Martyrs in Spain



A Martyr Hung over a Fire

A table of such martyrs, as, for the cause of religion, suffered in Spain

Franciscus San Romanus, at Burgos, in Spain. Persecuted by certain Spanish merchants in Antwerp, and also by the friars of that city.

In the year 1540 this Francis was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Bremen, to take up money due, to be paid by certain merchants there; where he, being at a sermon, hearing Master Jacobus (prior some time of the Austin Friars of Antwerp) preach, was so touched and drawn, through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit having no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but also coming to the preacher, and accompanying him home, (all his other worldly business set apart,) there recited the whole contents of his sermon, every thing (as they said, which heard the said minister of Bremen preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taste, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, that in short space he was grown in great towardness and ripe knowledge in the word of life. The minister, marvelling at the sudden mutation of the man, and also seeing the vehemency of his zeal joined withal, began to exhort him how to temper himself

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with circumspection and discretion, still more and more instructing him in the word and knowledge of the gospel, which he so greedily did receive, as one that could never be satisfied; and so remained he with the minister three days together, committing his worldly business, and the message that he was sent for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch books as he could get to read; and again, read the same so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by Master Jacobus, and also by Master Maccabeus, (which was there the same time,) he was able in a short time to judge in the chief articles of our religion; insomuch that he took upon him to write letters unto his countrymen the merchants of Antwerp. In the which letters first he gave thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy word which he had received: secondly, he bewailed the great cruelty and gross blindness of his countrymen; desiring God to open their eyes and ears, to see and understand the word of their salvation: thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at Antwerp, to confer with them touching the grace of God, which he had received: fourthly, declareth to them his purpose in going also to Spain, intending there likewise to impart to his parents, and other friends at Burgos, the wholesome doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Beside this, he addressed other letters also to Charles the emperor, opening to him the calamities and miserable state of Christ's church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof: especially that he would reform the miserable corruption of the church of Spain, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote there a catechism, and divers other treatises, in the Spanish tongue. And all this he did in one month's space.

In the mean time the Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters, both his change of religion, and also his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending outwardly a fair countenance of much good will, but secretly practising his destruction; for at the day appointed of his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, who took him coming down from his horse, rifled his books, and had him into a merchant's house near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again disputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran; and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn him also. At this disputation within the house, divers Spaniards were present, which made the friars more bold. Being demanded to show of what faith and religion he was; "My faith," said he, "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 this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into blindness most miserable." And to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the Creed.

This done, then the friars 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, and being able to bind and loose? also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his own will and arbitrement? Hereunto Francis answered again, that he believed none of all this, but contrary did affirm that the pope was antichrist, born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honour; and who, moreover, being incited by the devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretences

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beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying, the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the mass and purgatory. The friars could suffer him meanly well to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit; then could they abide 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 then, supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him into a tower six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep cave or dungeon, with much misery, the space of eight months; in which time of his imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis answered again, 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. Hereupon the Spaniards, thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of prison, which was about the time when the emperor was in his council at Ratisbon, A.D. 1541.

San Romanus, being thus freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to Louvain, unto a certain friend of his, named Francis Dryander, (who also afterwards died a martyr,) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of religion; who gave him counsel not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he might exercise with a good conscience, and do much good. And as touching religion, his counsel was, that he should say or do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but so that he required notwithstanding in the same, a sound and right judgment, conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might chance to him as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their vocations, and while they think to do good, and to edify, destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger.

"It is God," said he, "that hath the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither doth he care for such which rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling."

This advertisement of Dryander Francis did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate himself more considerately. But this promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear; for, passing from Dryander he went to Ratisbon, and there, having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, declaring and protesting, that the princes and protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the true and perfect word of God; with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider upon the matter, and so do therein as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the city many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he went the second, and also the third, time unto the emperor, who quietly again so answered him as before. And yet this our Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought with a greater ardency the fourth time to speak

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to the emperor; but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards about the emperor, who, incontinent, without all further hearing or advising in the cause, would have thrown him headlong into the river Danube, had not the emperor staid them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the empire. By this commandment of the emperor he was reserved and detained with other malefactors in bonds, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa. Then Francis, with other captives following the court, after the emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great injuries and contumelies, but ever remained in his conscience firm and unmovable. The articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned were these:

That life and salvation in the sight of God, come to no man by his own strength, 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 do account available, *ex opere operato*, for the remission of sin both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

That auricular confession with the numbering up of sins, also that satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, be mere blasphemy against the living God.

Item, That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in the same aforesaid.

After the inquisitors perceived that by no means he could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to be burned for a heretic. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed: he only for the gospel, being odious to the whole world, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper, painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the city gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way, whereunto Francis was required to do homage; which he refused, answering, that the manner of Christians is not to worship wood, and he was, said he, a Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to worship the wooden cross. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudeness of that people, that they did impute this to the divine virtue, as given to the cross from heaven, for that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped of a heretic: and immediately, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their swords did hew it in pieces, every man thinking himself happy who might carry away some chip or fragment of the said cross.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, the friars were busy about him to have him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little, at the feeling of the fire, to lift up his head toward heaven; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing less in him, the adversaries, being

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frustrate of their expectation, willed him to be thrown in again; and so was he immediately despatched.

After that the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummate, the inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretics, whosoever doubted of his damnation. Nevertheless certain of the emperor's soldiers gathered of his ashes; also the English ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a martyr. Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the ears of the inquisitors, and of the emperor; wherefore the soldiers, going in great danger of life, were committed to prison. Neither did the ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the pope's scourge; for he was upon the same sequestered from the court, and commanded to be absent for a space. And thus much concerning the notable martyrdom of this blessed San Romanus.

Rochus, at St. Lucar in Spain, A.D. 1545. Persecuted by an inquisitor.

Rochus was born in Brabant, his father dwelling in Antwerp. By his science he was a carver or graver of images; who, as soon as he began first to taste the gospel, fell from making such images as use to serve for idolatry in temples, and occupied himself in making seals, save only that he kept standing on his stall an image of the Virgin Mary artificially graven, for a sign of his occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain inquisitor passing by in the street, and beholding the carved image, asked of Rochus what was the price thereof? which when Rochus had set, (not willing belike to sell it,) the inquisitor bade him scarce half the money. The other answered again, that he could not so live of that bargain. But still the inquisitor urged him to take his offer; to whom Rochus again: "It shall be yours," said he, "if you give me that which my labour and charges stand me in, but of that price I cannot afford it: yea, I had rather break it in pieces." "Yea," said the inquisitor, "break it? let me see thee." Rochus with that took up a chisel, and dashed it upon the face of the image, wherewith the nose, or some other part of the face, was blemished. The inquisitor, seeing that, cried out that he was mad, and commanded Rochus forthwith to prison: to whom Rochus cried again, that he might do in his own works what he listed; and if the workmanship of the image were not after his fantasy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Rochus, but within three days after, sentence was given upon him, that he should be burned, and so was he committed to the executioners. As Rochus was entering the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there stood by, if any man of Flanders were there? It was answered, Yea; and also that there were two ships already fraught, and appointed to sail to Flanders. Then said he, "I would desire some of them to signify to my father dwelling in Antwerp, that I was burned here in this city, and for this cause which you all have heard." And thus, after his prayers made to God, this good man, being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this blessed end, A.D. 1545.

And lest this so rare and strange example of cruelty should seem to lack credit, in the fifth book of the History of Pantaleon there is recorded, that a certain Spaniard, coming to Antwerp, made diligent inquisition there amongst the image-makers, to find out the parents of this Rochus, and signified to them what had happened toward their son, as hath been by his said parents and friends declared; insomuch that it is also testified, that his father, at the hearing of the said message, for sorrow thereof, died shortly after.

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Furthermore, besides these above-recited, and also before their time, I hear and understand by faithful relation, that divers other have been in the said country of Spain, whose hearts God had marvellously illuminated, and stirred up, both before, and also since, the coming in of the inquisition, to stand in defence of his gospel, and who were also persecuted for the same, and are said to have died in prison; albeit their names as yet are unknown, for the stories of that country be not yet come to light, but, I trust, shortly shall, as partly some intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the inquisition of Spain, speaking something of the ceremonial pomp and also of the barbarous abuse and cruelty of the same.

The execrable inquisition of Spain.



Martyrs Tortured by the Inquisition

The cruel and barbarous inquisition of Spain first began by King Ferdinand and Isabella his wife, and was instituted against the Jews, which after their baptism, maintained again their own ceremonies: but now it is practised against them that be never so little suspected to favour the verity of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great divines there, do hold that this holy and sacred inquisition cannot err, and that the holy fathers, the inquisitors, cannot be deceived.

Three sorts of men most principally be in danger of these inquisitors: they that they be greatly rich, for the spoil of their goods: they that be learned, because they will not have their

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misdealings and secret abuses to be spied and detected: they that begin to increase in honour and dignity, lest they, being in authority, should work them some shame or dishonour.

The abuse of this inquisition is most execrable. If any word shall pass out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, though no word be spoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil will against the party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible prison, and then find out crimes against him at leisure, and in the mean time no man living is so hardy as once to open his mouth for him. If the father speak one word for his child, he is also taken and cast into prison as a favourer of heretics: neither is it permitted to any person to go in to the prisoner; but there he is alone, in such a place where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is; and is not suffered either to read or write, but there endureth in darkness palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miserable, wrestling with the assaults of death.

By this it may be esteemed what trouble and sorrow, what pensive sighs and cogitations they sustain, which are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. Add, moreover, to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, and scourgings, irons, tortures, and racks which they endure. Sometimes also they are brought out, and showed forth in some higher place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they 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 knoweth, but only the holy fathers and the tormentors, which are sworn to execute the torments. All is done in secret, and (as great mysteries) pass not the hands of these holy ones. And after all these torments so many years endured in the prison, if any man shall be saved, it must be by guessing; for all the proceedings of the court of that execrable inquisition are open to no man, but all is done in hugger-mugger and in close corners, by ambages, by covert ways, and secret counsels. The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witness secret, whatsoever is done is secret, neither is the poor prisoner ever advertised of any thing. If he can guess who accused him, whereof and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his life: but this is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be set at liberty before he hath long time endured infinite torments; and this is called their penitence, and so is he let go: and yet not so but that he is enjoined before he pass the inquisitor's hands, that he shall wear a garment of yellow colours for a note of public infamy to him and his whole race. And if he cannot guess right, showing to the inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof and wherefore, (as is before touched,) incontinent the horrible sentence of condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obstinate heretic. And so yet the sentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath endured imprisonment in some heinous prison.

And thus have ye heard the form of the Spanish inquisition. By the vigour and rigour of this inquisition many good true servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these latter years, since the royal and peaceable reign of this our Queen Elizabeth; the names and stories of whom partly we will here recite, according as we have faithful records of such as have come to our hands by writing. The others which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will defer till further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, shall serve hereafter.



Martyrs Paraded at Valladolid

IN the year 1559, May. 21, in the town of Valladolid, where commonly the council of the inquisition is wont to be kept, the inquisitors had brought together many prisoners both of high and low estate, to the number of thirty; also the coffin of a certain noble woman, with her picture lying upon it, which had been dead long before, there to receive judgment and sentence. To the hearing of this sentence, they had ordained in the said town three mighty theatres or stages. Upon 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. Upon the other scaffold 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.

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After that the princes and other spiritual judges and councillors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of archers and halberdiers, and harnessed soldiers, with four heralds-at-arms also giving their attendance to the same, and the earl of Buendia bearing the naked sword, all the market-place where the stages were being environed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the world there standing, and gazing out of windows and houses to hear and see the sentences and judgments of this inquisition: then, after all, were brought forth, as a spectacle and triumph, the poor servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number, as is aforesaid, of thirty, clothed with their Sanbenito, as the Spaniards do call it, which is a manner of vesture of yellow cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red crosses, and having burning cierges in their hands; also before them was borne a crucifix covered with black linen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreover they which were to receive the sentence of death, had mitres of paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call coracas. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were esteemed culpable; so that first of all stood up Doctor Cacalla, an Austin Friar, a man notable and singular in knowledge of divinity, preacher sometime to Charles the Fifth, emperor both in higher and lower Germany.

These things thus disposed, then followed a sermon made by a Dominic friar, which endured about an hour. After the sermon finished, the procurator-general, with the archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and nobles stood, to minister a solemn oath unto them upon the crucifix painted in the mass-book; the tenor of which oath was this:

"Your Majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same, but also you shall employ the uttermost of your help and endeavour, hereafter, to see all them to be executed, which shall swerve from the Church of Rome, and adjoin themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretics, without all respect of any person or persons, of what estate, degree, quality, or condition soever they be."

And thus much for the first article of the oath; the second was this that followeth

Item, "Your Majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your subjects to submit themselves to the Church of Rome, and to have in reverence all the laws and commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against all them, whosoever shall hold of the heresy of the Lutherans, or take 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 finished, at last the poor captives and prisoners were called out, the procurator-fiscal, or the pope's great collector, first beginning with Dr. Cacalla, and so proceeding to the others in order, as hereafter, in the table which followeth, with their names and their judgments, is described:

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1. Dr. Cacalla, a Friar Augustine.

The persecutors of Dr. Cacalla and the twenty-seven that follow, were these: The pope's great collector, or procurator-fiscal; the archbishop of Seville, the bishop of Valencia, the bishop of Orense, and lastly, the inquisitors of Spain.

Before the pope's great proctor, or collector-fiscal, first was called forth Doctor Austin Cacalla. This doctor was a friar of Austin's order, and priest of the town of Valladolid, and preacher sometime to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, a man well accounted of for his learning; who for that he was thought to be as the standard-bearer of the gospellers, (whom they call Lutherans,) and preacher and doctor unto them; therefore, he being first called for, was brought from his stage nearer to the procurator-fiscal, there to hear the sentence of his condemnation; which was, that he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his goods confiscated to the profit and advancement of justice.

2. Francis de Bivero, priest of Valladolid, and brother to the aforesaid Cacalla.

The second prisoner, and next to Doctor Cacalla that was called, was Francis de Bivero his brother, priest also of Valladolid, who received likewise the same sentence of condemnation. And to the intent he should not speak any thing to the prejudice, or against the abuse, of the sacred inquisition, as he before had done both within and without the prison with much boldness; and also because he was much favoured of the people; to the end therefore that no commotion should come by his speaking, his mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speak one word.

3. Dame Blanche de Bivero.

The third was Dame Blanche, sister to the other two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like sentence, as upon her brethren before.

4. John de Bivero.

The fourth was John de Bivero, brother to the same kindred, who was also judged a heretic, and condemned to perpetual prison, and to bear his Sanbenito all his life long; which is an habiliment of dishonour.

5. Dame Constance de Bivero, sister to the same aforesaid.

Dame Constance de Bivero, was the fifth sister to the others before specified, and widow of Ferdinando Ortis, dwelling sometime at Valladolid, who was also condemned, with the like sentence with her brethren, to be burned.

6. The coffin with the dead corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, the mother of these aforesaid.

The sixth thunderbolt of condemnation was thundered out against a poor coffin, with the dead corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, mother to these above-named, being herself the sixth,

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and being already dead long before at Valladolid. Above her coffin was her picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead corpse to be burned for a heretic; and yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture did hold, 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 retained divers 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, was condemned likewise (as the mother with her seven children in the Book of Maccabees) to be burned for a Lutheran heretic, and all her goods to be seized to the behoof of the superior powers, and also her house utterly to be razed and cast down to the ground; and for a memorial of the same, a marble stone was appointed there to be set up in the house, whereon the said cause of her burning should be engraved.

7. Master Aflonse Perez, priest of Valencia.

In the seventh place was condemned Master Aflonse Perez; priest of Valencia, first to be degraded, and afterwards to be burned as a heretic, and all his goods likewise confiscated, and seized, to the behoof of the superiority.

When these seven aforesaid had received their sentence, then the bishop of Valencia, in his pontificalibus, caused Doctor Cacalla, Francis his brother, and Aflonse Perez, to be apparelled and re-vested in priestly vesture. Which done, he took from them first the chalice out of their hands, and so all their other trinkets in order, according to their accustomed solemnity. And thus they, being degraded, and all their priestly unctions taken from their fingers, also their lips and their crowns razed, so were their yellow habits of Sanbenito put over their shoulders again, with their mitres also of paper upon their heads. This done, Doctor Cacalla began to speak, praying the princes and the lords to give him audience: but that not being granted to him, he was rudely repulsed, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested clearly and openly, that his faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure word of God; for the which also he was pressed and ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as a heretic: besides many other worthy sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, while the judges were busy in their sentences against the residue of the martyrs.

8. Don Peter Sarmiento, knight of the order of Alcanta.
9. Dame Mencia, wife of the said Don Peter.
10. Don Lovis de Roxas, son and heir of the marquis de Poza.
11. Dame Anne Henriques.
12. Christopher Dell Campo.
13. Christopher de Padilla.
14. Anthony de Huezuello.
15. Katharine Romain.
16. Frances Errem.
17. Katharine Ortega.
18. Isabell Strada.
19. Jane Valesques.
20. A smith.

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21. A Jew.
22. Dame Jane de Silva.
23. Leonore de Lisueros, wife of Huezuello.
24. Marina de Sajavedra.
25. Daniel Quadra.
26. Dame Mary de Royas.
27. Anthony Dominick.
28. Anthony Basor, an Englishman.

After these sentences had been thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead lady and her picture upon the same, were committed to the secular magistrate and to their executioners, which were commanded to do their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one set upon an ass, their faces turned backward, and led with a great garrison of armed soldiers unto the place of punishment, which was without the gate of the town, called Del Campo.

When they were come to the place, there were fourteen stakes set up of equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fastened according to the fashion of Spain, they were all first strangled, and then burned and turned to ashes, save only Anthony Huezuello, who, forasmuch as he had, both within and without the prison, vehemently detested the pope's spiritually, therefore he was 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 shambles; who not only most Christianly did comfort one another, but also did so exhort all them there present, that all men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty-seven other prisoners, at the said town of Valladolid, reserved to another tragedy and spectacle of that bloody inquisition.

Furthermore, whereas the story of the said inquisition, being set out in the French tongue, doth reckon the number of the martyrs above-mentioned to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, that either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said company were returned back without judgment into the prison again.

And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the church of Spain in their inquisition against the Lutherans; that is, against the true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other countries also, besides Spain, subject unto the same inquisition, as Naples and Sicily; in which kingdom of Sicily, I hear it credibly reported, that every third year are brought forth to judgment and execution a certain number, after the like sort, of Christian martyrs; sometimes twelve, sometimes six; sometimes more, and sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, A.D. 1559, who, coming from Geneva to Sicily, upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hands on and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be strangled, having the cord ready about his neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said that he

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would feel the fire. And so endured he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of speech and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant soldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, which, being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify what he then saw.

152. Martyrs in Italy

Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious table, to comprehend also such martyrs as suffered for the verity and true testimony of the gospel, in the places and countries of Italy; which table consequently here next ensueth.

A table of such martyrs as suffered for the testimony of the gospel in Italy.

N. Encenas, otherwise called Dryander, martyred at Rome, A.D. 1546. Persecuted by certain popish Spaniards at Rome.

This Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, born at Burgos, was brother to Franciscus Encenas, the learned man so oft before mentioned; and was also the teacher or instructor in knowledge of religion to Diazius, the godly martyr above recorded. He was sent of his superstitious parents, being young, unto Rome; who there, after long continuance, growing up in age and knowledge, but especially being 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, was apprehended and taken of certain of his own countrymen, and some of his own household friends at Rome, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey to his brother Francis Encenas, in Germany. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his own countrymen, was brought before the cardinals, and there committed straight to prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which, in the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, he boldly and constantly defended; so that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards, being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he should be burned. The cardinals first, before the sentence of death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it, (after the manner of the Spaniards,) the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of Sanbenit's cloth, made in form of a mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red cross. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, denied to receive any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithful servant and witness of Christ was judged and condemned to the fire; where he, in the sight of the cardinals, and in the face of the apostolic see pretended, gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.

And forasmuch as mention hath been made both in this story, and many others before, of Franciscus Encenas, his brother, here is not to be pretermitted, how the said Franciscus, being a man of notable learning as ever was any in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered unto the emperor Charles the Fifth the New Testament of Christ, translated into Spanish. For the which he was cast into prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, on the first of February, A.D. 1545, at eight o'clock after supper, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and he secretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and so, issuing out of the prison, without any hasty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, he escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.

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Faninus, at Ferrara, A.D. 1550. Persecuted by Pope Julius the Third.

Faninus, born in Faventia, a town in Italy, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue, (having no perfect skill in the Latin,) was converted from great blindness, to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his word; wherein he took such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct others. Neither was there any diligence Lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind persuaded, that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his verity, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel. And therefore, being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the pope's clients espied, apprehended, and committed to prison. Albeit he remained not 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 over, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind; insomuch that unless the great mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred before the service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. 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 adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Whereupon, he being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country of Romania, publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, A.D. 1547, in a place called Bagnacavallo, where also he was condemned to be burned; but he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine. And so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto Ferrara, where he was detained two years. At last the inquisitors of the pope's heresies condemned him to death, A.D. 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, A.D. 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good men came to visit him, for which the pope commanded him to be enclosed in straiter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominic Friars might have got him into their house, as they went about. Thus Faninus, removed from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where were divers great lords, captains, and noble personages there committed, for stirring up commotions and factions, (as the country of Italy is full of such,) who at first, hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him, supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his judgment till the matter were decided in the general council. To whom Faninus again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good wills wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the doctrine which he professed was no humour or opinion of man's brain, but the pure verity of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and especially now in these days restored; which verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying fantasies of men. And as in his soul, which was

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redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage; so likewise as touching councils, he looked for no other sentence or authority, he said, but that only 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, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and accounted him for a holy person: to whom he proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner; but by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the grace only of him, he was fully persuaded and well assured his sins were forgiven: like as all their sins also should be remitted to them through their faith in Christ only, they believing his gospel.

There were others also besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort by the said Faninus, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in this their captivity, by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of this Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and care for his poor family; to whom he answered again, that his Lord and Master had commanded him, not to deny Him for 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. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more therein, for his end, he said, he knew to draw near: and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time died Pope Paul the Third, and after him succeeded Julius the Third, which then sent letters and commandment that Faninus should be executed; whereof when one of the magistrates' officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him that, in case he would change his opinion, he should save both this life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what case he should leave his little children and his wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them: wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them. Faninus answered, that he had left them with an overseer, which would see unto them sufficiently: and being asked who he was? "The Lord Jesus Christ," said he, "a faithful keeper, and a conserver of all that is committed to him." After that the messenger was thus departed from Faninus, all full of tears and sorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. Who in all ways, his words, his gestures, and his countenance, declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners and tranquillity of mind, that they that before were extreme against him, thinking him rather to have a devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the word of God, that divers of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The executioner also wept himself. One of the public scribes then came to him, and said, that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved: but that he refused. This was marvellous, that he, having but small skill in the Latin, yet recited so many and sundry places of the Scripture without book, and that so truly and promptly, as

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though he had studied nothing else. One, seeing him so jocund and merry going to his death, asked, why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? "Christ," said he, "sustained in his body all the sorrows, and conflicts with hell and death, due unto us; by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all." Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer, who, after his prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake, where, with a cord drawn about his neck, he was secretly strangled of the hangman, in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after, about dinner-time, his body in the same place was burned. At the burning thereof such a fragrant and odoriferous scent came to all them there present, and so struck their senses, that the sweetness thereof seemed to refresh them no less than his words would have done, if they had heard him speak.

The custom is of that city, that the bones and ashes which be left, should be carried out of the city; but neither the magistrate, nor the bishop, nor his great vicar or chancellor, nor any divine else, would take any charge thereof, every man transferring that burden from themselves, to him which was the cause of his death. Whereby it may appear, what secret judgment and estimation all they had of that good and blessed man. At last, the people took his burned bones, with the cinders, and carried them out of the street of the city.

Dominicus de Basana, at Placentia, A.D. 1550.

The same year that the aforesaid Faninus suffered in Ferrara, Dominicus also suffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominicus was a citizen in Basana, and followed the wars of Charles the emperor in Germany, where he received the first taste of Christ's gospel, wherein he increased more and more by conferring and reasoning with learned men, so that in a short time he was able to instruct many; and so did, working and travelling in the church, till at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence proceeding to Placentia, preached there likewise unto the people, of true confession, of purgatory, and of pardons. Furthermore, the next day he treated of true faith and of good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising moreover the next day to speak of antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the market-place, and deliver himself to the officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, that he did much marvel that the devil could suffer him so long in that kind of exercise. From thence 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 was he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his blood, and also gave hearty thanks to God, which so accepted him, as 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 divers times to revoke, otherwise he should suffer; but still he remained constant in his doctrine: whereupon when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the market-place, where he preached, and there was hanged; who, most heartily praying for his enemies, so finished his days in this miserable, wretched world.

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Galeazius Trecius, at the city called Laus Pompeia, in Italy, A.D. 1551. Accused by the bishop of St. Angelo and his priests.

St. Angelo is a certain fortress or castle in Italy, within Lombardy, not far from the city called Laus Pompeia, belonging also to the same diocese. In this fort of St. Angelo was a house of Augustine Friars, unto whom used much to resort a certain friar of the same order, dwelling at Pavia, named Mainard, a man well expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this Mainard, divers not only of the friars, but also of other townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's word, and to the detestation of the pope's abuses. Among whom was also this Galeazius, a gentleman of good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the poor, who, first by conference with the friars, and also with his brother-in-law, began to conceive some light in God's truth, and afterwards was confirmed more thoroughly by Cœlius Secundus Curio, who, then being driven by persecution, came from Pavia to the said place of St. Angelo. In process of time, as this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, in setting forward the wholesome word of God's grace, as a light shining in darkness, could not so lie hid, but at last, A.D. 1551, certain were sent from the forenamed city of Laus Pompeia to lay hands upon him, who brought him to the bishop's palace; where he was kept in bands, having under him only a pad of straw. Although his wife sent unto him a good featherbed with sheets to lie in, yet the bishop's chaplains and officers kept it from him, dividing the prey among themselves.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons and causes of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his kinsfolk and friends, the other cold gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance, and bewailing of his fact, that he became afterwards (according to the example of Peter, and St. Cyprian, and others) double-wise more valiant in defence of Christ's quarrel; neither did he ever desire anything more than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that he had lost before by denial; affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the truth; and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped afterwards from the same by dissimulation: declaring, moreover, to his brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with testimony of the verity, than life with the least denial of truth, and loss of a good conscience. Thus Galeazius, mourning for his fall in prison, after he heard of his friends that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance, to God's glory, and admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort; and when they would have left with him a book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his disciples: also what happened both to Christ and himself, and to his apostles, for confessing the word of truth.

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Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they who talked with him continued all the day without meat or drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for some occasion to recover himself again from his fall, it followed in short time that the inquisitors and priests repaired to him again in the prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them; and required him so to do. Galeazius, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former doctrine with much more boldness of spirit, confessing Christ, as he did before, and detesting images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in spirit and verity: also to be no more mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently, by his suffering, hath taken away the sins of the whole world; and that all they which depart hence in this faith, are ascertained of everlasting life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation; with such other like matter, which was repugnant utterly to the pope's proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled; who, at last, perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular judge to be burned.

Thus Galeazius, early in the morning being brought out of prison to the market-place, there was left standing bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all men to look upon. In the which mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it. And if he cared not for his life, nor for his country where he should live, nor for his goods and possessions, which should be confiscated, yet he should somewhat respect his wife whom he loved so well, and his young children; at least he should consider his own soul. This counsel gave they, which more esteemed the commodities of this present life, than any true soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant martyr; wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, saving only these words heard in the middle of the flame, "Lord Jesu! "This was A.D. 1551, November 24.

Touching the story of this blessed martyr, this by the way is to be given for a memorandum, that a little before this Galeazius should be burned, there was a controversy between the mayor of the city, and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that should go to his burning. He, hearing thereof, sent word to both the parties to agree, for he himself, of his own goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note, moreover, here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captivity, certain of the papists, perceiving that Galeazius had great goods and possessions, practised with his wife, under colour to release her husband, that she should lay out a sum of money to be sent to the wife of the chief lord of Milan, called Ferrarus Gonzaga, to the end that she should treat both with her husband, and with the senate, for Galeazius's life; which money when they had thus juggled unto their hands, Galeazius notwithstanding was burned; and so was the silly woman robbed and defeated, both of her husband, and also of her money.

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D. Johannes Mollius, a Grey Friar; also a certain weaver of Perugia; at Rome, A.D. 1553. Persecuted by the following parties: Cornelius, a professor of Bologna; Cardinal Campeius, and Cardinal del Campo: also by Bonaventure, a general; six cardinals, and Pope Julius the Third.

Johannes Mollius Montilcinus, being but twelve years old, with his brother Augustine, was set of his parents in the house of the Grey Friars, where he in short time, having a fresh wit, far excelled his fellows in all tongues and liberal 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, where he so profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned, by Vigerius, general of that order, to be doctor, and then reader in divinity; who then, with his sophistry, opposed himself as an utter enemy against the gospel. From thence he went to Breschia, and the next year following to Milan, where he read or professed openly. Again, from thence he was taken by Franciscus Sfortia, and brought to the university of Pavia, there openly to profess philosophy, where he remained four years. After that he was called to the university of Bologna, by Laurentius Spatha, general of that order, where he was occupied in reading the books of Aristotle De Anima. In the mean time God wrought in his soul such light of his word, and of true religion, that he, waxing weary of professing philosophy, began secretly to expound the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans to a few; which being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. Where, as the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every man almost came with his pen and ink to write, and great diligence was bestowed how to come betimes to take up the first places, where they might best hear; which was about A.D. 1538. There was the same time, at Bologna, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler, who, envying the doings of Johannes, took upon him, at the request of Cardinal Campeius, to expound the said Epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of the said Johannes, and extolling the pope with all his traditions. Contrary, Johannes extolled and commended only Christ and his merits to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect. For the auditors which first came unto him, began by little to fall from him; and the concourse of the other man's auditors more and more increased.

Which when Cornelius perceived, he persuaded Campeius, that unless he provided that man to be despatched, the estimation of the Church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this way was devised, that Cornelius and Johannes should come to open disputation; which disputation endured till three o'clock after midnight. At length, when neither party could agree, Johannes was bid to return home to his house, who, as he was come down the lower steps where the place was straitest, so that his friends could not come to rescue him, (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills,) was there taken and laid fast in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole city, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself; also Campeius the cardinal, and the bishop there, were both contemned of the students. The next day the bishop of Bologna sent his chancellor to Johannes in the prison, to signify unto him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he, being of a bold and cheerful spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned, his cause being not heard.

In the mean season, Laurentius Spatha, above-mentioned, being general of that order, in most speedy wise posted up to Rome, and there so practised with the cardinal St. Crucis, the proctor in the court of Rome for the Grey Friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to

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Campeius, that he should deliver the said John out of prison; so that he, notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at Rome. Thus, the thirtieth day of his imprisonment, he was delivered: who, but for the coming of the pope's letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said Mollius, Cornelius also was cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in prison by the cardinal St. Crucis, till his cause should be decided. The friends of Mollius gave him counsel 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 was come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul the Third, humbly he desired, that the cause, being so weighty, might come in public hearing; but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs; which he diligently performed, treating of original sin, justification by faith, freewill, purgatory, and other such like; proving the said articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of ancient fathers; and so exhibited the same to the bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to have the cause in hearing; who disputed with him three days, and could not refel what he had proved. At last answer was made unto him thus: That it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see; wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the Epistles of St. Paul, and so return again safe to Bologna, and there profess philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bologna, and all men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Herewith Campeius, being more offended than before, obtained of the pope, that the general of the order should remove the said John Mollius from Bologna, and place him some other where. So Mollius from thence was sent to Naples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life; and so, departing from thence, he went wandering into Italy, from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when Cardinal Campeius was dead, he was called again unto Bologna, by a good abbot named De Grassis, A.D. 1543, where he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's Epistles after a secret sort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered. Whereupon, by means of Cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventure the general, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Faventia, and laid there in a filthy and stinking prison, where he continued four years, no man having leave once to come to him. During which time of his endurance, he wrote a commentary upon the books of Moses; but that labour, by the malignity of the adversaries, was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the Earl Petilianus, and of the aforesaid good abbot De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months with the abbot of St. Vitalem, and there again taught the gospel of Christ as before; and whensoever he spake 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, his sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so was he again now the third time reduced into prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority, who, being stirred up of God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison; of whom, one of the said sureties took the said Mollius home, to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this

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man, such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of Rome: whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate to lay hands upon him, and to send him up fast bound to Rome, where again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give over his opinion: but his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock. Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defence of Christ's gospel, was brought, with certain other men, (which were also apprehended for religion,) into the temple of St. Mary, called De Minerva, on the fifth day of September, A.D. 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There sat upon them six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge, before whom preached a Dominic Friar, which, cruelly inveighing against the poor prisoners, incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands, of whom some for fear of death revolted: but this Doctor Mollius, with a weaver of Perugia, remained constant. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein 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 his sectaries do figure the whore of Babylon. Moreover, he cited them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and threw away the burning taper from him: whereupon they, being replenished with anger, condemned him with the weaver to the fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the camp or field, called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the weaver was hanged. Mollius then, willing the hangman to execute his office likewise upon him, began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other saviours but Christ alone; for he only is the mediator between God and man. And so was he also hanged, commending his soul to God, and afterwards laid in the fire and burned. The people having divers judgments upon him, some said he died a heretic, some said he was a good man.

Two monks of the house of St. Austin in Rome, A.D. 1554; having being impeached by the senate of Milan.

Furthermore, in the same city of Rome, and about the same time, in the monastery of St. Austin, were found two monks in their cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebuking the immoderate and outrageous excess of the cardinals, as witnesseth Manlius. Such was the cruelty then of the malignant adversaries.

Francis Gamba, at Como. Persecuted in the diocese, and by the senate of Milan, A.D. 1554.

Francis Gamba, born in the city of Breschia, in Lombardy, after he had received the knowledge of the gospel, went to Geneva, to confer about certain necessary affairs with them that were wise and learned in that church, which was about the time when the Lord's supper there was administered at Pentecost; who there also at the same time did communicate with them. Afterwards, on his return home, as he was passing over the lake of Como, he was taken and brought to Como, and there committed to ward. During the time of which imprisonment, divers and sundry, as well nobles as others, with doctors also, especially priests and monks, resorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and most fair promises, to reduce him from his opinions, which seemed to some but fantasies coming of some humour. To some they seemed

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uncatholic or heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, declared the opinions which he defended, not to be any vain speculations or imaginary fantasies of man's doting brain, but the pure verity 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 he would be found false to Christ and his word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to stand to, Christ's gospel, to the effusion of his blood.

Thus when he could in no wise be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the senate of Milan, that he should be executed with death; which execution, as they of Como were about to prepare, in the mean while came other letters from Geneva, written by the emperor's ambassador, and other nobles of Milan, by the which his death was delayed for a time, till at length other letters were sent again from the senate of Milan, requiring execution of the sentence. Nevertheless, through intercession of his friends, one week's respite more was granted him, to prove whether he might be won again to the pope's church; that is to say, lost from God. Thus he, being mightily and long assailed both by friends, and by enemies terrified, yet by no persuasions would be expugned, but 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 went he cheerfully unto his death. Then came certain Franciscan Friars to him to hear his confession, which he refused. Also they brought in their hands a cross for him to behold, to keep him from desperation at the feeling of the fire; but his mind, he said, was so replenished 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, of the fruition of those heavenly joys above which God hath prepared for his, because he should speak no more to the people, his tongue was bored through; and so immediately being tied to the stake, there he was strangled till he was dead; every man there giving testimony, who saw his constancy, that he died a good man.

Pomponius Algerius, at Rome. Persecuted by Pope Paul the Fourth, and the magistrates of Venice, A.D. 1555.

Pomponius Algerius, born in Capua, a young man of great learning, was student in the university of Padua, where he, not being able to conceal and keep close the verity of Christ's gospel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's grace, ceased not, both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could in the same doctrine, and to bring them to Christ. For the which he was accused of heresy to Pope Paul the Fourth, who, sending immediately to the magistrates of Venice, caused him to be apprehended at Padua, and carried to Venice, where he was long detained in prison and bonds, till at last the pope commanded the magistrates there to send him up bound unto Rome, which the Venetians eftsoons accomplished. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurements were essayed to remove the virtuous and blessed young man from his sentence: but when no worldly persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

Being in prison at Venice, he wrote an epistle to the afflicted saints; which for the notable sweetness and most wonderful consolation contained in the same, in showing forth the mighty operation of God's holy power working in his afflicted saints that suffer for his sake, I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a principal monument amongst all other martyrs'

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letters, not only with the other letters which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they which be, or shall be hereafter, in affliction, may take consolation; and also they that yet follow the trade of this present world, in comparing the joys and commodities thereof with these joys here expressed, may learn and consider with themselves, what difference there is between them both, and thereby may learn to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their souls. The copy of the letter, first written in Latin, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof here ensueth:

A comfortable letter of Pomponius Algerius an Italian.

"To his most dearly beloved brethren and fellow servants in Christ, which are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion; grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour!

"To mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectations and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him. I shall utter that which no man will believe when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of honey and honey-comb in the entrails of a lion. Who will ever believe that I shall 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 tranquillity and hope of life? in a cave infernal, to be found joy of soul? and where other men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where others do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woeful state, such delectation? in a place so desolate, such society of good men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord, my sweet brethren! doth minister unto me. Behold, he that that was once far from me, now is present with me; whom once scarce I could 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 approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me up with gladness; he driveth away all bitterness; he ministereth strength and courage; he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. Oh how good is the Lord, who suffereth not his servants to be tempted above their strength! Oh how easy and sweet is his yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn, ye well-beloved! how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, which visiteth his servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and stinking caves. Will the blind and incredulous world, think you, believe this? or rather will it not say thus: No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable. The rebukes and frowning faces of men, how wilt thou suffer? Post thou not consider and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant country, the riches of the world, thy kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honours of this life? dost thou forget the solace of thy sciences, and the fruit of all thy labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painful travails, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? Oh what a fool art thou, which for one word speaking mayst salve all this, and wilt not! What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be

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entreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, so prudent and gracious senators, and such noble personages, &c.

"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 thee hereafter? and likewise what snow can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkness, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and sharp, or crooked, than this present life which here we lead? what thing more odious and hateful than this world here present? And let these worldly men here answer me, What country can we have more sweet than the heavenly country above? what treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who be our kinsmen, but they which hear the word of God? Where be greater riches, or dignities more honourable, than in heaven? And as touching the sciences, let this foolish world consider, be they not ordained to learn to know God, whom unless we do know, all our labours, our night watchings, our studies, and all our enterprises serve to no use or purpose; all is but lost labour.

"Furthermore, let the miserable worldly man answer me, What remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the life and medicine of all men? and how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ be the way, verity, and life, how can there be any life then without Christ? The sultry heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of weather? or what careth he for the pinching frost, who burneth with the love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew; here floweth the pleasant nectar; here runneth the sweet milk; here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth 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 be 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 be overthrown, some be victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the Mount Sion; here I am already in heaven itself; here standeth first Christ Jesus in the front. About him stand the old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, and apostles, and all the servants of God: of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort me, some open the sacraments unto me, some comfort me, other some singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many, and such as these be? the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example: for 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 ask a long time if I should recite all.

"To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate; yet, notwithstanding, all living, and all safe. One plaster, one salve, cureth all their wounds: which also gives to them 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. Neither do I fear mine adversaries which here persecute me and oppress me; for He that dwelleth in the heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear not thousands of people which

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compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who exalteth my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder; for he only is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's cause make us jocund; for so it is written, If ye be rebuked and scorned for the name of Christ, happy be you; for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you, 1 Pet. iv. Be you therefore certified, that our rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no mansion firm to me; and therefore I travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offereth itself unto me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have entered already on my journey, where my house standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have riches, kinsfolks, delights, honours never failing. As for these earthly things here present, they are transitory shadows, vanishing vapours, and ruinous walls. Briefly, all is but very vanity of vanities, where hope and the substance of eternity to come are wanting; which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given as companions to accompany me, and to comfort me: and now do the same begin to work and to bring forth fruits in me. I have travailed hitherto, laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travails begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the true countenance of God is sealed upon me; the Lord hath given mirth in my heart; and therefore in the same will I lay me down in peace and rest, Psal. iv. And who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed, or say that our years be cut off? What man can now cavil that these our labours are lost, which have followed and found out the Lord and Maker of this world, and which have changed death for life? My portion is the Lord, saith my soul, and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly rebel, which blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? Oh how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation! for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying, The same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you. Wherefore let the doltish world, with its blind worldlings, (who in the bright sunshine yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as beetles,) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it: to whom thus we answer again with the holy apostle, Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ. We are slain all the day long; we are made like sheep ordained to the shambles, Rom. viii. Thus do we resemble Christ our Head, who said, that the disciple cannot be above his master, nor the servant above his lord. The same Lord hath also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him, Luke ix. Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren and fellow servants! and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. Let your patience be perfect on all parts; for so is it foreshowed us before, and is written, that they that shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. Therefore afflictions and death be as tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let us then be glad and sing to the Lord, when we, being clear from all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death: for better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it so be the will of the Lord, than doing evil, 1 Pet. iii. We have for our example Christ and the prophets, who spake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity did quell and murder; and now we bless and magnify them that then suffered. Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revengement to him.

"I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself out of these troubles, when with one word I may. Oh

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the blindness of man! who seeth not the sun shining, neither remembereth the Lord's words. Consider therefore what he saith, You are the light of the world. A city builded on the 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. And in another place he saith, You shall be led before kings and rulers; fear ye not them that kill the body, but him which killeth both body and soul. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; and he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father. Wherefore seeing the words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority, will this wise counsellor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God, and follow the counsels of men; for it is written, Blessed is the man that hath not gone in the ways of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsel of the ungodly, and hath not set in the chair of pestilence, Psalm i. 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; neither will I exchange the life to come for this world here present. Oh how foolishly speaketh he which argueth me of foolishness!

"Neither do I take it to be a thing so uncomely, or unseeming for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honourable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble senators, whose desires (he saith) were enough to command me: for so are we taught of the apostles, that we ought to obey God before men. After that we have served and done our duty first unto God, then are we bound next to obey the potentates of this world; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord: they are just; but yet Christ, the seat of justice, is lacking in them: they are wise; but where is in them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? they are called virtuous; but yet I wish them more absolute in Christian charity: they are good and gracious; but yet I miss in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodness and grace: they are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of glory, which is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. Understand, ye kings, and learn, you that 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. What fret you, what fume you, O Gentiles? O you people! why cast you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? You kings of the earth, and you princes, why conspire you so together against Christ, and against his Holy One? Psalm ii. How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts: for this you must needs confess, that they that persecute the Lord's servants, do persecute the Lord himself: for so he saith himself, Whatsoever men shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to myself.

"And now let this carnal, politic counsellor and disputer of this world tell, wherein have they to blame me, if in my examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? seeing it is not ourselves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us, as he himself doth forewitnes, saying, When ye shall be brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you yourselves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you, Matt. x. Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his word, as it is most certain, then is there no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did speak; and who was I, that could resist his will? If any shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accused, who did that I

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purposed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them show it, and then will I say, that they were my words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord; and then who be they that shall accuse me? a people of prudence? or who shall condemn me? just judges? And though they so do, yet, nevertheless, the word shall not be frustrated, neither shall the gospel be foolish, or therefore decay; but rather the kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the Israelites, and shall pass the sooner unto the elect of Christ Jesus: and they who shall so do, shall prove the grievous judgment of God; neither shall they escape without punishment, that be persecutors and murderers of the just. My well-beloved! lift up your eyes, and consider the counsels of God. He showed unto us of late an image of his plague, which was to our correction: and if we shall not receive him, he will draw out his sword, and strike with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation that shall rise against Christ.

"These have I written to your comfort. Dear brethren! pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with a holy kiss, my good masters, Sylvius, Pergula, Justus; also Fidel Roche, and him that beareth the name of Lelia, whom I know, although being absent. Item, the governor of the university, Syndicus, and all others whose names be written in the hook of life. Farewell, all my fellow servants of God! fare ye well in the Lord, and pray for me continually.

"From the delectable orchard of Leonine prison, the twelfth of the calends of August, A.D. 1555."

It is written of one Thebrotus, that when he had read the book of Plato, *De Immortalitate Animæ*, he was so moved and persuaded therewith, that he cast himself down headlong 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 contemn this world and life here present; 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 peregrination; and that for a double respect, not only in seeing, reading, and understanding so many examples of the miseries of this wicked world; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly joys and consolations of the other world, remaining for us hereafter to come; for a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this present letter of Algerius above prefixed, for a taste of the same, and a lively testimony for all true Christians to read and consider. Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our table of Italian martyrs.

Johannes Aloysius, at Rome, and Jacobus Bovellus at Messina. Persecuted by Pope Pius the Fourth, A.D. 1559.

Of Johannes Aloysius we find mention made in a letter of Simon Florellus; which Aloysius was sent down from Geneva to the parts of Calabria, there to be their minister; who afterwards was sent for up to Rome, and there suffered.

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Jacobus Bovellus was likewise sent from Geneva to the said parts of Calabria, with Aloysius; who also, being sent for up to Rome, was sent down to the city of Messina, and there was martyred, A.D. 1559.

Divers that suffered in the kingdom of Naples, A.D. 1560.



Naples

After Pope Julius the Third, came Marcellus the Second. After him succeeded Pope Paul the Fourth. This Paul being dead, followed Pope Pius the Fourth, who, being advanced to that room, began hot persecution in all the territories of the Church of Rome, against them which were suspected for Lutherans; whereupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the kingdom of Naples, in such cruel sort, that many noble men, with their wives and others, are reported there to be slain.

Eighty-eight martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, slain like sheep.



Martyrs Slain with a Knife

Sixteen hundred others also, condemned at Calabria, A.D. 1560.

In Calabria, likewise, the same time, suffered a blessed number of Christ's well-beloved saints, both old and young, put together in one house, to the number of eighty-eight persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the house, and so being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife were all killed in order: a spectacle most tragical for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefore, for the more credit of the matter, lest we should seem either light of credit, to believe that is not true, or rashly to commit to pen things without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Master Simon Florellus, preacher of God's word at the city of Clavenna, among the Rhetians, unto a certain friend of his named Gulielmus Gratalorus, an Italian, and doctor of physic in the university of Basil. Which Gratalorus translated the same into the Latin tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th book of Pantaleon, p. 337, the English whereof is this as followeth:

The end of a certain letter of Simon Florellus, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty-eight Christian saints in the parts of Calabria.

"As concerning news I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a copy of certain letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Cosenza, the one called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniory of the duke of Montalto; the other

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called Guardia, situate upon the sea-coast, and twelve miles from St. Sixtus: which two towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitants there, or, as some write from the city of Rome, no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the letter, was servant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The country and people there, I well know to have taken the first original 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. The last year the two preachers were martyred; the one at Rome, named Johannes Aloysius Pascalis, a citizen of Cunio; the other at Messina, named James Bovell; both of Piedmont. This year the residue 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."

Now followeth the copy of the letter sent from Montalto, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Cosenza, bearing date the eleventh of June, 1560. The writer of this letter, as ye may perceive, was one of them that call themselves catholics, and followers of the pope. The words of the letter be these, as here follow.

Here followeth the copy of a letter sent from Montalto in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's people in Calabria, by the new pope, Pius the Fourth, A.D. 1550.

"Hitherto, most noble lord! have I certified you, what here daily hath been done about these heretics. Now cometh next to signify unto your Lordship the horrible judgment begun this present day, being the eleventh of June, to be executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans; which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death was to be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep; for they, being all thrust up in one house together, as in a sheep-fold, the executioner cometh in, and amongst them taketh one, and blindfoldeth him with a muffler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being so done, he cutteth his throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his butcher's knife and muffler all of gore-blood, (which the Italians call benda,) cometh again to the rest, and so leading one after another, he despatched them all, which were to the number of eighty-eight. This spectacle to behold how doleful and horrible it was, I leave to your Lordship's judgment; for to write of it, I myself cannot but weep: neither was there any of the beholders there present, which seeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes so humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do: notwithstanding the most part of them died in the same 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 gore-blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so despatching them all no otherwise than doth a butcher kill his calves and sheep.

"It is moreover appointed (and the carts be come already) that all those so put to death should be quartered, and so be conveyed in the carts to the hithermost parts of Calabria, where they will be hanged 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 shall give in

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commandment 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 other, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will nigh despatch them all.

"This day it is also determined, that a hundred of the more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many men so many women: and thus have you what I can say of this justice. Now is it about two o'clock in the afternoon: shortly we shall hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor be confessed to the priest; and they shall be burned alive.

"The heretics that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of sixteen hundred, but as yet no more but these aforesaid eighty-eight are already executed. This people have their original of the valley named Angrogne, near to Subaudia, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but simple people, ignorant, without learning, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen: but as I hear, much devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake.

"From Montalto, the eleventh of June."

And thus much writeth this Romanist.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the aforesaid Marquis Buccianus above specified, had a son or brother, unto whom the said new pope (Pius the Fourth, belike) is reported to have promised a cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. And like enough that the same was the cause of his butcherly persecution and effusion of Christian blood, in the said country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides these godly Italian martyrs in this table above contained, many others also have suffered in the same country of Italy, of whom some before have been specified, some peradventure omitted. But many more there be, whose names we know not; whereof as soon as knowledge may be given unto us, we purpose, God willing, to impart the same, loving reader! unto thee.

153. The Waldensian Martyrs in Provence

Now in the mean time it followeth, (according to my promise made before,) next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert also the tragical persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock of Christ, inhabiting in Merindol in France, and in the towns adjacent near unto the same, in the time of Francis the First, the French king. The furious cruelty of this miserable persecution, although it cannot be set forth too much at large, yet because we will not weary too much the reader with the full length thereof, we have so contracted the same, especially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in such sort, that as we on the one part have avoided prolixity, so on the other, we have omitted nothing which might seem unworthy to be forgotten. The story here followeth.

A notable history of the persecution and destruction of the people of Merindol and Cabriers, in the country of Provence:

Where not a few persons, but whole villages and townships, with the most part of all the aforesaid country, both men, women, and children, were put to all kinds of cruelty, and suffered martyrdom for the profession of the gospel.

They that write of the beginning of this people, say, that about two hundred years ago, A.D. 1360, they came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit in Provence, in certain villages destroyed by wars, and other desert places: wherein they used such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, almonds, with other fruits and commodities of the earth, and much cattle. Before they came thither, Merindol was a barren desert, and not inhabited: but these good people, (in whom God always had reserved some little seed of piety,) being dispersed and separated from the society of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts in that waste and wild desert, which, notwithstanding, through the blessing of God, and their great labour and travail, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding, the world in the mean time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies railed against them in such despiteful manner, that it seemed they were not worthy that the earth should bear them: for they of a long continuance and custom had refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed ever a more perfect kind of doctrine than others, delivered unto them from the father to the son, ever since the year of our Lord 1200.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the king, as contemners and despisers of the magistrates, and rebels: wherefore they were called by divers 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 towards the north, they were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turrelupines, of a desert where wolves did haunt. In Dauphine, with great despite, they were called Chagnards, because they lived in places open to the sun, and without house or harbour. But most commonly they were called Waldois, of Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God; which name continued until the name of Lutherans came up, which above all others was most hated and abhorred.

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Notwithstanding, in all these most spiteful contumelies and slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindol and Cabriers, and the quarters thereabouts, always lived so godly, so uprightly, and so justly, that in all their life and conversation there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure books of the Holy Scriptures, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towardly wits in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries, yea, even to the farthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in certain towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent thither two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus, born in Dauphine, a godly preacher of their own, and whom they had of their charges brought up in learning, and Petrus Latomus, a Burgundian, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there in the doctrine of the gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain points which they were not resolved in. These two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the church of God, namely with Ecolampadius at Basil; at Strasburg, with Bucer and Capito; and at Berne, with Bartholdus Hallerus, as they were returning through Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dijon, and cast into prison; Maurellus escaped, and returned alone to Merindol, with the books and letters which he brought with him from the churches of Germany; and declared to his brethren all the points of his commission, and opened unto them how many and great errors they were in, into the which their old ministers, whom they call Barbes, (that is to say, uncles,) had brought them, leading them from the right way of true religion.

When the people heard this, they were moved with such a zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the chiefest in knowledge and experience of all Calabria and Apulia, to consult with them touching 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. Amongst others, there was one cruel wretch called John de Roma, a monk, who, obtaining a commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the Waldois or Lutheran profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the faithful with all kinds of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised; he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them upon 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 most cruelly put them to death.

The first whom he thus tormented, were Michelottus Serra and W. Melius, with a number more. Wherefore Francis the French king, being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this hellish monk, sent letters to the court of parliament of Provence, that forthwith he should be apprehended, and by form of process, and order of law, he should be condemned, and advertisement sent unto him with all speed of his condemnation. The monk, being advertised hereof by his friends, conveyed himself to Avignon, where he thought to enjoy the spoilings, which he, like a notorious thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Christians: but

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shortly after, he which had so shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of all together, by his own household servants; whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible disease, strange and unknown to any physician. So extreme were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his body, that no ointment, no fomentation, nor any thing else, could ease him one minute of an hour: neither was there any man that could tarry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For the which cause he was carried from the Jacobins to an hospital, there to be kept; but the stench and infection so increased, that no man there durst come near him: no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stench that issued from his body, full of ulcers and sores, and swarming with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by piecemeal.

While he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage, "Oh! who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the evils and oppressions that I have done to the poor men?" And he himself went about divers times to destroy himself, but he had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearful despair, this blasphemer and most cruel homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come near him to bury him; but a young novice, newly come to his order, instead of a more honourable sepulture, caught hold with a hook upon his stinking carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official Perionet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison, of whom some by force of torments revolted from the truth; the others which continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were put into the hands of the judge ordinary, who at that time was one Meiranus, a notable cruel persecutor, who, without any form of process or order of law, such as the official had pronounced to be heretics, he put to death with most cruel torments; but shortly after he received a just reward of his cruelty in like manner.

After the death of the good president Cusinetus, the lord of Revest, being chief president of the parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death; who afterwards, being put out of his office, returned to his house of Revest, where he was stricken with such a horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, his wife, or any that were about him, durst not come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing.

After him succeeded Bartholomew Chassanee, likewise a pestilent persecutor, whom God at length struck with a fearful and sudden death. In the time of this tyrant, those of Merindol, in the persons of ten, were cited personally to appear before the king's attorney. But they, hearing that the court had determined to burn them without any further process or order of law, durst not appear at the day appointed. For which cause the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitants to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, no, not the little children and infants; the town to be razed, and their houses beaten down to the ground; also the trees to be cut down, as well olive-trees as all others, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness.

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This bloody arrest or decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all Provence there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the advocates, and men of learning and understanding; insomuch that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea, to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn oath which all such as 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 honoured, and every man's right regarded, without respect of persons.

Some of the advocates or lawyers, defending the said arrest to be just and right, said, that in the 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, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered, that upon their sayings it would ensue, that the judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form, in proceeding against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesseth that the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning, our Lord Jesus Christ.

By these and such other like talks, the said arrest was published throughout the country, and there was no assembly or banquet where it was not disputed or talked of: and namely, within twelve days after the arrest was given out, there was a great banquet in the town of Aix; at which banquet were present M. Bartholomew Chassanee, president, and many other councillors and other noble personages and men of authority. There was also the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, with divers ladies and gentlewomen, amongst whom was one which was commonly reported to be the bishop of Aix's concubine. They were scarce well sat at the table, but she began thus to talk: "My lord president! will you not execute the arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of Merindol?" The president answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain gentleman asked of her, what arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time studied to commit the same to memory: whereunto they that were at the banquet gave diligent ear, without any word speaking, until she had ended her tale.

Then the lord of Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! you have learned this tale either of some that would have it so, or else it is given out by some parliament of women." Then the lord of Senas, an ancient councillor, said unto him; "No, no, my lord of Alenc! it is no tale which you have heard this gentlewoman tell; for it is an arrest given out by a whole senate: and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the court of Provence a parliament of women." Then the lord of Alenc began to excuse himself, with protestation that he would not speak any thing to blemish the authority of that sovereign court; notwithstanding, he could not believe all that which the said gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the inhabitants of Merindol were condemned to die by the arrest of the said court of parliament of Provence, and especially the women, and little children and infants; and the town

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to be razed for the fault of ten or twelve persons, which did not appear before the said court at the day appointed. And the Lord Beauvieu also answered, that he believed not the said court to have given out any such arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the most tyrants in the world, would judge to be a thing most detestable: and said further, that he had known a long time many of Merindol, who seemed unto him to be men of great honesty: and my lord president (said he) can certify us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto women's tales. Then the gentlewoman who had rehearsed the arrest, stayed not to hear the president's answer, but suddenly looking upon the bishop of Aix, said, "I should greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this company who would defend these wicked men." And lifting up her eyes to heaven, in a great womanly chafe and fume, she said, "Would to God that all the Lutherans who are in Provence, yea, and in all France, had horns growing on their foreheads; then we should see a goodly many of horns!" To whom the Lord Beauvieu suddenly answered, saying, "Would to God all priests' harlots should chatter like pies!" Then said the gentlewoman, "Ah, my Lord Beauvieu! you ought not so to speak against our holy mother the church, for that there was never dog that barked against the crucifix, but he waxed mad;" whereat the bishop of Aix laughed, and clapping the gentlewoman on the shoulder, said, "By my holy orders, my minion! well said; I con you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my Lord Beauvieu! remember well the lesson which she hath given you." Here the Lord Beauvieu, being wholly moved with anger, said, "I care neither for her school nor yours, for it would be long before a man should learn of either of you either any honesty or honour. For if I should say, that the most part of the bishops and priests are abominable adulterers, blind idolaters, deceivers, thieves, seducers, I should not speak against the holy church, but against a heap and flock of wolves, dogs, and filthy swine. In speaking these things I would think a man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for speaking of the truth."

Then the archbishop in a great fury answered, "My Lord Beauvieu! you speak very evil, and you must give account, when time and place serve, of this your talk, which you have here uttered against the churchmen." "I would," said the Lord Beauvieu, "that it were to do even this present day, and I would bind myself to prove more abuses and naughtiness in priests than I have yet spoken." Then said the president Chassanee, "My Lord Beauvieu! let us leave off this talk, and live as our fathers have done, and maintain their honour." Then said he in great anger, "I am no priest's son, to maintain their wickedness and abuse:" and afterward he said, "I am well content to honour all true pastors of the church, and will not blame them that show good example in their doctrine and living; but I demand of you, my Lord of Arles! and you, my Lord of Aix! when our Lord Christ Jesus called the priests, deceiving hypocrites, blind seducers, robbers, and thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong?" And they answered, "No; for the most part of them were such men." Then said the Lord Beauvieu, "Even so it is with the bishops and priests whom I have spoken of, for they are such kind of men, or rather worse: and I so abhor their filthy and abominable life, that I dare not speak the one half of that which I know; and therefore in speaking the truth, to cool the babbling of a harlot, I do them no injury."

The Monsieur de Senas, an ancient councillor, said, "Let us leave off this contentious talk, for we are here assembled and come together to make good cheer." And afterwards he said, "M. de Beauvieu! for the love and amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertise you of three things, which, if you will do, you shall find great ease therein. The first is, that you, neither by word nor deed, aid or assist those which you hear to be Lutherans. Secondly, that you do not

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intermeddle openly to reprove ladies and gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasures. Thirdly, that you do never speak against the life and living of priests, how wicked soever it be, according to this saying, Do not touch mine anointed."

To whom M. de Beauvieu answered, "As touching the first point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this word Lutheranism, except you do call them Lutherans, who profess the doctrine of the gospel; neither yet will I ever allow any arrest which shall be given out to death against men, whose cause hath not been heard, especially against women and young infants: and I am assured, that there is no court of parliament in all France, which will approve or allow any such arrest. And whereas you say, that I should not meddle to reprove ladies and gentlewomen, if I knew any kinswoman of mine, which would abandon herself unto a priest or clerk, yea, albeit he were a cardinal or bishop, I would not do her so much honour as to rebuke her for it, but at least I would cut off her nose. And as touching priests, as I am contented not to meddle with their business, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come from henceforth within mine house; for as many as I shall find or take there, I will set their crowns so near their shoulders, that they shall need no more to wear any hoods about their necks." The like also said the president Chassanee.

Then the bishop of Aix's sweetheart, which had begun the quarrel, said, "I shall not be in quiet, except I speak yet one word more unto M. de Beauvieu." "Do you think," said she unto him, "that all the cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests, and all those holy religious men, which go oftentimes to gentlemen's houses, and haunt the castles and palaces of princes and noblemen, that they go thither to commit wickedness? Also you must not think evil of all those ladies and gentlewomen that go to bishops' houses of devotion, and to reveal those whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the pulpit upon pain of excommunication. If so be you will maintain those words, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of treason both to God and man; for here be those in this company, who shall make you give an account thereof." She had not so soon ended her talk, but M. Beauvieu said unto her, "Avaunt, O Herodias! thou filthy and impudent harlot! is it thy part to open thy mouth to talk in this company? Dost thou well understand and know what treason to God and man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou must solicit others to shed innocent blood?" With these words the gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All men thought that this talk had been at an end, and every man began to invent some merry communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

At the last the gentlewoman, advising herself, and thinking that she was too much injured, to be said that she went about to shed the innocent blood, she brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, "Monsieur Beauvieu! if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combat, to prove that I am no such manner of woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent blood. Do you call the blood of these wicked men of Merindol, innocent blood? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packs of Merindol, and such-like as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the greatest even unto the least. And for to see the beginning of this work, I have employed all my credit, and all my friends, and do not spare neither body nor goods to work the ruin and destruction of these people, and to rase out and to deface their memory from amongst men. Do you then, Monsieur Beauvieu! call the slaughter of these Lutherans, the effusion of innocent blood? And say you what you will, I will

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not refrain for no man living, to go either by day or by night unto the houses of bishops, in all honesty and honour, for the devotion which I bear unto our holy mother the church, and also I will receive into my house all religious men, to consult and devise the means how to put these Lutherans to death." But as Monsieur Beauvieu took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the table dispraised her, and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certain young gentleman, which, merrily jesting, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! it must needs be that these poor people, unto whom you do wish this cruel death, have done you some great displeasure." Then said she, "I may well take an oath, that I never knew one of these wretched people, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them; and I had rather to meet ten devils than one of those naughty knaves, for their opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they which never heard tell of them. And I was not then well advised at what time by curiosity, I, seeing the bishop of Aix so much troubled and angry that he could not eat nor drink, did desire him and constrain him to tell me the cause thereof. Then he, perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the cause, that is to say, that there were certain heretics, who spake against our holy mother the church, and among other errors they maintained, yea, to death, that all bishops, priests, and pastors, ought to be married, or else they should be basely handled: and hearing this I was marvellously offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was enjoined unto me by penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these heretics to death." After these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatenings, which were too long here to describe.

Then the president Chassanee and the councillors parted aside, and the gentlemen went on the other part. The archbishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix, and divers abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution, greater than that of John, the Jacobin monk of Rome: "for otherwise," said they, "our state and honour is like to decay; we shall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us but these peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many doctors of divinity and men of the religious order, divers senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, also a great part of the nobility, (if we may so say,) and that of great renown, yea, even of the chiefest peers in all Europe, begin to contemn and despise us, counting us to be no true pastors of the church; so that except we see to this mischief, and provide for remedy betimes, it is greatly to be feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now wealthily enjoy; but also the church, being spoiled of her pastors and guides, shall hereafter come to miserable ruin, and utter desolation. This matter therefore now requireth great diligence and circumspection, and that with all celerity."

Then the archbishop of Arles, not forgetting his Spanish subtleties and policies, gave his advice as followeth:

"Against the nobility we must, said he, take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortress, and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet may we not reprove them, or exasperate them, in

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any case; but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how 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. But if we enterprise any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught."

The bishop of Aix then answered,—

"It is well said, but I can show you a good remedy for this disease; we must go about with all our endeavour, 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 rustical peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, although they be of the blood royal, once to 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 the which city we shall find many bishops, abbots, and other famous men, which will with us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother the church."

This counsel was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon, there to assemble out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to treat of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracy, the bishop of Aix, a stout champion, and a great defender of the traditions of men, taking upon him to be the chief orator, began in a manner as followeth:

"O ye fathers and brethren! ye are not ignorant that a great tempest is raised up against the little bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger and ready to perish. The storm cometh from the north, whereof all these troubles proceed. The seas rage, the waters rush in on every side, the winds blow and beat upon our house, and we, without speedy remedy, are like to sustain shipwreck and loss of all together. For oblations cease, pilgrimage and devotion waxeth cold, charity is clean gone, our estimation and authority is debased, our jurisdiction decayed, and the ordinances of the church despised. And wherefore are we set and ordained over nations and kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow, whatsoever is against our holy mother the church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us stand stoutly in the right of our own possession, that we may root out from the memory of men for ever 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 bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible arrest against these cursed heretics of Merindol: now then resteth no more, but only the same to be put in execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that 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 unto 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 furniture to them belonging; and that so long, until the utter destruction and subversion of these wretched and cursed caitiffs be fully performed and finished."

This oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one doctor of divinity, a friar Jacobin, named Bassinet, who then answered again with this oration.

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"This is a weighty matter," said he, "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 shall hear of such a horrible slaughter, we shall 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 which have been accused of heretical doctrine: but now I do protest before God, which seeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine 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 my companions, have condemned all those unto most cruel death, whom we have judged to be heretics. And the cause why in conscience I am thus disquieted, 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 the most part of those articles, which they that are called Lutherans do maintain, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer gainsay them, except I should even wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy ordinances of God. Albeit, hitherto, to maintain the honour of our holy mother the church, and of our holy father the pope, and of our order, I have consented to the opinions and doings of other doctors, as well through ignorance, as also because I would not seem to attempt any thing against the will and pleasure of the prelates and vicars general: but now it seemeth unto me, that we ought not any more to proceed in this matter, as we have done in time past. It shall besufficient to punish them with fines, or to banish them which shall speak too intemperately or rashly against the constitutions of the church, and of the pope; and such as shall be manifestly convicted by the Holy Scriptures to be blasphemous or obstinate heretics, to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their crimes or errors, or else to perpetual prison. And this my advice and counsel I desire you to take in good part."

With this counsel of Bassinet all the company were offended, but especially the bishop of Aix, who, lifting up his voice above all the rest, said thus unto him; "O thou man of little faith! whereof art thou in doubt? dost thou repent thee of that thou hast well done? Thou hast told here a tale, that smelleth of faggots and brimstone. Is there any difference, thinkest thou, between heresies and blasphemies spoken and maintained against the Holy Scriptures, and opinions holden against our holy mother the church, and contrary to our holy father the pope, a most undoubted and true god on earth? Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" Then said the bishop of Arles, "Could any man treat better of the little bark of Christ Jesus, than my lord of Aix hath done?"

Then stood up Bassinet again, and made this oration:

"It is true that my lord, the bishop of Aix, hath very well set out the manners and state of the clergy, and hath aptly reprov'd the vices and heresies of this present time: and therefore, so 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, which sometime had the governance of this ship, being ordained pastors in the church of God: 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 which were like sheep without a shepherd, he sent diligent fishers to fish for men, faithful workmen

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into his harvest, and labourers into his vineyard, which shall 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, 1 Tim. iv., that in the latter day some shall fall away from the faith, following after deceitful spirits, and the doctrine of devils. And the apostle giveth a mark whereby a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ saith, Matt. vii., that the false prophets shall come clothed in sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, and by their fruits they shall be known. By these two, and divers such other places, it is easy to understand, who are they that go about to drown this little bark of Christ. Are they not those which fill the same with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking water? are they not those which have forsaken Jesus Christ, the fountain of living water, and have digged unto themselves pits or cisterns which will hold no water? Truly even those they are, who vaunt themselves to be the salt of earth, and yet have no savour at all; which call themselves pastors, and yet are much less than true pastors, for they minister not unto the sheep the true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may be hold to speak it) would it not be at this present as great a wonder to hear a bishop preach, as to see an ass fly? Are not they accursed of God, who glory and vaunt themselves to have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that 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 their habit, their rochet, and their surplice, and such other. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all abomination, rapine, gluttony, filthy lust, and all manner of uncleanness; they are like painted sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within are full of filth and corruption. A man shall know (I say) these ravening wolves by their fruits, which devour the quick and the dead under pretence of long prayer. And forasmuch as I am enforced 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, which impudently forsake the ship of Christ Jesus, to embark themselves in pinnaces and brigandines, 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, above others, raging and crying out as he had been mad, "Get thee out," said he, from amongst us, thou wicked apostate! thou art not worthy to be in this company. We have burned daily a great many which have not so well deserved it as thou hast. We may now perceive, that there is none more stedfast and fervent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law; and therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next general council, that none should have to do in matters of religion but they alone: for these knaves, and beggarly monks and friars, will bring all to nought." Then the other doctors of the same order boldly reproved the bishop of Aix for the injury he had done unto them. After this there arose a great dissension amongst them, insomuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After dinner all these reverend prelates assembled together again, but they suffered neither friar nor monk to be amongst them, except he were an abbot. In this assembly they made a general composition, confirmed with an oath, that every man should endeavour himself that the said arrest of Merindol should be executed with all expedition, every man offering to furnish out men of war, according to his ability. The charge thereof was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all

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means possible the presidents and councillors of the said court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the said arrest with drums, ensigns displayed, artillery, and all kind of furniture of war.

This conspiracy being concluded and determined, the bishop of Aix departed incontinent from Avignon, to go unto Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding they desired him to be, the next day after the council was holden, at a banquet which should be made at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet such as 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 travail which they had taken for our holy mother the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his minion upon his arm, they saw a man which sold base images and pictures, with filthy rhymes and ballads annexed to the same, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly pictures were bought up by the bishops, which were as many as a mule could well carry; and if there were any obscure sentence, or hard to understand in those rhymes or ballads, the same these learned prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a bookseller, which had set out to sale certain Bibles in French and Latin, with divers other books; which when the prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, "Darest thou be so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell here in this town? dost thou 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 scarce spoken these words, but the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran!" "Let him be taken," said he, "and examined what he is." And incontinently the bookseller was taken and carried unto prison, and spitefully handled; for a company of knaves and ruffians, which waited upon the prelates, began to cry out, "A Lutheran! a Lutheran! "" To the fire with him! to the fire with him! "And one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor man was all imbrued with blood before he came to prison.

The morrow after he was brought before the judges in the presence of the bishops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: "Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in French?" The prisoner answered that he had so done. And being demanded, whether he understood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other language than in 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 imprinted by the king's privilege. Furthermore, he said, that he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the Holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue: and afterwards, with a bold courage, thus he spake unto 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 ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave

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power unto his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, to this end, that his holy gospel should be taught unto all creatures in every language? And why do you not forbid those books and pictures, which are full of filthiness and abomination to move and stir up the people to crimes and to uncleanness, and to 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 again into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poor silly souls their nourishment and sustenance? But, my lords! you shall give a heavy account, which callsweet sour, and sour 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. "What need you," said they, "any more examination? let him be sent straight unto the fire, without any more words." But the judge Laberius and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death; but went about to have him put to his fine, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and others his companions, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered, that he could do it with a good conscience, forasmuch as he did see 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 rather to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, 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; and for a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor man had also the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and monish the people to read the Holy Scriptures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the truth. The prelates, seeing a great dissension among the people of Avignon, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in fear, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the sound of a trumpet throughout the whole town and country of Venice, that all such as had any books in the French tongue, treating upon the Holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the commissioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise they which had any such books found about them, should be put to death.

Then, after these prelates had taken advice to raise great persecution in Venice, the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindol, travailing earnestly with the president Chassanee to that effect; declaring unto him the good-will of the prelates of Avignon and Provence, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promises if he would put the arrest in execution. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the arrest of Merindol in execution; also that the said arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, which were in great numbers in Provence, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said arrest. Moreover, he said, that the arrest of Merindol was not definitive, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution thereof without further process. Then said the bishop, "If there be either law or statute which doth hinder or let you, we carry in our sleeves to dispense therewithal." The president answered, "It were a great sin to shed the innocent blood." Then said the bishop, "The blood of them of Merindol be upon us, and upon our successors." Then said the president, I am very well assured,

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that if the arrest of Merindol be put in execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects." Then said the bishop, "Although the king at first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done: for we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Tournon, the which will take upon him the defence of our cause; and we can do him no greater pleasure, than utterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we shall be well assured of him. And is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of these Lutherans, that is in all Christendom?"

By this and such other like talk the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and councillors of the court of parliament, to put the said arrest in execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said court, the drum was sounded through 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, well horsed and furnished, against Merindol, to execute the arrest. The inhabitants of Merindol, being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves and their cause unto God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, as sheep led unto the butchery.

Whilst 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 unto them, that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time how, or by what means; notwithstanding afterwards it was known, that the lord of Alenc, a wise man, and learned in the Scriptures, and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared unto the president Chassanee, that he ought not so to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by way of force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the not guilty. And furthermore he said:

"I desire you, my lord president! call to remembrance the counsel which you have written in your book entitled *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*, in which book you have treated and brought forth the processes which were holden against the rats, by the officers of the court and jurisdiction of the bishop of Autun. For as it happened, there was almost throughout all the bailiwick of Laussois such a great number of rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the corn of the country; whereupon they took counsel to send unto the bishop of Autun's official, to have the rats excommunicated. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the said official, after he had heard the plaintiff of the procurator-fiscal, that before he would proceed to excommunication, they should have admonition and warning according to the order of justice. For this cause it was ordained, that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of the town of Autun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them. The three days were passed, and the procurator came into the court against the rats, and for lack of appearance obtained default, by virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the excommunication; whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said rats, being absent, should have their advocate appointed them to hear their defence, forasmuch as the question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the said rats. And you, my lord president! being at that time the king's advocate at Autun, were then

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chosen to be the advocate to defend the rats; and having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation was of no effect, for certain causes and reasons by you there alleged. Then was it decreed that the said rats should be once again cited throughout the parishes where they were. Then after the citations were duly served, the procurator came again into the court as before; and there it was alleged by you, my lord president! how that the term of appearance given unto the rats was too short, and that there were so many cats in every town and village which they should pass through, that they had just cause to be absent.

"Wherefore, my lord president! you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor men, but you ought to look upon the Holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how you ought to proceed in this matter. And you, my lord! have alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your said book; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of small importance, you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal causes. Then, my lord president! you which have taught others, will you not also learn by your own books? the which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor men of Merindol: for are they not Christian men, and ought you not as well to minister right and justice unto them, as you have done to the rats?"

By these and such-like demonstrations, the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission which he had given out, and caused the army to retire, which was already come near unto Merindol, even within a mile and a half.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient unto his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself unto 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 example, our Lord Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who hath entered into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all the afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them; and such was their answer to all those that either pitied, or else sought their destruction: whereupon the bruit and noise was so great, as well of the arrest, as of 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 the First, a king of noble courage and great judgment; who gave commandment unto the noble and virtuous lord, M. de Langeay, which then was 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 M. de Langeay sent unto Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the copy of the arrest, and diligently to inquire out all that followed and ensued thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and manners of the said Merindolians and others, which were persecuted in the country of Provence.

These deputies brought the copy of the arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said M. de Langeay, declaring unto him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, as well secular as ecclesiastical, used against them of

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Merindol, and others. As touching the behaviour and disposition of those which were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the men of Provence affirmed them to be men given to great labour and travail; and that about two hundred years past (as it is reported) they came out of the country of Piedmont to dwell in Provence, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many hamlets and villages destroyed by the wars, and other desert and waste places; which they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of wines, oils, honey, and cattle, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Besides that, before they came into the country to dwell, the place of Merindol was taxed but at four crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the lord, for taxes and tallages, above three hundred and fifty crowns, beside other charges.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and divers other places of Provence; whereas there was nothing but robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the country of Provence affirmed, that the inhabitants of Merindol, and the others that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved of all their neighbours, men of good behaviour, constant in keeping of their promise, and paying of their debts without traversing or pleading of the law: that they were also charitable men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and suffered none amongst them to lack, or be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harbouring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the country of Provence, that they would not swear, or name the devil, nor easily be brought to take an oath, except it were in judgment, or making some solemn covenant. They were also known by this, that they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters; but in what company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing, or blasphemy, to the dishonour of God, they straightway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go unto their business, but first they made their prayers. The said people of Provence furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any fairs or markets, or came to their cities by any occasion, they never in a manner were seen in their churches; and if they were; when they prayed they turned away their faces from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet; neither 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 do no reverence unto them. Also the priests did testify, that they never caused them to say any masses, neither dirges, neither yet *De profundis*, neither would they take any holy water; and if it were carried home unto their houses, they would not say once, "God a' mercy!" yea, they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on pilgrimage, to make vows to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sins with money, yea, though it might be gotten for a halfpenny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise when it thundered or lightened, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their eyes unto heaven, fetched deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the sign of the cross, or taking of holy water. Also they were never seen to offer, or cast into the bason, any thing for the 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 too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto Monsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behaviour of the inhabitants of Merindol, and the other who were persecuted; also as touching the arrest, and that which ensued thereupon. Of all those things the said Monsieur de

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Langeay, according to the charge that was given him, advertised the king, who, understanding these things, as a good prince, moved with mercy and pity, sent letters of grace and pardon, not only for those which were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Provence, which were accused and suspected in like case; expressly charging and commanding the said parliament, that they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before, against this people; but if there were any that could be found or proved, by sufficient information, to have swerved from the Christian religion, that then he should have good demonstration made unto him by the word of God, both out of the Old and New Testament: and so, as well by the gentleness, as by the rigour of the same, he should be reduced again unto the church of Christ. Declaring also, that the king's pleasure was, that all such as should be convicted of heresy in manner aforesaid, should abjure; forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindol, or others that were persecuted, by any other manner of means, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods: revoking and disannulling all manner of sentences and condemnations of what judges soever they were, and commanding to set at liberty all prisoners which either were accused or suspected of Lutheranism.

By virtue of these letters they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they could in defence thereof; whereupon they made a Confession of their faith, the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the story. This Confession was presented first to the court of parliament; and afterwards being declared more at large, with articles also annexed thereunto, it was delivered to the bishop of Cavaillon, who required the same. Also to Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, with the like articles, and also a supplication to this effect:

That the inhabitants of Cabriers, in the country of Venice, most humbly desired the cardinal, that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the Confession and declaration of their faith and doctrine, in the which they, and also their fathers before them, had been of a long time instructed and taught, which they were persuaded to be agreeable to the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament. And because he was learned in the Holy Scriptures, they desired him that he would mark such articles as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the same, they would not only submit themselves to abjuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adjudged unto them, even to the loss, not only of all that they had, but also of their lives. And moreover, if there were any judge in all the country of Venice, which, by good and sufficient information, should be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine, or maintained any other religion than was contained in the articles of their Confession, they desired him that he would communicate the same unto them; and with all obedience they offered themselves to whatsoever should be thought just and reasonable.

Upon this request Cardinal Sadolet answered by his letters written by his secretary, and signed with his own hand, the tenor whereof here ensueth:

"I have seen your request, and have read the articles of your Confession, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not understand that you are accused for any other doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is most true, that many have reported divers things of you worthy of reproof, which, after diligent inquiry made, we have found to be nothing

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else but false reports and slanders. As touching the rest of your articles, it seemeth unto me, that there are many words therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confession: and likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the pastors of the church. For my part, I desire your welfare, and would be sorry that you should be so spoiled or destroyed, as they do pretend. And to the end you shall the better understand my amity and friendship towards you, shortly I will be at my house by Cabriers, whither ye may resort unto me either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any hurt or damage; and there I will advertise you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health."

About this time, which was A.D. 1542, the vice-legate of Avignon assembled a great number of men of war, at the suit of the bishop of Cavaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the Cardinal Sadolet went with speed unto the vice-legate, and showed him the request of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the articles of their Confession, and the offers that they made; so that for that present the army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the inhabitants of Cabriers. After this, the Cardinal Sadolet went unto Rome; but before his departure he sent for divers of Cabriers, and certain farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of those which were called Lutherans, and told them that he would have them in remembrance as soon as he came unto Rome, and communicate their articles and Confession unto the cardinals, trusting to find a mean to have some good reformation, that God should be thereby glorified, and all Christendom brought to unity and concord; at least, nothing at all doubting but that the foulest abuses should be corrected and amended: advertising them in the mean time to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for that they had many enemies. With this oration of Cardinal Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at the suit of Cardinal Sadolet they should have answer of their Confession: but at his return, they understood that he found all things so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortal war against all such as would not live according to the ordinances of the Church of Rome. Likewise said the treasurer of Carpentras, who albeit he paid out money to furnish soldiers that were hired for the destruction of Cabriers, notwithstanding he did aid them secretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the legate; whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himself.

On the other part, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon pursued still the execution of the arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that, according to the king's letters, John Durand, councillor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go unto Merindol, and there declare unto 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 said heresies: and if the Merindolians did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a doctor of divinity, came to Merindol, to make them to abjure. Unto whom the Merindolians answered, that he enterprised against the authority of parliament, and that it was against his commission so to do. Notwithstanding he was very earnest with them that they

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should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen doth her chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, that they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, wherein he commanded that first the errors should be declared unto them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed thereof by the word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters; otherwise it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it so appear unto them by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any errors and heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their Confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest unto them, that they had holden any heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their Confession was grounded upon the same, then they ought by no means to move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they held not; and that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God, but, in a fury, cursed, and gave him to the devil that first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindol, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet showed them unto him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered the doctor the Confession, which, after he had read, the bishop of Cavaillon said, "What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of heresy." Then they of Merindol demanded, "In what point?" whereupon the bishop knew not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look upon the articles of the Confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the bishop departed, being very sore agrieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies appear which were in the said Confession: whereunto the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed; for when he had beholden the articles of the Confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had 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 therein alleged.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came unto Merindol, and calling before him the children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Pater-noster and the Creed in Latin. The most part of them answered, that they knew the Pater-noster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could give no reason of that which they spake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary that they should be so cunning, 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

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many bishops, curates, yea, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Paternoster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, to what purpose it would serve to say the Pater-noster and the Creed, and not to understand the same? for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop unto him, "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 orderly to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I would not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it yet more readily than I; but I pray you, question with one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at least he would not.

Then one, named Pieron Roy, said, "Sir! one of these children may question with another, if you think it so 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 answered so unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, that came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the bishop, "I must needs confess that I have often been at the common schools of Sarbonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines; but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children." Then said William Armant, "Did you never read that which is written in Matthew xi., where it is said, O Father! Lord of heaven and earth! I render thanks unto thee, that thou hast bidden these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but behold, O Father! such was thy good will and pleasure." Then every man marvelled at the ready and witty answers of the children of Merindol.

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about, by fair and flattering words, to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, causing the strangers to go apart, he said that he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be: notwithstanding, for the contentation of them which were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all men, and even of those who now persecuted them: and that they should sustain no infamy thereby, for there should be no report thereof made, but only to the pope, and to the high court of parliament of Provence: and also if any man, in time to come, would turn the same to their reproach, or allege it against them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly deny it, and say they made no abjuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or witnesses to prove the same. For this purpose he desired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter without any further business.

The bailiff, and the two officers, with divers other ancients of the town, answered, that they were fully resolved not to consent to any abjuration, howsoever it were to be done; except (that which was always their exception) they could make it appear unto them by the word of God, that they had holden or maintained any heresy; marvelling much that he would go about to persuade them to lie to God and to the world. And albeit that all men by nature are liars, yet they

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had learned by the word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed of lying in any matter, were it never so small. Also, that they ought diligently to take heed that their children did not accustom to use themselves to lie, and therefore punished them very sharply, when they took them with any lie, even as if they had committed any robbery; for the devil is a liar, and the father of lies. Here the bishop rose up in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

Within a while after, the bishop of Aix solicited Master John Durand, councillor of the court of the parliament of Provence, to execute the commission which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of Merindol, together with the secretary of the said court, and there, in the presence of the bishop of Cavaillon, accompanied with a doctor of divinity, to declare the errors and heresies which the bishops pretended the inhabitants of Merindol to be infected and entangled withal; and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the word of God; and so, being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the said heresies. Whereupon the said councillor Durand certified the day that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that none of the inhabitants should be absent.

At the day appointed, the said councillor Durand, the bishop of Cavaillon, a doctor of divinity, and a secretary, came unto Merindol, where were also present divers gentlemen, and men of understanding of all sorts, to see this commission executed. Then they of Merindol were advertised that they should not appear all at once, but that they should keep themselves apart, and appear as they should be called, in such order and number as should be appointed unto them. After that Durand, the bishop of Cavaillon, the doctor of divinity, and the secretary, were set in place where justice was accustomed to be kept, there were called forth Andrew Maynard, the bailiff of Merindol; Jenon Romaine, and Micheline Maynard, syndics; John Cabrie, and John Palenc, ancients of Merindol; and John Bruneral, under-bailiff. After they had presented themselves with all due reverence, the councillor Durand spake thus unto them:

"You are not ignorant, that by the arrest given out by the high court of Provence, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children; your houses also to be beaten down, and your town to be razed and made desolate, &c., as is more largely contained in the said arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the king, our most gracious prince, to send his letters unto the said court, commanding that the said arrest should not so vigorously proceed against you: but if it could by sufficient information be proved, that you, or any of you, had swerved from the true religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said court of parliament, that the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the errors and heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the word of God, you should publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said heresies; and in so doing, should obtain the grace and pardon contained in the king's letters: wherefore show yourselves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the king, and the magistrates."

When he had thus spoken, "What answer you," said he, "to that which I have propounded?"

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Then Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired that they would grant them an advocate to answer according to the instructions which they would give him, forasmuch as they were men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The councillor answered, that he would hear their answer neither by advocate nor by writing, but would hear them answer in their own persons: notwithstanding, he would give them leave to go apart, and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves; and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the bailiff and the two syndics, with other two ancient men, talked together awhile, and determined that the two syndics should speak first, and after them the bailiff, then the two ancient men; every man according as God should give him grace and by and by they presented themselves; whereat the councillor Durand was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then Michelin Maynard began to answer, desiring the councillor and the bishop, with the other assistants, to pardon him, if that he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant men. His answer here followeth.

"We are greatly bound to give God thanks, that besides his other benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our noble king, that our cause might be treated with justice, and not by violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our noble king, which following the example of Samuel and Daniel, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor subjects. Also we render thanks unto the lords of the parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister justice according to the king's commandment. Finally, we thank you, my lord Durand, commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you, in so few words, to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the heresies and errors whereof I am accused; and where they shall make it appear unto me that I have holden any errors or heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you."

After him answered Jenon Romaine, the other syndic, a very ancient father, approving all that which his fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard such good news, that the cause of religion should be decided and debated by the Holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient men say, that they could never obtain of the judges, in all their persecution, to have their cause debated in such sort.

Then Andrew Maynard the bailiff answered, saying, that God had given to these two syndics the grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto; notwithstanding, it seemed good that their answers were put in writing, which was not done by the secretary, who had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said: wherefore he required the commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their answers word for word; and he himself, with a singular memory, repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said answers being thus put in writing, the commissioner asked the bailiff if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to show him his secretary's fault, willing him to speak boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cause. Then the bailiff said, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely, I say moreover, that it

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seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of process in this judgment; for there is no party here that doth accuse us. If we had an accuser present, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that whereof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are heretics, I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his accusations, as we to answer unto the same."

After the bailiff had made this answer, John Palenc, one of the ancients of Merindol, said, that he approved all that had been said by the syndics, and that he was able to say no more than had been said by them before. The commissioner said unto him: "You are, I see, a very ancient man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause." And the said Palenc answered, "Seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me impossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or advantage; for our judges be our enemies."

Then John Bruneral, under-bailiff of Merindol, answered thus:

"That he would very fain know the authority of the councillor Durand, commissioner in this cause, forasmuch as the said councillor had given them to understand, that he had authority of the high court to make them abjure their errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them (so doing) the pardon contained in the king's letters, and quit them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said commissioner did not give them to understand, that if they could not be found, by good and sufficient information, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said sentence and condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more advantage for the said Merindolians, if it should appear that they were heretics, than to be found to live according to the doctrine of the gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said commissioner to make declaration thereof; concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swerved from the faith, or if there were no accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in body or goods."

These things were thus in debating from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the commissioners dismissed them till after dinner. At one o'clock in the afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any thing else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said commissioner. They answered, "No." Then said the commissioner, "What do you conclude for your defence?" the two syndics answered, "We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the errors and heresies whereof we are accused." Then the commissioner asked the bishop of Cavaillon, what informations he had against them. The bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, that the commissioner and all others that stood thereby were weary thereof. In the end, the commissioner said unto them, that the bishop of Cavaillon had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, that they required the causes and reasons alleged by the bishop of Cavaillon against them should be put in writing. The bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing that either he said or alleged to be put in writing. Then John Bruneral required the commissioner that at least he would put in writing, that the bishop would speak

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nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the commissioner but only in his ear. The bishop, on the contrary part, insisted that he would not be named in the process. There was great disputation upon this matter, and continued long.

Then the commissioner asked the Merindolians if they had the articles of their Confession, which they had presented to the high court of parliament. Then they required that their Confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Confession was read publicly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the commissioner asked the doctor, if he did find in the said Confession any heretical opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired the commissioner, according as he had propounded, to make the errors and heresies that they were accused of apparent unto them by good information, or at the least to mark those articles of their Confession which the bishop and the doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the bishop as of the doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latin, so that they of Merindol could not understand one word. Then the commissioner promised them to put in writing all that should make for their cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be said to them, than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the sum of all that was done in the afternoon.

Many which came thither to hear these disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the bishop and the doctor so confounded; which thing afterwards turned to the great benefit of many, for hereby they were moved to require copies of the Confession of their faith, by means whereof they were converted and embraced the truth; and especially three doctors, who went about divers times to dissuade the Merindolians from their faith, whose ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his gospel. One of them was Dr. Combaudi, prior of St. Maximin, afterwards a preacher in the territory of the lords of Berne: another was Dr. Somati, who was also a preacher in the bailiwick of Tournon: the other was Dr. Heraudi, pastor and minister in the county of Neufchatel.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those who persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the president Chassanee, but also of many others of the chiefest councillors of the parliament of Provence; whose horrible end terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful example of that bloody tyrant John de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutors; whereof we have spoken before.

Thus the Lord, repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the violence and execution of that cruel sentence or arrest given out by the parliament of Provence against the Merindolians, until John Minerius, an exceeding bloody tyrant, began a new persecution. This Minerius, being lord of Opede near to Merindol, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his seigniorship or lordship, which before was very base. For this cause he put five or six of his own

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tenants into a cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and Waldois, to have their goods and possessions. By this and such other practices, this wretch was advanced in short space to great wealth and dignity; and so at length became not only the chief president of the high court of parliament, but also the king's lieutenant-general in the country of Provence, in the absence of the Lord Grignan, then being at the council of Worms in Germany. Now therefore, seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish enterprise, he employed all his power, riches, and authority, not only to confirm and to revive that cruel arrest given out before by the court of parliament, but also, as a right minister of Satan, he exceedingly increased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand, that they of Merindol and all the country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armour, with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and make it one of the cantons of the Switzers. And to stay this enterprise, he said it was necessary to execute the arrest *manu militari*: and by this means he obtained the king's letters patent, through the help of the cardinal of Tournon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding that the king had before revoked the said sentence, and given strait commandment that it should in no wise be executed; as is before mentioned.

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, that were able to bear armour, in the chiefest 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, and employed the same to the destruction of Merindol, Cabriers, and other towns and villages to the number of two and twenty, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child without all mercy, sparing none: no otherwise than the infidels and cruel Turks have dealt with the Christians, as before in the story of the Turks you may read. For as the papists and Turks are alike in their religion; so are the said papists like, or rather exceed them, in all kinds of cruelty that can be devised. But this arch-tyrant, before he came to Merindol, ransacked and burnt certain towns, namely, La Roche, St. Stephens, Ville Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabriers, St. Martin, Pipin, and other places more, notwithstanding that the arrest extended but only to Merindol, where the most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; women and maidens ravished; women with child, and little infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered; the paps of many women cut off, who gave suck to their children, which looking for suck at their mother's breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never such cruelty and tyranny seen before.

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Martyrs Dragged to the gallows

The Merindolians, seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their houses, and fled into the woods, and remained that night at the village Sanfales, and thereabouts, in wonderful fear and perplexity; for the bishop of Cavaillon, deputy to the bishop of Rome's legate, had appointed certain captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in woods, for there was danger on every side; and Minerius had commanded, under pain of death, that no man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wheresoever they were found. The same proclamation was of force also in the bishop of Rome's dominions thereby; and it was said, that the bishops of that country did find a great part of the army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful journey, carrying their children upon their shoulders, and in their arms, and in their swaddling-clothes; and many of them also being great with child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither were already resorted a great number which had lost their goods, and saved themselves by flight.



A Martyr Dragged and Whipped

Not long after it was showed them how that Minerius was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersome places, and 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 residue were appointed to go to the town of Muzi. And this did they, upon hope that the enemy would show mercy to the multitude of women and children being destitute of all succour. No tongue can express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that woeful departing, when they were compelled to be thus separated asunder, the husband from his dear wife, the father from his sweet babes and tender infants, the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons, with evening prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed over the great hill of Libron, they might see many villages and farms set on fire. Minerius, in the mean time, had divided his army into two parts, marching himself with the one towards the town of Merindol; and having knowledge by espial whither the Merindolians were fled, he sendeth the other part to set upon them, and to show their accustomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of Minerius' army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their enemies were coming: and one, from the top of a high rock, where he thought that the Merindolians were underneath, cast down two stones, and afterwards, although he could not see them, he called unto them that

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they should immediately fly from thence. But the enemies suddenly came upon them, and finding them all assembled together at prayers, spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: some they abused, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold away like cattle, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The women were in number about five hundred.

In the mean time Minerius came to Merindol, where he found none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yielded himself unto a soldier, promising him for his ransom two French crowns. Minerius would have had him away by force, but it was answered that the soldier ought not to lose his prisoner. Minerius therefore, paying the two crowns himself, took the young man, and caused him to be tied unto an olive-tree, and shot through with arquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many gentlemen which accompanied Minerius against their wills, seeing this cruel spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear tears; for albeit this young man was not yet very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindol, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God; and the last words that he spake were these: "Lord God! these men take away my life full of misery, but thou wilt give unto me life everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory." So was Merindol, without any resistance, valiantly taken, ransacked, burned, razed, and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no man to resist, yet this valiant captain of Opede, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

When he had destroyed Merindol, he laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the lord of the town, and Poulin his chief captain, persuaded with the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising, that if they would so do, they would lay down their armour, and also that their cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be showed against them. Upon this they opened their gates, and let in Minerius, with his captains, and all his army. But the tyrant, when he was once entered, 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, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces of his soldiers.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon the poor silly women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the silly women, running to the great window where the hay is wont to be cast into the barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. Then there was a soldier, which, 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, and the children yet unborn they trod under their feet. Many were fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves, whereof some were carried into the meadow, and there, stripped naked, were slain: others were bound two and two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains, rejoicing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

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That done, this tyrant, more cruel than ever was Herod, commanded Captain John de Gay, with a band of ruffians, to go into the church (where was a great number of women, children, and young infants) to kill all that he found there; which the captain refused at first to do, saying, that were a cruelty unused among men of war: whereat Minerius being displeased, 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 this mean while certain soldiers went to ransack the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men that had there hidden themselves in cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill! kill!" The other soldiers that were without the town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of those that were so unmercifully murdered, was about a thousand persons, men, women, and children. The infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again of their enemies.

In token of this jolly victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in the said place of Cabriers, on the which was engraven the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this town, by John Minerius, lord of Opede, and chief president of the parliament of Provence; for a memorial for ever of that barbarous cruelty, the like whereof was never yet heard of. Whereupon we, with all our posterity, have to understand what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the antichrist of Rome is wont to uphold the impious seat of his abomination; who now is come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of iniquity, that all justice, equity, and verity being set aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing than only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and shedding of blood.

In this mean while the inhabitants of Merindol, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and much affliction; who had procured certain men who were in some favour and authority with Minerius, to make request for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their wives and children, although they had no more but their shirts to cover them. Whereunto Minerius 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."

After this there was a power sent unto Costua, which likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the inhabitants fled away, and ran into an orchard, where the soldiers vilely ill-used the women and maidens; and when they had kept them there enclosed a day and a night, they handled them so cruelly, that some of the women with child, and maidens, died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowful examples of this cruel persecution against the Merindolians, and their fellows, insomuch that no kind of cruel tyranny was unpractised; for they which escaped by woods, and went wandering by mountains, were taken and set in galleys, or else were slain outright.

Many which did hide themselves in rocks and dark caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire and smoke put unto them: all which may more fully be understood by the records of the court, and by the pleas between them and their adversaries in the high consistory of the court of Paris, where, all the doors being set open, and in the public

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hearing of the people, the cause of this trouble and persecution was shortly after solemnly debated between two great lawyers; the one called Aubrius, which accused Minerius the president, committed to prison; and the other called Robert, the defendant who was against him. The cause why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and judgment to be decided by the law was this:

Henry the Second, the French king, who newly succeeded Francis his father above-mentioned, considering how this cruel and infamous persecution against his own subjects and people was greatly disliked of other princes, and also objected both against him and his father as a note of shameful tyranny, by the emperor himself, Charles the Fifth, and that in the public council of all the states in Germany, for so murdering and spoiling his own natural subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the court, and there to be decided by order of justice, A.D. 1547.

Which cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in public audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, so it brake off and was passed over; and at length Minerius, being loosed out of prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon this condition and promise made unto the cardinal, Charles of Lorraine, that he should banish and expel these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the gospel) out of all Provence.

Thus Minerius, being restored, returned again into Provence, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the just judgment of God, lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible disease unto the torments of death, which he most justly had deserved. For he, being struck with a strange kind of bleeding in manner of a bloody flux, and not being able to obtain other relief, thus by little and little his entrails within him rotted: and when no remedy could be found for this terrible disease, and his entrails now began to be eaten of worms, a certain famous surgeon, named La Motte, which dwelt at Arles, a man no less godly than expert in his science, was called for, who, after he had cured him of this difficulty of relieving himself, and therefore was in great estimation with him, before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrefied body, and to search out the inward cause of his malady, he desired that they which were present in the chamber with Minerius, would depart a little aside. Which being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest words, saying, how the time now required that he should ask forgiveness of God by Christ, for his enormous crimes and cruelty, in shedding so much innocent blood; and declaring the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of blood coming from him.

These words being heard, so pierced the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith troubled more than with the agony of his disease; insomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the surgeon as a heretic. La Motte hearing this, eftsoons conveyed himself out of sight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithstanding it was not long but he was sent for again, being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmly, that his coming should be without any peril or danger: and so, with much ado, he returned again to Minerius, what time all now was past remedy. And so Minerius, raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the navel upwards, with extreme stench of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God, through his

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mighty arm, at length confoundeth such persecutors of his innocent and faithful servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praise and glory for ever!

Moreover, besides this justice of God showed upon Minerius, here also is not to be forgotten which followed likewise upon certain of the others who were the chief doers in this persecution under Minerius aforesaid; namely, Louis de Vaine, brother-in-law to the said president, and also the brother and the son-in-law to Peter Durant, master-butcher in the town of Aix; the which three did slay one another, upon a certain strife that fell among them. And upon the same day the judge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in the same persecution, as he returned homeward, going over the river of Durance, was drowned.

Notes upon the history of Merindol, above recited.

Thus hast thou heard, loving reader! the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals, against these faithful men of Merindol, which, for the heinous tyranny, and example of the fact most unmerciful, may be comparable with any of the first persecutions in the primitive church, done either by Decius, or Dioclesian.

Now, touching the said story and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these men of this country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the doctrine and profession of them began. For (as by the course of time, and by ancient records, it may appear) these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about the confines of France and Piedmont, had their continuance of ancient time, and received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, which were (as some say) about A.D. 1170; or (as others do reckon) about A.D. 1216; whereof thou hast, gentle reader! sufficiently to understand, reading before.

These Waldenses, otherwise called Pauperes de Lugduno, beginning of one Peter Waldo, citizen of Lyons, as is before showed, by violence of persecution being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed abroad in divers countries, of whom some fled to Marseilles, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia. Divers strayed to the countries of France, especially about Provence and Piedmont, of whom came these Merindolians above-mentioned, and the Angrognians, with others, of whom now it followeth likewise (God willing) to discourse. They which were in the country of Toulouse, of the place where they frequented, were called Albii, or Albigenses. Against the which Albigenses, Friar Dominic was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them ten years together, and caused many of them to be burned; for the which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court, and at length, by Pope Honorius the Third, was made patriarch of the black guard of the Dominic Friars.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome, had set up to themselves a bishop of their own, named Bartholomæus, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter of one of the pope's cardinals above specified. For the which cause the see of Rome took great indignation against the said Albigenses, and caused all their faithful catholics, and the obedientaries to their church, to rise up in armour, and to take the sign of the holy cross upon them, to fight against them, A.D. 1206; by reason whereof great multitudes of them were

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pitifully murdered, not only of them about Toulouse and Avignon in France, (as is afore to be seen,) but also in all quarters miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the reign of Frederic the Second, emperor, almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Roman popes.

Paulus Æmilius, the French chronicler, in his sixth book, writing of these Pauperes de Lugduno, and Humiliati, and dividing these two orders from the Albigenses, reporteth that the two former orders were rejected of Pope Lucius the Third, and in their place other two orders were approved, to wit, the order of the Dominic Friars, and of the Franciscans: which seemeth not to be true, forasmuch as this Pope Lucius was twenty years before Innocent the Third; and yet not in the time of Pope Innocent was the order of the Dominic Friars approved, but in the time of Pope Honorius the Third, who was forty years after Pope Lucius. Again, Bernard of Lutzenberg, in his Catalogus Hæreticorum, affirmeth, that these Pauperes de Lugduno, or Waldenses, began first A.D. 1218; which if it be true, then must the other report of Æmilius be false, writing that the sect of Pauperes de Lugduno, to be refused by Pope Lucius the Third, who was long before this, A.D. 1181.

Amongst other authors who write of those Waldenses, John Sleidan, treating of their continuance and doctrine, thus writeth of them. "There be," saith he, "in the French province, a people called Waldois. These, of an ancient trade and custom among them, do not acknowledge the bishop of Rome, and ever have used a manner of doctrine somewhat more pure than the rest; but especially since the coming of Luther, they have increased in more knowledge and perfection of judgment: wherefore they have been oftentimes complained of to the king, as though they contemned the magistrate, and would move rebellion, with other such matter falsely surmised against them, more of despite and malice, than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certain towns and villages, among which Merindol is one. Against these Merindolians sentence was given five years past, at Aix, being the high tribunal-seat or judgment-place of Provence, that all should be destroyed without respect of age or person, in such sort as that the houses being plucked down, the village should be made plain, even with the ground; the trees also should be cut down, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the means of certain that persuaded the king to the contrary, namely, one William Belay, who was at the same time the king's lieutenant in Piedmont. But at the last, on the twelfth of April, A.D. 1545, John Minerius, president of the council of Aix, calling the senate, read the king's letters, commanding them to execute the sentence given," &c.

Moreover, concerning the Confession and the doctrine of the said Merindolians, received of ancient time from their forefathers the Waldenses, thus it followeth in the said book and place of John Sleidan.

"At last," saith Sleidan, (after he had described what great cruelty was showed against them,) "when the report hereof was bruited 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 such as were fled."

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Whereunto the said King Francis made answer in this wise; pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: inferring moreover, that they ought not to be careful what he did within his dominions, or how he punished his offenders, more than he was about their affairs, &c. Thus hard was the king against them, notwithstanding (saith Sleidan) that he, the year before, had received from the said his subjects of Merindol, a Confession of their faith and doctrine.

"The articles whereof were, that they, according to the Christian faith, confessed first, God the Father, Creator of all things: the Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of mankind: the Holy Spirit, the Comfortor and Instructor of all truth.

"They confessed also the church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God's elect, whereof Jesus Christ is Head. The ministers also of the church they did allow, wishing that such which did not their duty should be removed.

"And as touching magistrates, they granted likewise the same to be ordained of God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressors. And how they owe to him, not love only, but also tribute and custom, and no man herein to be excepted, even by the example of Christ, who paid tribute himself, &c.

"Likewise of baptism, they confessed the same to be a visible and an outward sign, that representeth to us the renewing of the spirit, and mortification of the members.

"Furthermore, as touching the Lord's supper, they said and confessed the same to be a thanksgiving, and a memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

"Matrimony they affirmed to be holy; and instituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

"That good works are to be observed and exercised of all men, as Holy Scripture teacheth.

"That false doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

"Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; protesting that they believed all such things as are contained in the Apostoles Creed: desiring moreover the king to give credit to this their declaration of their faith; so that whatsoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard."

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confession of the Merindolians out of Sleidan, and also concerning their descent and offspring from the Waldenses.

154. The Waldensians of Piedmont



Pignerol

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 A.D. 1555, to A.D. 1561.

The martyrs of the valley of Angrogne, the martyrs of the valley of Lucerne, the martyrs of St. Martin, the martyrs of Perouse, and others. Persecuted by the parliament of Turin; the president of St. Julian; Jacomel, a monk and inquisitor; Monsieur de la Trinity; the gentlemen of the valleys; Charles Truchet, Boniface Truchet; the collateral of Corbis; the collateral de Ecclesia; the duke of Savoy; monks of Pignerol; and by many others more, enemies of God, and ministers of Satan.

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We proceed now further in the persecution of these Waldois, or Waldenses: you have heard hitherto, first how they, dividing themselves into divers countries, some fled to Provence and to Toulouse, of whom sufficient hath been said. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it followeth now to treat, God willing.

Thus these good men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor yet compelled to yield to the superstitious and false religion of the Church of Rome: but ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry, as much as was possible, and gave themselves to the word of God, as a rule both truly to serve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many books of the Old and New Testament translated into their language. Their ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their enemies which could not abide the light; albeit they did not instruct them with such purity as was requisite. They lived in great simplicity, and with the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbours, abstaining from blasphemy, and from profaning of the name of God by oaths, and such other impiety; from lewd games, dancing, filthy songs, and other vices and dissolute life, and 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 truly preached; insomuch that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they never spared any thing to establish the true and pure ministry of the word of God and his sacraments. Which was the cause that Satan with his ministers did so persecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody and horrible persecutions which have been, not only in Provence, against those of Merindol and Cabriers, also against them of Prague and Calabria, (as the histories afore written do sufficiently declare,) but also against them in the country of Piedmont, remaining in the valley of Angrogne, and of Lucerne, and also in the valley of St. Martin and Perouse, in the said country of Piedmont. Which people of a long time were persecuted by the papists, and especially within these few years they have been vexed in such sort, and so diversely, that it seemeth almost incredible: and yet hath God always miraculously delivered them, as hereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the people of Angrogne had before this time certain to preach the word of God, and minister the sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of August, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and the people intended at first to keep themselves still as secret as they might; but there was such concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cause they built them a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one John Martin, of Briqueras, a mile from Angrogne, which vaunted every where that he would slit the minister's nose of Angrogne, was assaulted by a wolf which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the towns thereabout.

At this season the French king held these aforesaid valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. In the end of the December following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the said parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogne. Whereupon some which pretended great friendship to this people,

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counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they, notwithstanding, calling upon God, determined with one accord constantly to persist in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against Angrogne was soon dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in Lucerne.

In the month of March, A.D. 1556, the ministers of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took a good man named Bartholomew, a bookbinder, prisoner, as he passed by the said valley, the which was sent by and by to Turin; and there, with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death; insomuch that divers of the parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said parliament, being sore incensed against the Waldois, sent one, named the president of St. Julian, associating unto him one called De Ecclesia and others, for to hinder their enterprise. These coming first to the valley of Perouse, where as yet no preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the sermons of Angrogne, very much troubled and feared the poor people there.

From thence 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 thence they went to Angrogne, accompanied by many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests of the said country: but by the way, the president inquired for one dwelling at St. Jean, near to Angrogne, and examined him, whether he had not baptized his child at Angrogne, and wherefore he had so done? The poor simple man answered, that he had baptized his child at Angrogne, because baptism was there administered according to the institution of Christ. Then the president, in a great rage, commanded him in the king's name to baptize his child again, or else he should be burnt. The poor man desired the president that he might be suffered to make his prayer to God, before he should make answer thereunto: which after he had done in the hall, before all the company there present, he required the president that he would write, and sign the same with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his child again, and that he would take the peril upon him and his. The president, hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said he, in a great fury, "Away, thou villain! out of my sight;" and after that he was never called any more.

After they were come to Angrogne, the president, having visited the two temples, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being there assembled; who pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to return to the obedience of the see of Rome. The monk, with the president, and all his retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary; but the ministers and all the people stood still, 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 suffered to preach, affirming that the said 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 said president admonished them, in the name of the king and the parliament of Turin, that they should return to the obedience of the pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life, and utter destruction of their town. And withal he recited unto them the piteous discomfiture of their brethren and friends, which had been done before in Merindol and Cabriers, and other places in the country of

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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 God were not thereby displeased and furthermore, if it were showed unto 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 together, even until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, whereunto the people gladly agreed; but, after that, there was no more mention made thereof.

Here he remained fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations, now calling to him the syndics and head officers, now severally, and now altogether, that so, for fear, he might make them to relent: causing also assemblies to be made in every parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding, he nothing prevailed with all that he could do; but still they continued constant: insomuch that they, with one accord, presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories made by the president, in which they confessed as followeth

"That the religion wherein both they and their elders had been long instructed and brought up, was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the Christian belief.

"Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ, whereby he distributeth abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures, to all those which receive the same 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, wherein the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.

"Item, The ten commandments expressed in Exodus xx., and Deuteronomy v., in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requireth of us, is briefly comprised: and therefore, following this article, they suffered not by any means, said they, any gross iniquities to reign among them; as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, theft, murder, sorcery, witchcraft, or such like; but wholly endeavoured themselves to live in the fear of God, and according to his holy will.

"Moreover they acknowledged the superior powers, as princes and magistrates, to be ordained of God; and that whosoever resisteth the same, resisteth the ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitted themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

"Finally, they protested, that they would in no point be stubborn, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning the true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed."

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The interrogatories were concerning 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 by him instituted, and celebrated by his apostles; but as touching the mass, except the same might be proved by the word of God, they would not receive it.

"To the second, touching auricular confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his, in the prayer which he taught them; Lord! forgive us our sins. And as St. John saith; 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 saith by his prophet; O Israel! if thou return, return unto me. And again, O Israel! it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy sins. So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only who forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to God only, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that David, in his Psalms, and the prophets, and other faithful servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet, if the contrary might be proved by the word of God, they would (said they) with all humbleness receive the same.

"Thirdly, As touching baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administered the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy gospel, without any changing, adding, or diminishing in any point; and that all this they did in their mother tongue, according to the rule of St. Paul, who willeth that in the church every thing be done in the mother tongue, for the edification of our neighbour: but as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

"Fourthly, As touching burials they answered, that they knew there is a difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, forasmuch as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead; and therefore they 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 diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of candles or lights, prayers for the dead, and ringing of bells, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them.

"Fifthly, As touching obedience to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which (as St. Paul saith) 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 his divine service, either to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, because they are repugnant to the word of God, they could by no means receive them.

"And whereas the commissioners affirmed the said traditions to have been ordained by councils: first they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by councils:

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secondly, that councils were not to be preferred above the word of God, which saith, If any man, yea, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you otherwise than that which hath been received of the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed. And therefore (said they) if councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the word of God, they would not receive it.

"Finally they said, that the councils had made divers notable decrees concerning the election of bishops and ministers of the church; concerning ecclesiastical discipline, as well of the clergy as of the people; also concerning the distribution of the goods and possessions of the church; and further, that all pastors who were either whoremongers, drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be put from their office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the mass of a priest which was a whoremonger, should be excommunicated: and many other such things, which were not in any point observed. And that they omitted to speak of many other things which were ordained by divers councils, very superstitious, and contrary to the holy commandments of God, as they would be ready to prove (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

"Wherefore they required the commissioners, that a disputation might be had (as by the said president was pretended) publicly, and in their presence; and then, if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or in conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed, as they had before said: beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors, until their time, many hundred years together: and yet, for their parts, being convicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof: saying moreover, that they, together with the said lords deputies, confessed all one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one law, one baptism, one hope in heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion were firmly founded and grounded upon the pure word of God: wherefore it is said, that blessed are they which hear the same, and keep it.

"To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews, (which are mortal enemies to our Saviour Christ,) to dwell peaceably in the fairest cities of Christendom; by good reason they should be suffered 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, and to suffer 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 the rest of the commissioners, perceiving that they laboured in vain, returned to Turin with the notes of their proceedings; the which immediately were sent unto the king's court, and there the matter remained one year before there was any answer made thereunto. 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 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 divers other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Pignerol, and sent for thither the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, that is, for six of Angrogne, and for two of every parish besides, and showed unto them, how that the

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last year they had presented their Confession, the which, by a decree made by the parliament of Turin, 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: enjoining them, moreover, to give him a direct answer within three days.

From thence he went to Lucerne, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble-themselves before certain by him appointed: but they, with one assent, persisted in their former Confession; and lest they should seem stubborn in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their Confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom, and if the same in any part by the word of God were disproved, it should be immediately amended: but contrariwise, if that were not done, then they to be no more disquieted.

The president, not contented with this, the next morning sent for six out of Angrogne, by him named, and for two out of every other parish, the which he and the gentlemen of the country threatened very sore, and warned twelve of the chief of Angrogne, and certain of the other parishes, to appear personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the judges of the said parliament their ministers and schoolmasters, thinking, if they were once banished the country, that then their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To this it was answered, that they could not, nor ought to obey such a commandment.

A little while after proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only such as were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, and others his officers, upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives; and that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion, used in the Church of Rome. Furthermore, that if any of the aforesaid preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, they should immediately be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one to be concealed, upon the pain aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those which should disclose any one of them should be kept secret; and also, for their accusation, they should have the third part of the goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said accusers were any of those which privily did keep or maintain the said ministers; and that they, and all others which would return to their mother the church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said commissioners.

At the same season the princes of Germany, and certain of the Switzers, sent unto the French king, desiring him to have pity on the aforesaid churches; and from that time, until three years after, the people of the aforesaid valleys were not molested by any of the king's officers, but yet they were sore vexed by the monks of Pignerol, and the gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin.

About that time a minister of Angrogne, named Geoffrey Varialla, born in Piedmont, a virtuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to visit certain churches in those quarters where he was born, and coming homeward, was taken at Berga, and from thence led to Turin, where, after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his adversaries, he most constantly suffered.

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A few days after, a minister of the valley of Lucerne, returning to Geneva, was taken prisoner at Susa, and soon after sent to Turin, and with an invincible constancy made his confession before those of the parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman, at the time of execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveyed himself away; and so likewise another served them, being appointed by the aforesaid court to execute the poor minister. It is credibly reported that the hangman who executed certain Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution: whereupon the minister was sent to prison again, where, after long and painful endurance, seeing the prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

Now four years being past, in such manner as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the year following, which was A.D. 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain; whereupon the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the duke of Savoy, under whose regiment the aforesaid churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont, continued in great quietness, and were not molested; and the duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, by his ministers stirred the duke against the said churches of Piedmont, his own natural subjects. 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. The pope's legate also, which then followed the court, and other that favoured the Church of Rome, laboured by all means to persuade the duke that he ought to banish the said Waldois, which maintained not the pope's religion; alleging, that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the apostolic see; also that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church; and briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said people, being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions, wherewith this poor people of the valleys, and the country of Piedmont, was so long vexed. And because they foresaw the great calamities which they were like to suffer, to find some remedy for the same, (if it were possible,) all the said 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 the which he was by their enemies so sore incensed against them, was their religion, which was no new or light opinion, but that wherein 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.

But it is not certain whether this advertisement was delivered unto the duke or no; for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. But, howsoever it was, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poor Christians which were at Carignano; amongst whom there were certain godly persons taken, and burnt within four days after; that is to say, one named Mathurine, and his wife, and John de Carignano, dwelling in the valley of Lucerne, taken prisoner as he went to the market at Pignerol. The woman died with great constancy. The good man, John de Carignano, had been in prison divers times before for religion, and was always delivered by God's singular grace and providence. But seeing himself

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taken this last time, incontinent he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he showed an invincible constancy and marvellous virtue, as well by the pure confession which he made touching the doctrine of salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others, being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing also man more than God, looking rather to the earth than to heaven, consented to return to the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Within a few days after, these churches of the said Waldois, that is to say, Le Laughi, Meronne, Meane, and Susa, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Susa suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken amongst 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, who, in the end, was put to most shameful and cruel death. The great patience which he showed in the midst of the fire, greatly astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of Laughi and Meronne were marvellously tormented and afflicted; for some were taken and sent to the galleys, other some consented and yielded to the adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those who yielded to the adversaries, were more cruelly handled than the others which continued constant in the truth; whereby God declareth how greatly he detesteth all such as play the apostate, and shrink from the truth.

But for the better understanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldois, here note, that first of all proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the sermons of the Lutherans, but should live after the custom of the Church of Rome; upon pain of forfeiture of their goods, and to be condemned to the galleys for ever, or lose their lives. Three of the most cruel persons that could be found, were appointed to execute this commission. The first was one Thomas Jacomel, a monk, and inquisitor of the Romish faith; a man worthy for such an office, for he was an apostate, and had renounced the known truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poor Christians, against his own conscience, and of set purpose, as his books do sufficiently witness. He was also a whoremonger, and given over to all other villanies and filthy living; in the grossest vices he surpassed all his fellows. Briefly, he was nothing else but a mis-shaped monster both against God and nature. Moreover, he so afflicted and tormented the poor captives of the said Waldois, by spoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deserved not only to be hanged, but to be broken upon the wheel a hundred times, and to suffer as many cruel deaths, if it were possible; so great, so many, and so horrible, were the crimes that he had committed.

The second was the collateral Corbis, who, in the examination of the prisoners, was very rigorous and cruel; for he only demanded of them whether they would go to the mass, or be burnt within three days? and in very deed executed his sayings. But it is certainly reported, that he, seeing the constancy and hearing the confession of the poor martyrs, feeling remorse, and being tormented in conscience, protested that he would never meddle any more.

The third was the provost de la Justice, a cruel and crafty wretch, accustomed to apprehend the poor Christians either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to

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the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Lucerne, or thereabouts. Thus the poor people were always as the silly sheep in the wolf's jaws, or as the sheep which are led unto the slaughter-house.

At that season one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the said commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the valley of Lucerne; by reason whereof they were a while more gently treated than the rest. At that season the monks of Pignerol, and their associates, tormented grievously the churches near about them. They took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey; and having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil those of the said churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children; and some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to the mass; some also they sent to the galleys, and others they burnt cruelly. They which escaped were afterwards so sick, that they seemed to have been poisoned. The same year there were two great earthquakes in Piedmont, and also many great tempests and horrible thunders.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, threatening them, and commanding them to return unto the 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 Boniface his brother, who, on the second of April, before day, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects, named Riuclaret; which as soon as the inhabitants of the said village perceived, they fled into the mountain covered with snow, naked and without victuals, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his retinue took a minister of the said valley prisoner, which was come out of Calabria, and was going to visit the poor people of Riuclaret, and led him prisoner to the abbey, where, soon after, he was burnt, with one other of the valley of St. Martin.

The third night after, they of Pragela, having pity upon the poor people of Riuclaret, sent about four hundred to discomfit the company of the Truchets, and to restore those who were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by the shot of their enemies, who, notwithstanding, in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

About the year before, the said Truchet, being accompanied with a company of ruffians, arrested prisoner the minister of Riuclaret as he was at his sermon. But the people were so moved by his outrageous dealing, and especially the women, that they had almost strangled the said Truchet; and the rest of them were so canvassed that they had no list to come there again any more. By reason whereof he so vexed them by processes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him sixteen hundred crowns.

Soon after, the lords of the said valley took another minister of the same valley, as he was going to preach in a parish a mile from his house; but the people perceiving that, speedily pursued him and took him. The enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead; whereupon, they so persecuted the poor people, that they were almost destroyed.

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Here is not to be forgotten, that the same night, in which the company of Truchet was discomfited was so stormy and terrible, and the gentlemen of that country were so terrified, that they thought they should have been all destroyed; wherefore they used more gentleness towards the people than before, except Charles Truchet and his brother, the which went to the duke, and made grievous complaints against the Waldois, not only for that which was done and past, but also persuaded the duke, that they went about to build three fortresses in the mountains, and also intended to maintain certain garrisons of strangers, charging them further with divers other crimes, of the which they were in no point guilty. The duke, being moved by these false surmises, gave in charge to the said accusers, that the fortress of the valley of St. Martin, which about twenty years before was razed by the Frenchmen, should be built again, and that therein should be placed a perpetual garrison, and that the people should make so plain and wide the rugged ways, that horsemen might easily pass: with divers such other things. And all this to be done at the costs and charges of those that would not submit themselves to the obedience of the Roman church.

This commission being sealed, the gentlemen caused the fortress to be built again, and put there in a garrison, and proclaimed the commission. The poor people being thereat amazed, withstood the commissioners, and sent certain to the duke; and immediately after the commissioners returned to the duke's court, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more against them. But God soon prevented this mischief; for the Truchets, being at Nice, went to sea with divers noblemen, and immediately they were taken prisoners by the Turks, put into the galleys, sore beaten with ropes, and so cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their nobility, they were sent home, having paid four hundred crowns for their ransom. Some say, that the duke himself was almost taken; but it is sure that he fell sick soon after. In the month of April nextfollowing, the lord of Ranconis was present at a sermon, in a place near unto Angrogne. The sermon being ended, he talked with the ministers; and having discoursed as well of the duke's sickness, as also of his clemency and gentleness, he declared to them, that the persecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought best to appease the duke's wrath. They answered, that the people ought not to be moved to seek by any means how to please and appease the duke which might displease God; but the best way they knew, was the same wherewith the ancient servants of God used to appease the pagan princes and emperors, in the time of the great persecutions of the church; that is to say, to give out and present unto them in writing the confession of their faith, and defence of the religion which they professed; trusting that, forasmuch as the fury of divers profane and ethnic emperors and princes hath been heretofore appeased by such means, the duke, being endued with such singular virtues as they said he was, would also be pacified by the like means. And for that cause the poor people had before sent a supplication, with a confession of their faith, unto the duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no; wherefore they desired him to present the same unto the said duke himself: whereunto he agreed, and promised so to do. Hereupon they sent three supplications, one to the duke, the second to the duchess, and the third to the duke's council; wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the points thereof, which they and their ancestors had of a long time observed, being wholly grounded upon the pure word of God; and if by the same word it should be proved that they were in error, they would not be obstinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the truth. After this the persecution seemed to be somewhat assuaged for a little while.

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In the end of June next following, the lord of Ranconis and the lord of Trinity, came to Angrogne, there to qualify (as they said) the sore persecution, and caused the chief rulers and ministers to assemble together, propounding divers points of religion concerning doctrine, the calling of ministers, the mass, and obedience towards princes and rulers: and, furthermore, declared unto them, that their confession was sent unto Rome by the duke, and daily they looked for an answer. To all these points the ministers answered. After this they demanded of the chief rulers, whether if the duke would cause mass to be sung in their parishes, they would withstand the same or no? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, whether if the duke would appoint them preachers, they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, Whether they were content that in the mean time their ministers should cease? and if they that should be sent preached not the word of God sincerely, then their ministers to preach again: if they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution should cease, and that the prisoners should be restored again. To this question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered, that they could by no means suffer that their ministers should forbear preaching.

The two lords, not contented with this answer, commanded in the duke's name, that all the ministers who were strangers, should, out of hand, be banished the country; saying, that the duke would not suffer them to dwell within his dominion, for that they were his enemies: demanding also, whether they would foster and maintain the prince's enemies within his own land, against his own decree and express commandment? To this, answer was made by the chief rulers, that they could by no means banish them, unless they were before convicted of some heresy or other crime: for their part they had always found them to be men of pure and sound doctrine, and also of godly life and conversation.



The Minister of St. Germain Taken by Night

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This done, immediately proclamations were made, and the persecution began on every side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the monks of Pignerol at that time were most cruel; for they sent out a company of hired ruffians, which daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on; and 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 sent also a band of the said ruffians by night to the house of the minister of St. Germain, in the valley of Perouse; being led thither by a traitor that knew the house, and had used to haunt thither secretly, who knocking at the door, the minister, knowing his voice, came forth immediately, and perceiving himself to be betrayed, fled: but he was soon taken and sore wounded, and yet, notwithstanding, they pricked him behind with their halberds to make him hasten his pace. At that time also many they slew, many they hurt, and many also they brought to the abbey, and there 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 amongst others, showed one practice of most barbarous cruelty against this poor man; who, when he should be burnt, caused two poor women of St. Germain (whom they kept in prison) to carry faggots to the fire, and to speak these words unto their pastor: "Take this, thou wicked heretic! in recompense of thy naughty doctrine, which thou hast taught us." To whom the good minister answered; "Ah, good women! I have taught you well, but you have learned ill." 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 mountain to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor people, that many which before had been men of much wealth, and with their riches had ministered great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave succour and relief of others.

Now, forasmuch as the said monks, with their troops of ruffians, (who were counted to be in number about three hundred,) made such spoil and havoc in all the country, that no man could there live in safety, it was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and furious rage of the said ruffians? The ministers answered, that it was lawful, warning them in any case, to take heed of bloodshed. This question being once solved, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Angrogne sent certain men to them of St. Germain to aid them against the supporters of these monks.

In the month of June, the harvest being then in Piedmont, divers of the Waldois were gone into the country to reap and to make provision for corn, for very little groweth upon their mountains, who were all taken prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison, as it were by a miracle: whereat the adversaries were marvellously astonished. At the same time there were certain others also, who had sustained long imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death; and yet they, after a wonderful sort, by God's merciful providence, were likewise delivered.



The Monks defeated by the Angrognians

In the month of July, they of Angrogne, being in a morning at harvest upon the hillside of St. Germain, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain; and doubting lest they should go to Angrogne, they 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. They that went by the valley met with the spoilers coming from St. Germain, loaden with spoil which they had gotten, and being but fifty, set upon the others, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty men well appointed, and gave them soon the overthrow. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemies were fain to take the river Cluson, where divers were sore

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hurt, many were drowned, and some escaped very hardly; and such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was dyed with the blood of them that were wounded and slain but none of the Angrogians were once hurt. If the said river had been as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one man escaped alive. The noise of the harquebusses was great, and within less than one hour's space, there were three or four hundred of the Waldois gathered together upon the river; and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners who were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers, and so deferred the matter until the next day: but their ministers counselled them not to enterprise any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent after that discomfiture unto the abbey, they might have found all open and easily have entered; for the monks were so sore afraid, that they fled suddenly to Pignerol, to save their relics and images, which they carried thither. The rest of the country about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the bells everywhere.

The next day following, the commander of St. Anthony de Fossan came to Angrogne, accompanied with divers gentlemen, saying, that he was sent by the duke: and having assembled the chief rulers and ministers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, after he had declared unto them the cause of his coming, he read their supplication directed to the duke, which contained their confession, demanding of them, if it were the same which they had sent to the duke? They answered, Yea. Then he entered into a disputation of the mass, in a great heat, deriving the same from the Hebrew word סַמֵּה which signified (as he supposed) consecration, and showed that this word Missa might be found in ancient writers. [Note: In the primitive Western Church, the minister, previous to celebrating the eucharist, dismissed the congregation by these words, Missa est, that is, The audience is dismissed; and from this the rite that immediately followed was called Mzssa, whence Missal and Mass. It has no connexion whatever with the Hebrew.] The ministers answered, that he ill applied the Hebrew word; and further, that they disputed not of the word Miss a, but of that which is signified by the same, which he ought first to prove by the word of God. Briefly, that he could not prove, either by the word of God, or the ancient fathers, their private mass, their sacrifice expiatory or propitiatory, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of the same for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of the said mass. The commander, having here nothing to reply, fell into a marvellous choler, railing and raging as if he had been stark mad, and told them that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their rooms, by the duke's commandment; which he could not, unless their ministers were first driven out of the country.

From thence he went to the abbey of Pignerol, where he and Jacomel caused a number of the poor inhabitants of Campiglou, and of Fenil, which be of the valley of Lucerne, to be taken prisoners, spoiling them of their goods, driving away their cattle, and forcing them to swear and forswear; and in the end ransomed them for great sums of money. About that time a gentleman of Campiglou agreed with those who were fled, for thirty crowns to be paid unto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quiet at home. But when he had received the money, he caused the commander of Fossan with his men to come by night to his house, and then sent for the poor men, thinking traitorously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal enemy, following therein the decree of the council of Constance, which is, that no promise is to be kept with heretics. But God, knowing

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how to succour his in their necessity, prevented this danger; for one of them had intelligence of the commander's coming, and so they all fled. Thereupon they wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the proceedings of the commander, and that he neither would nor could show or prove any thing by the word of God, as he had promised, but threatened them with great wrongs and injuries, and would not suffer their ministers to reply, or say any thing for the defence of their cause: and therefore they desired him to signify the same to the duke's Grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their religion, seeing it was not proved unto them, by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

After this, there were many commandments and injunctions given out through all the country, to banish these poor Waldois, with the doctrine of the gospel, if it were possible, out of the mountains and valleys of Piedmont: but the poor people still desired, that, according to that which they so often before protested by word and writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his word; simply obeying their Lord and prince always, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

In the end of the October next following, the rumour went that an army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour's warning. Furthermore, those malefactors which heretofore were fled or banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne thereupon assembled together oftentimes, to take advice what, in such an extremity, were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general fast, and the Sunday after, a communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that every one should withdraw himself into the high mountains, and every one to carry away such goods as he was able to bear; and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to 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: but yet every one began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains; and for the space of eight days all the ways were filled with comers and goers to the mountains, like unto ants in summer which provide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexity and danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God, and singing psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you should not have seen any who grudged to leave their houses, and fair possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

A few days after, certain other ministers, hearing what they of Angrogne and Lucerne had concluded, wrote unto them, that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the violence of their enemies, alleging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being so just; that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children; knowing 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 thereunto only by their

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instigations: wherefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outrageous violence. For the proof hereof they also alleged certain examples.

During this season the lord of Angrogne, named Charles de Comptes, of Lucerne, laboured earnestly, by all means possible, to cause them of Angrogne to condescend to the duke's pleasure, and solicited them to send away their ministers, promising that he would cause a mass to be sung at Angrogne, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat; hoping that by that means the duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of Angrogne thereupon were assembled and made this answer: that if the duke would permit them to choose other ministers, they were content to send away their foreign ministers and strangers; but as touching the mass, his Highness might well cause it to be sung in their parishes, but they, for their part, could not with safe consciences be present at the same, nor yet to give their consent unto it.

On the twenty-second of October the said lord of Angrogne went from Lucerne to Mondovi, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were environed, the army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the army. They of Angrogne answered, that they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their assembly, had put in writing. With this answer he seemed at that time to be content. The next day the rumour was, that they of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow which was Sunday, you should have seen 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 cleaved unto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the notary for the copy of that which was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the lord de Comptes, in which was comprised, that Angrogne had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people, hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And thereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant, (albeit it were very late,) certain should be sent to the lord of Angrogne to signify unto 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 voices of the people; not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the uproar, but sent thither the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the judge laying all the blame upon the notary.

During this time the adversaries cried out through all the country of Piedmont, "To the fire with them!" "To the fire with them!" The Thursday after, Angrogne, by proclamations and writings set up in every place, was exposed to fire and sword. On Friday after, being the second of November, the army approached to the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. Jean, a little beneath Angrogne. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain of St. Jean, 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 the enemies were there slain; but suddenly they retired to Bubbiana, where their camp then was, and not one of them of St. Jean were slain or hurt. It happened at the same time, that two of the aforesaid horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, being ready to march towards Angrogne, crying, "They come! They come!" at whose cry the whole army were so

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astonished, that every man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and yet no creature followed them.

On the Saturday, in the morning, the army mustered in the meadow-ground of St. Jean, near to Angrogne. They of Angrogne had sent certain to keep the passages, and stop the army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired to the meadow of Tour, and little thought of the coming of the army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden assault: for they were yet carrying of victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passages. Now they which kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers unto 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; to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so to work, that there might be no effusion of blood; and if it were 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 sort most fervent prayers were made by all those that kept the passages, with exhortation that they should altogether cry unto God, and crave his succour and assistance in this great distress. All this the lord of Trinity and the army did well perceive.

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 mean time the prior of St. Jean, and Jacomel, were within the temple of Angrogne, and communed with the rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the lord of Trinity to keep the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in divers places, and endured for a long space in the passages of Angrogne. The poor Waldois, being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were sore pressed with 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 still pursuing them, they turned themselves, and slew divers of them, and hurt many. When the evening came, the enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves, there to sup and lodge all night; which thing when the Angrognians perceived, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them, but the enemies flouted them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a drum into a little valley hard by; and as they were making their prayers unto God, and the drum sounded in the valley, the lord of Trinity caused his soldiers, which were about to encamp themselves, to remove thence; which was a great advantage unto the poor people, which now were sore wearied with travail, all wet with sweating, and very thirsty; and in great peril, if God had not given them some little breathing-time. Many of the enemies that day were slain, and many hurt, of the which very few escaped; insomuch that they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these wars. Of the Angrognians that day there were but three slain, and one hurt, which afterwards was well healed again. This combat gave great courage to the Waldois, and sore astonished the adversaries. The same time the army retiring, burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, destroying also the wines which were in the presses.

The said lord of Trinity with his army encamped in a village beyond Tour, in the valley of Lucerne, at the foot of the hill, between Angrogne and the other towns of the valley of

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Lucerne, which professed the gospel. They of the said village were always sore against the Waldois, and haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against the professors thereof: but they had their just plague; for they were all destroyed. After this the said lord of Trinity caused the fortress to be built again, which the Frenchmen had razed, and placed there a garrison, and after sent another to the fort of Villars, which is of the valley of Lucerne; and another he sent to the fortress of Perouse, and a fourth garrison he placed in the castle of St. Martin. They of Angrogne, (seeing themselves to be now, as it were, in a sea of troubles,) after they had recommended themselves unto God by prayer, and committed their cause unto him, sent to them of Perouse, St. Martin, and of Pragela, for aid and succour; which sent them all the help they were able.

The next day following there came letters to Angrogne from the lord of Trinity, the effect whereof was this:

"That he was sorry for that which was done the day before, and that he came not thither to make war against them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a fort therein to serve the duke. Furthermore, that his soldiers, seeing the people assembled, as it were to defy them, upon that occasion only were stirred up to give assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their goods, and such hurt done by fire. But if they would show themselves obedient to the duke, he had good hope that all should be well, and trusted that some good agreement should be made."

The Angrognians answered:

"That they were marvellously aggrieved 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 more faithful and obedient to their sovereign prince the duke, than any of all the subjects besides, so yet they still offered the same obedience. Also they most humbly besought him, not to think it strange if they, being constrained by such extreme necessity, defended themselves. Finally, as touching 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 certain hundred years past. Moreover, that the cause was not concerning the goods of the world, but the honour and glory of God, the salvation or destruction of the souls both of them and theirs: and therefore it were much better for them to die all together, than to forsake their religion. And yet, if it might be proved unto them by good demonstration out of the word of God, (not by force of arms, by blood and fire,) that they were in error, they would then yield themselves with all obedience; most humbly beseeching him, and all other the lords of the country of Piedmont, be their intercessors and advocates to the duke in this-behalf."

Upon Monday, being the fourth of November, the lord of Trinity 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. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army the greater, yet, making their prayers unto God, and commending their cause unto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly.

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In the mean season they of Villars, being imboldened by their late victory, came to assist their neighbours, and being assembled together, they courageously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit it chanced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poor people, by an ambush of their enemies which came another way, were suddenly enclosed on every side, and like to be destroyed; but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, which were soon cured again. On the enemy's side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. This was the reward of those which were so desirous to shed innocent blood. The same day the inhabitants of Sanson, near to Roccapiata, assembled in great numbers together, and went to a rich man's house of Roccapiata, and spoiled all that he had. Certain of Roccapiata, in number not past seventeen, understanding this, set upon them, and soon put them to flight, took away their drum, and forced them to leave their booty behind them.

After that the lord of Trinity had received the letters of the Angrognians, he sent unto them his secretary, named Christoper Gastaut, (which said himself, that he favoured the verity of the gospel,) accompanied with a gentleman of the said valley, whose charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certain to commune with the said lord of Trinity, saying, that he had good tidings to declare unto them; and moreover, that he would deliver them a safe-conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four unto him, whom he treated very courteously, and rehearsed unto them, how the duke, at his departure from the court, told him, that although the pope, the princes, and the cities of Italy, yea, his own council, were fully resolved, that of necessity they of the said religion should be destroyed, yet, notwithstanding, God otherwise put it in his mind, and that he had taken counsel of God what he should do in this matter; that is, that he would use them gently. Furthermore, he declared unto them, that the duchess bare them good affection, and favoured them very much, and that she had commended their cause unto the duke, persuading with him to have regard to that poor people; and that their religion was ancient and old; with many such other things. Moreover, they had (said he) great friends in the duke's court, not doubting but if they would send certain to the court with a supplication, they should obtain more than they themselves would require; and he, for his part, would employ himself in their affairs to the uttermost of his power: and so he promised that he would retire himself with his army. This he seemed to speak unfeignedly. The people, desiring but to live peaceably in their religion, and under the obedience of their prince, were content to follow his counsel.

About this season they of Angrogne perceived that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret, (which is the half way between Angrogne and those of the valley of Lucerne,) and the other party had already gotten a way which led to the meadow of Tour, by the which they of Angrogne might easily have been enclosed. Therefore they sent certain immediately to keep the way, who soon after encountered with their enemies and obtained the victory, pursuing and chasing them to their camp, 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 which were slain. Not one of Angrogne perished that day, nor yet was hurt. But it was feared that this combat would have hindered the agreement; but the lord of Trinity could well dissemble this matter, and excused that day's journey, putting the fault upon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to have slain certain of his men in the highway, and, amongst others, his barber.

On Saturday following, being the ninth of November, the said lord of Trinity sent again for them of Angrogne, to consult with them touching the agreement, using the like

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communication as before; and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they should carry their armour into two of the houses of the chief rulers, not fearing but it should be safe; for it should remain in their own keeping, and, if need were, they should receive it again. Also, that he on a Sunday (which was the next day) would cause a mass to be sung within the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, accompanied with a very few; and thereby the duke's wrath would be assuaged.

The next morning he went into the temple, (whereat they were sore grieved, albeit they could not withstand him,) his army marching before him; and having caused a mass to be sung, he desired to see the meadow of Tour, so much spoken of, that thereof he might make a true report unto the duke; and thither the rulers, with a great troop of his own men, went: the residue of his company remained behind, who spoiled certain houses, and seized the armour which they had delivered up before; but they found no great store, for the people had taken away the greatest part thereof. The said lord being entered into the meadow of Tour, the people began to make a commotion; whereof he, having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he showed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The people in this mean time perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were so moved at the sight of the army, the spoil of the soldiers, the taking away of their armour; but especially because the said lord of Trinity had viewed the meadow of Tour, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose. A few days after, the said lord of Trinity sent his secretary, Gastaut, to Angrogne, to talk with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full resolution thereof; which was read in the assembly by the secretary. The sum whereof was this: that the people of Angrogne submitted themselves to render all honour and reverence to God, according to his holy word, and all due obedience to the duke their sovereign prince, to whom they should send certain men to demand pardon of him, concerning their bearing armour in their extreme necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their religion, which was according to the word of God, not compelling them to do any thing against their conscience; as it appeareth more amply in the supplication, which, after this, the Angrognians made, and caused to be read before the secretary in the open assembly, and which here ensueth.

"To the most excellent and worthy prince, the duke of Savoy, &c., our sovereign lord and natural prince.

"Most noble and renowned prince! we have sent certain of our men unto your Highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned obedience unto the same, and with all submission desire pardon, touching the bearing of armour by certain of our people in their extreme necessity, and for all other our trespasses, for the which your sovereign Grace might conceive any offence against us.

"Secondly, To desire in most humble wise your said Highness, in the name of our Lord Jesus, that it would please the same, to suffer us to live with freedom of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our ancestors, observed for certain hundred years past: and we are persuaded, that it is the pure gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only verity, the word of life and salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious clemency not to take in

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ill part, if we, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot consent upon certain traditions and ordinances of the Church of Rome; and herein to have pity upon our poor souls, and the souls of our children, to the end that your Highness be not in any wise 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 other, 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 teacheth us to do: only we desire that our souls may be left at liberty, to serve God according to his holy word.

"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 they of St. Jean, of Roccapiata, of St. Barthelemi, and of Perouse, with those of the valley of Lucerne, did agree. For it was concluded, that the agreement made should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. Whiles they were treating of this agreement, the lord of Trinity vexed cruelly them of Tailleret, under this pretence, because they had not presented themselves to treat of this agreement. He tormented them after this sort: first he commanded that all their armour should be brought before him, and then they, on their knees, should ask him pardon, because they came not to treat of the agreement with the rest; which notwithstanding the most part of them did. Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to enrol all the names of those which would be of the aforesaid agreement.

Whereupon, the next morning, the chief of the householders went to the village named Bouvets, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought that the soldiers had gotten the top of the mountain, and taken all the passages; whereof they of Tailleret were sore amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their wives and children. Some they saved; the most part, 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 Trinity sent word to them which were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting on his promise, returned to Bouvets, and yet the next morning the soldiers came thither to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Such as were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly: the rest were all hurt or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvellous means; for it happened that there was an old man which could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a naked sword in his hand to have slain 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 mean time the old man escaped. The rest, seeing what the old man had done, took heart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from

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them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that present time they 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 continued three days together; which was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the said lord of Trinity, to torment the poor Taillerets yet more cruelly, sent his army again, before day, to the mountain, and into the same place, and because the people of the said village were retired toward Villars, and scattered about the borders thereof in the high mountains, the soldiers, not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking the rest that they found in the said Tailleret, ranging about the confines thereof, ravened and made havoc on every side of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking prisoners both men and women, which were laden with carriage.

The poor prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst other there was one, whose ear a soldier of Mondovis, in a raging fury, bit clean off, with these words, "I will carry," said he, "the flesh of these wicked heretics with me into my country." They of Villars also complained of the great cruelty that was showed unto them, during the time of the agreement.

The which when the lord of Trinity understood, to make a show that he was offended therewith, he came to his soldiers, which were so weary that they could scarcely go, (not with fighting, but because they were so heavily laden with the spoil, that they were not able to carry it,) and pretending to be in great choler, some he beat; and some things also of a small value he caused to be restored, but all the rest was kept back and carried away. The same day, two women, the mother and the daughter, were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers, and died immediately after. So likewise a blind man, a hundred years of age, which was fled into a cave with his son's daughter, being eighteen years old, who fed him, was slain by the enemies; and as they would have ill-used the maiden, she escaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountain, and died.

At that time also a great company of women of Tailleret and Villars were taken as they fled, with their goods, and brought to the camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same time a certain soldier, which promised the lord of Trinity to find out the minister of Tailleret, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpose to pass, he never ceased until he had found him; and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him, certain, at unawares coming out of the mountain, rescued the poor minister, and killed the soldier with stones.

But this especially is to be noted, that during these troubles divers of the papists had sent their daughters into the mountains unto the Waldois to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ill-used by the soldiers, being wholly given over as to all cruelty and ravin, so to all villany and abomination; by whom they were before threatened to be so abused.

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All this being done, the said lord of Trinity caused the head-officers and chiefest of the people to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the army was a great charge unto the duke, and it was meet that they should bear the one half of the charges. For this cause he demanded of them twenty thousand crowns; but, by the means of the secretary Gastaut, who was promised a hundred crowns for his wine, (that is to say, for a bribe,) four thousand of those twenty were abated, so that they granted unto him sixteen thousand, of the which sum the duke released the one half. Then the lord of Trinity pressed this poor people to deliver the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the soldiers their wages, as he said, and so to withdraw his army. The year before, corn was exceeding dear, for a sack was commonly sold for six crowns, yea, and some for eight crowns; and also they had very little corn growing upon their mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of money. But they, being in this perplexity, and desiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietness, went about to sell their cattle to pay this money: but the lord of Trinity had given out a commandment, that none should buy any cattle of the Waldois without his licence. Then licence was given out to certain to buy great store of cattle, and that for a small price: and the common bruit was, that he had part of the gain. When this money was paid, yet the army notwithstanding retired not.

After this the lord of Trinity commanded the Waldois to surrender up all their armour, to furnish the duke's forts, otherwise he threatened to send his soldiers among them, and indeed he constrained many so to do. Then he demanded, moreover, the eight thousand crowns, which the duke had remitted, and constrained them to promise the payment thereof. After that he commanded that the ministers should be sent away, until the matter were determined before the duke; otherwise he would send his soldiers to dislodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common assent and accord, they determined that their ministers should withdraw themselves for a space, until the army were retired; which was not done without marvellous sighs, lamentation, and tears. At that season there fell such abundance of snow, that the like had not been seen of a long time before; so that the people were constrained to make a way, with great travail and pain, through the top of the mountain of St. Martin, for their ministers to pass. Now thought the lord of Trinity so to have enclosed them (he keeping the plain, and the mountains being covered so thick with snow) that by no means they should have escaped his hands. But the people caused them to pass the top of the mountain, and at their departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the village of Bobi, and came together in a secret place there, called Le Puis, not without great grief and sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, that their ministers should be so taken from them, and they now left as lambs amongst wolves.



The Protestant Church at Bobi

The army was advertised that the ministers were assembled together, and incontinent a great troop of harquebussiers were at hand, which sought them even to the very top of the mountain, insomuch that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time, for certain days after, they did nothing but range about in all places, seeking for the ministers; and there was no house, chamber, cave, nor secret corner, into the which they did not enter, under pretence to seek for the ministers. There was neither chest, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying that the ministers were hidden therein, and by that means they took, spoiled, and carried away whatsoever they would.

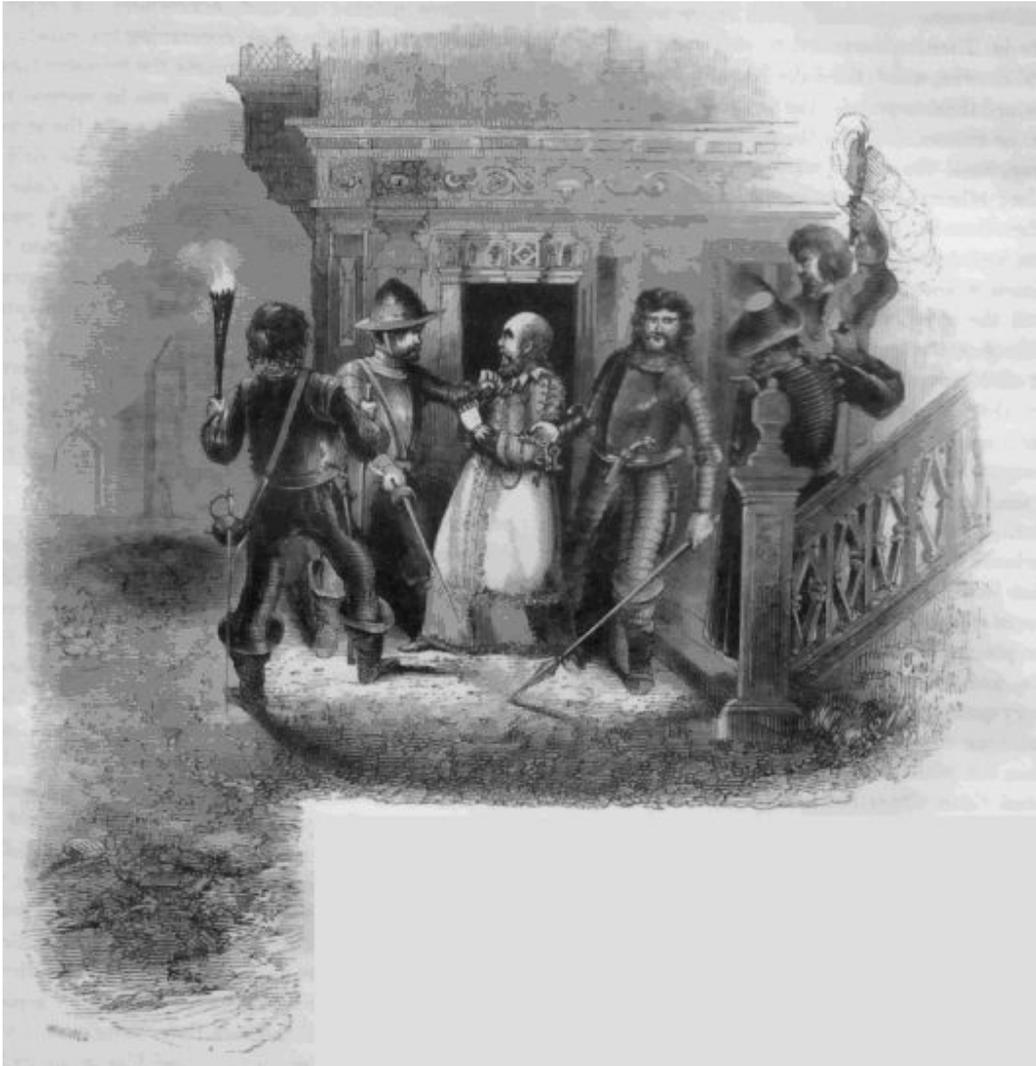
The lord of Trinity promised oftentimes, that although it were forbidden to all the ministers to preach, yet the minister of Angrogne should be excepted; and, furthermore, sent the said minister word, that if he would demand any thing of the duke, it should be granted him: whereupon the said minister made this request, that the poor people might live peaceably in their religion. A while after, he sent for the same minister to confer with him privately upon certain points of religion. The minister went unto him, having thereto the consent of the people. The lord of Trinity propounded unto him three points: the first, concerning the supremacy of the pope; the

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other, concerning transubstantiation. Of the which two points the minister then immediately declared his opinion, and he seemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to persuade the minister to go to the duke's court, and there he to defend the cause of the people, alleging certain reasons to persuade him so to do: whereunto the minister answered, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it seemed convenient to the ministers and people that he should go, he would be content to do the same; and thereof he promised to send him answer immediately, with the which answer he seemed to be contented.

Shortly after, the aforesaid lord, not tarrying for an answer, sent his army to the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there, and suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister, being warned thereof, essayed 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, durst 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 other some: but yet they could not learn of them where their minister was. At the length they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him; and so they pursued him in the rocks all covered with snow, until it was night, and 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 Trinity in a sack, who caused them to be all burned in his presence, supposing (as it well appeared) that the letters which he had sent to Angrogne, touching the agreement, should be with the rest burnt: for he did not the like in the other ministers' houses. 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 torchlight to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning commandment was given to the rulers of Angrogne, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister, or else Angrogne should be put to the fire and sword. The rulers answered, that they could not so do, for they knew not where he was, and the soldiers had chased him over the mountain. After certain days, when the soldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broken their mills, and done what mischief they could, the army retired. Notwithstanding the lord of Trinity left garrisons in the aforementioned fortresses, but all at the cost and charges of the Waldois; the which garrisons, not contented with their wages, spoiled continually. Upon a night five soldiers went with torches to a rich man's house of Angrogne, and spoiled the same. The good man of the house hardly escaped with life by the top of the house; for there were twelve pellets shot off at him, whereof one touched his face, and struck his hat from his head, without any further hurt.



Soldiers Raiding a House by Night

The rulers of Angrogne, which were gone to the fortress to carry thither victuals and money, were by the soldiers retained, and, in despite of them and the people, caused a mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it; and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to death. The one of them was sent again for more money; the other, with great peril of his life, leaped over the walls, and though pursued to Angrogne, escaped.

Certain days after, a certain company of soldiers came into the midst of Angrogne, as though they would have passed through, and called for meat and drink. The poor men brought that they had unto them in a close court. When they had eaten and drunken, they caused the women to leave, and then bound fourteen of those who had brought them victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their wives and children perceiving this, so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were fain to let go ten of their prisoners for haste, and had much ado to save themselves. The other four they led away to the fortress, of the which two were

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ransomed: the other two were hanged up by the feet and the hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. Of these one died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and his flesh fell from his hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame; and after that his fingers fell off also.

In like manner did the other garrisons treat the villages adjoining unto them.

The garrison of Tour and that of Villars, being assembled together at night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouvets, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houses, breaking open the doors, sacking and spoiling all that they could lay hands on, took also fourteen prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the arms, and so led them to the fortress of Tour; but two which were escaped, whilst the soldiers were taking others, set upon them which led the prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go twelve of the prisoners, who, tumbling and rolling themselves down the mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and fastened two and two together by the arms, were contented rather so to die, than to be carried to the fortress; and yet in the end they escaped. The other two which were led to the fortress, were cruelly tormented, and in the end the captain strangled with his own hands one of them, who young, and but a child: the other, who was about was very threescore years of age, whose name was Odul Gemet, suffered also a strange and cruel death.

The poor Waldois were yet in great captivity and distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's word amongst them, as they were wont to have; [Note: Beza, Sleiden, Drelincourt, Basnage, Jurien, all concur that the Waldenses preserved the true faith, and were the remains of the primitive church] and therefore, taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit secretly, for two principal causes: the one, for fear of moving the duke, and hindering the voyage of their messengers, having yet some hope of good success; the other, that no occasion might be given to the soldiers of further trouble and outrage; for that was it which they especially desired. Also they of Angrogne were fully determined, as soon as their messengers were returned from the duke, to preach openly, what news soever they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garrison, neither yet to suffer the same to enter into Angrogne.

The messengers which were sent to the duke, being at Vercelli, were there detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the popish doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Furthermore, they would have constrained them to promise the same in the behalf of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the duke, the secretary Gastaut took the supplication of the Waldois out of the messengers' hands, and delivered another. After they had presented themselves to the duke, and asked pardon for bearing of armour, they were constrained also to crave pardon of the pope's legate; which at the beginning they would in no case do. Now when these messengers were returned, bringing this woeful news, and the people understood that there was a new commandment given out, that they should return to the mass; also that popish preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

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Hereupon, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Bobi, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with certain others of the people, to the churches of Pragela, (which be in the country of Dauphine,) to signify unto them the piteous state 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 fell to prayer, and after they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel, well to consider of those weighty and urgent affairs wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the said valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphine, should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised, by God's grace and assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and the administration of holy sacraments; the one 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 should be lawful for none of the said valleys to promise or conclude any thing touching the estate of religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for more sure confirmation of the said league, certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphine were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to understand if they would give their consent hereunto, and ratify the same.

These messengers, the ministers and others of Dauphine, being arrived in the evening at the village of Bobi, and the people being there 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 no: and they that would receive the mass, should quietly enjoy their houses; and they that would not, should be delivered to the justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the galleys. Wherefore the people were brought to this extremity, either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed to them best, if the great snow had not hindered them; wherefore seeing themselves in such distress, they most gladly consented to the league. After this they exhorted one another, saying, "Forasmuch as we shall be all called for to-morrow, 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 to-morrow into the temple, to hear the word of God, and after let us cast down to the ground all the idols and altars." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us so do; yea, and that very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the council-housel "

The next day after, they assembled themselves in the church of Bobi, and as soon as they came into the temple, without any further delay, they beat down the images, and cast down the altars. After the sermon they went to Villars to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a band of soldiers, who were going to spoil a village named Le Val Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their hand-guns upon them, thinking at the first brunt to have put them to flight: but they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them even to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images and altars, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners which were there detained.

The same day, the judge of Lucerne, called Podesta, went to the council-house, to enrol the names of those who would return to the mass; but seeing what was done, he was sore afraid, and desired the people to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted unto him.

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Divers gentlemen also of the valley came thither with the judge, to make their poor tenants to forsake God; but seeing the tumult, they were fain to flee into the castle, where they and the garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger of their lives. The second day of the siege, the captain of Tour went with a company of soldiers, thinking to raise the siege; but they were, by those that kept the passages, either slain or discomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Tour, which caused a furious combat, wherein many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and yet of those that besieged the fort, there was not one man hurt.

In the time of this siege they attempted divers means to take the said fortress, but without ordnance it was impossible so to do; wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreover, the lord of Trinity, returning with his army, was come to the valley of Lucerne, and the next day after might easily have raised the siege. Wherefore when the garrison (not knowing that the lord of Trinity was so near) desired that they might depart with bag and baggage, they granted their request. In this siege half of the soldiers were slain, and many were hurt, as well with harquebusses as with stones. During this siege, the soldiers for lack of water were constrained to make their bread with wine, which tormented their stomachs, and caused great diseases. Here is not to be forgotten, that the soldiers, who a while before did so cruelly persecute the poor ministers, seeking by all means possible to destroy them, were now fain to pray them to save their lives, and to promise them that they should have no hurt, and also to conduct them safely into a sure place: neither would they depart until they had promised them so to do; which the ministers did promise, and also perform very willingly. Then the soldiers, seeing themselves much beholden to the ministers so gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promised them in recompence thereof all the pleasure that they could show them. The same night the fortress was razed.

On the second of February, the lord of Trinity encamped at Lucerne, and placed a garrison in the priory of St. Jean, a village of the Waldois between Lucerne . and Angrogne. The next day, in the morning, the said lord of Trinity sent word unto them of Angrogne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the week before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day they 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 to be made by any one without the consent of the rest. About noon the lord of Trinity marched with his army by St. Jean, to enter into the borders of Angrogne by a place called La Sonneillette, where they had fought before. The people had made certain bulwarks of earth and stone not past three feet high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies, who assailed them divers ways. When the enemies were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh soldiers into their places; so that the combat endured until night, and all that day the army could not enter into the borders of Angrogne. Many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and but two of Angrogne slain, of whom one was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy upon the spoil. The army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselves stronger for a further mischief.

The Friday following, which was the seventh of February, at the break of the day, the army marched towards Angrogne by five several places. The people of Angrogne were not yet

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assembled, and none there were to resist, but only a few who kept the watch; who, seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they went about to enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, recoiled by little and little to a high place called La Casse, where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of Trinity, seeing the loss of his men, and 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, (the people being fled to the meadow of Tour,) and there spoiled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand houses of Angrogne.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes set fire upon the two temples of Angrogne, where the word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the minister's house, which notwithstanding remained whole, the houses round about being all consumed with fire. This day none of Angrogne were slain or hurt, saving only one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all Angrogne but two, that were enemies to the word of God, who that same day were slain by the soldiers, not in the combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. One of them was a very covetous wretch, and had great store of gold and silver, and would spend nothing, either to help himself, or succour others, no, not his poor parents. All this was spoiled by the soldiers, with a hundred or two hundred crowns besides, which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of Angrogne slain that day. All the rest of the people retired to the meadow of Tour, the situation whereof we will here declare, for the better understanding of that which followeth.

Tour is a little valley upon the borders of Angrogne, environed about with mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst thereof, there be about two hundred small houses and cottages; also meadows, pastures for cattle, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountains. On the south side and the north the mountains are so high, that no man can that way approach unto the said valley. On the other coasts a man may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by, because of the hills which be on both sides. There is also a river hard by, but very small; but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The people had carried thither very few victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the army.

In the mean time, the lord of Trinity, after he had now twice assaulted Angrogne, sent certain to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne; but the soldiers were driven back four days together by those who kept the passages: whereupon he sent his whole army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambushment 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 other some into the rocks.

The enemies, being entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The residue of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all that night

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upon the mountains full of snow, loaden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hands, with great pain and travail. When they of the valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor people were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor infants which cried out for cold.

A few days after, the lord of Trinity entered into the valley of Lucerne by three several ways; that is to say, by Rosa, by the plain, and by the sides of Tailleret. They which kept the passages, at first resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves awhile: but because they saw that their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars towards Bobi, they gave over, and left Villars, and fled into the mountains. The soldiers, being entered, burned houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor people which were fled into the mountains, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, who had made them worthy to suffer for his name and for his cause; and also they were glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies should encamp there themselves. 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.

Few days after, the meadow of Tour was assaulted by three several ways on the east side. The combat endured a long season, where divers of the enemies were hurt, and many slain; but none of this poor people were slain that day, only two were hurt, which were soon healed again. But to declare the conflicts, assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places thereabouts, it were too long: for brevity's sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the fourteenth day of February, the people which were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Tour, perceived that a company of soldiers had ascended up the hill to Angrogne, and were burning the rest of the houses there. They doubted that it was a policy of their enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the meadow of Tour from them. Therefore they sent only six harquebussiers against those soldiers, who, having the higher ground, and not being espied of their enemies, discharged their guns all together; whereupon incontinent the soldiers fled, albeit no man pursued them. Whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.

Shortly after, they of the ward of the meadow of Tour, which were in the watch on the top of the mountain, (because every morning a sermon was made there, whereunto the people resorted, and they might see afar off round about them,) espied a troop of soldiers marching on that side of the hill which is between the east and the north, and soon after that, discovered another company, which marched on the north side towards the said troop. The first were ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the mountain called Melese, but they were soon discomfited; and because they could not run fast by means of the deep snow, and difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilst they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them their drum, behold there came certain unto them, crying out that the other troop was entered into the meadow of Tour, by means

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whereof they gave over the chase; or else not one of their enemies had escaped, as they which were there reported for a truth. Not one of Angrogne was slain or hurt.

The other troop, which came by the north side, took a high hill in the top of the mountain, the which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the snow and ice which was there. The chiefest of this company were Ludovic of Monteil, (which had been before master of the camp in the king's wars,) and Charles Truchet. When they were come to the top of the hill, they caused seven soldiers to go down the hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the troop might descend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the houses. They sent also others to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the mean time the ministers, and the people which were in the midst of the valley of the meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith: wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation, and tears, even until night.

The seven spies which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their Captain Truchet, "Come down! come down!" "Seignior Charles! this day Angrogne shall be taken." The others cried to them again, "Ascend! ascend, and return! or else you shall be slain every one of you!" Immediately issued out five against these spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five who set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a fork of fire. Soon after, eight of Angrogne issued out against the whole troop. Which was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all 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, which they call a rancon, and is somewhat bigger than a halberd: the others followed by two and two together, with harquebusses. These eight went from rock to rock, from hill to hill, about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then came twelve others, the which, joining with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Soon after there came from the valley of Lucerne a hundred harquebussiers, with one of their ministers, according to their manner, who were wont to send out a minister withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the people in order, that they exceeded not measure, as it came to pass that day.

At the length they saw them also coming, who 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; who joined with them of the valley of Lucerne, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediately they came to succour the others that now were encountering valiantly with their enemies. Then the enemies, seeing such a company marching against them with such courage and boldness, after the others had once called upon God, their hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the others began to pray, they began also to flee; but because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice, and fought, and some in the mean time fled.

He that carried the rancon, and discovered the enemies, was but a very young and a simple man, and was esteemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say in their language) handle *la sappe*, that is to say, a hatchet, and kept cattle; and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great rancon with laying load upon them; and after that he brake also four of their own swords in pursuing them. There

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was a boy of eighteen years of age, and of small stature, who alone slew the lord of Monteil, master of the camp (as is said) to the king; wherewith the enemies were marvellously astonished and discouraged. Another simple man, who, a man would have thought, durst not once have looked Charles Truchet in the face, (because he was a very big man, strong and puissant, and one of the chiefest captains of the whole army,) threw down the said Truchet with the stroke of a stone. Then a young man leaped upon him, and slew him with his own sword, which was four fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

This Truchet was one of the principal authors of this war, and one of the chiefest enemies of true religion, and of the poor Waldois, that could then be found. It was said also, that he vaunted and promised before to the said lord of Trinity, that he would deliver into his hands the meadow of Tour: but God soon brought his proud brag to nought; and for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor people, he lay spoiled and naked like a beast in the wild mountain of Angrogne. Two of the chiefest among them offered to pay a great sum of crowns for their ransom, but they could not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance; and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of blood, and the enemies to flee, cried to the people, saying that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They which heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer; but they that were further off, and heard him not, chased their enemies till dark night, insomuch that if the rest had done the like, very few of their enemies had escaped. That day they spoiled their enemies of a great part of their armour and munition. So God restored in this combat, and in others, to the poor Waldois, the armour which the lord of Trinity had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every man cried, "Who is he that seeth not that God fighteth for us?" This victory gave great courage to the poor Waldois, and greatly astonished the enemies.

On the eighteenth of February, the lord of Trinity, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of Villars, returned to burn all the little villages round about, which pertain to the same, and especially to pursue the poor people, who were fled up into the mountains; and dividing his army into three parts, he entered by three several ways above mentioned. The two first companies joined together between Villars and Bobi, having a great company of horsemen. From thence they went to seek the people which were in the mountain of Combe, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders which were next, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them; and calling upon God for his aid and succour, they set themselves against their enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their bulwarks, that is to say, certain houses which at that time served them for that purpose, albeit they were not made for that use. Many of the enemies were slain at those two combats, and not one of the other side. The lord of Trinity, seeing his men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his army, which were esteemed to be fifteen hundred men. There came also about a hundred to succour the warders. The combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor people were assaulted so vehemently, that they were fain to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. Then the enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, retiring not past a

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stone's cast, took courage, and crying all together to the Lord for succour, they turned themselves to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this the enemies rested themselves awhile, and by and by after they gave a furious assault; but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the enemies rested, and in the mean time the people fell to prayer, calling upon God all together, with their faces lifted up towards heaven; which frayed the enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea, God here showed his great power, even in the little children also, who, fervently calling upon God, threw stones at their enemies, and gave courage also unto the men. So did also the women, and the vulgar sort; that is to say, those who were meet for no feats of war, remaining upon the mountain, and beholding these furious combats, kneeling upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, "Lord, help us!" who heard their prayers.

After that these three assaults were given, there came one unto them crying, "Be of good courage God hath sent those of Angrogne to succour us." He meant, that they 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 they of Angrogne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, "Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of Angrogne be here to succour us!" The enemies hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreat, and retired into the plain.

That troop that were gone towards Tailleret, divided themselves into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, which was of seven score, marched higher, thinking to take the people at unawares; but they were by seven men strongly resisted and driven back. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to enclose the people; but as God would, they of Angrogne, who came to succour them, encountered with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine, (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day,) chased their enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the master of the camp was fain to send to the lord of Trinity (who was at Tour) for succour, or else all would have been lost; which he did; and immediately he rode with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, hearing the alarm which was given at St. Jean by those of Angrogne, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The army retired with great difficulty, (notwithstanding the new aid which was sent them,) and with great loss of their men. One of their captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the valley of Lucerne.

On Monday, being the seventeenth of March next following, the lord of Trinity, to be revenged on those of the meadow of Tour, assembled all the force that he could make with the gentlemen of the country; insomuch, that whereas before his army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly, in the night season, he

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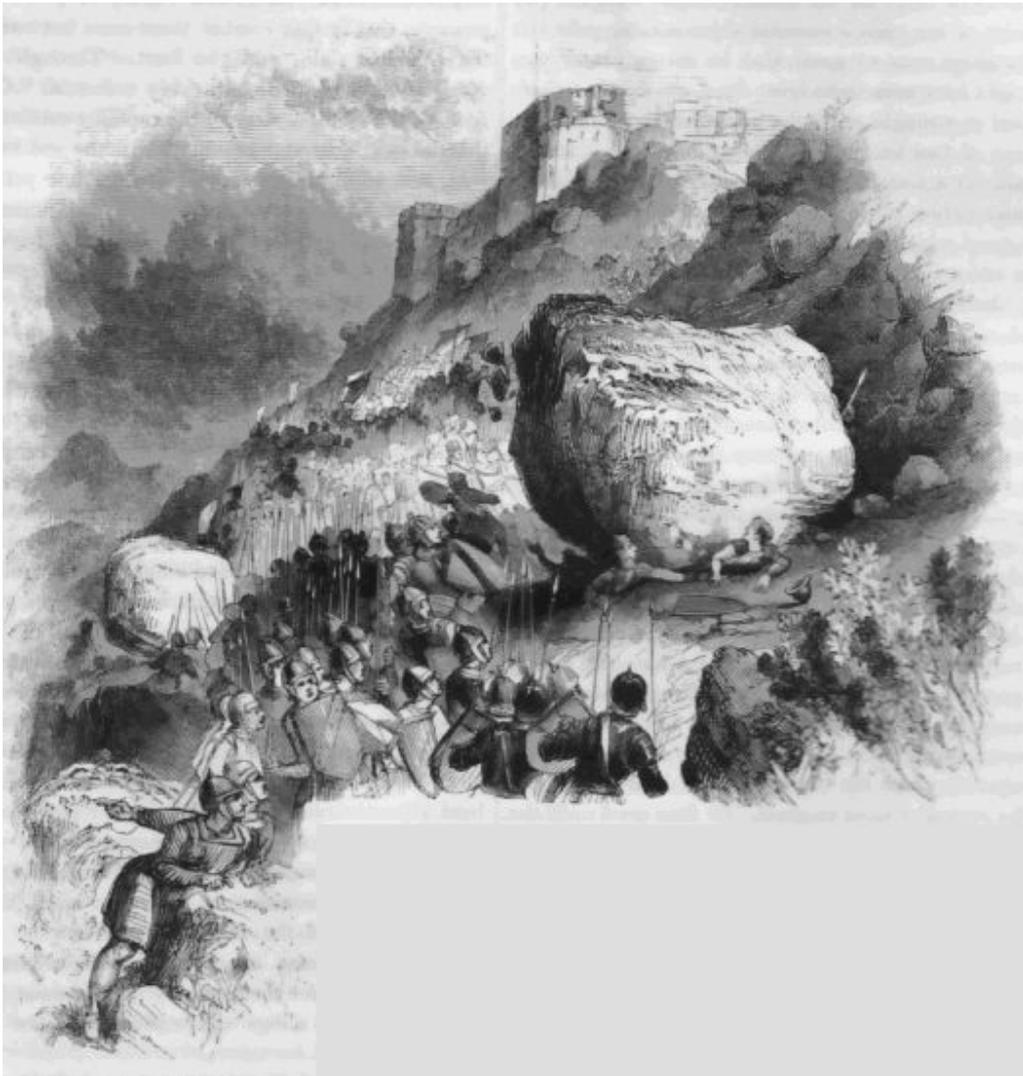
encamped with part of his army in the midst of Angrogne, from whence the poor inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the sermon and prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the army to be encamped at the foot of the mountain of Angrogne on the east side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harness, and marching in such array, that the poor people at first were astonished thereat. 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 to the bulwarks of the meadow of Tour, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rocks, thinking to have enclosed the people in their bulwarks. But as soon as they that kept the bulwark below had espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the aid which was sent unto them, very luckily, from the valley of Lucerne, and coming as it were from heaven; who joining together, soon discomfited their enemies with stones and harquebusses. They pursued them fiercely into the rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, because the rocks are so steep that no man can ascend or descend without great pain and difficulty. The captain of this band was named Bastian, of Vergilia, a man very expert in the affairs of war. At his going out of his lodging, he threatened that he would do great and terrible things that day. His hostess hearing that, said unto him, "Monsieur! if our religion be better than theirs, you shall have the victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not prevail." Shortly after the captain was brought again into his inn, so wounded and so feeble, that he was not likely to live. Then said his hostess unto him, "Monsieur! it is now well seen, that their religion is better than ours."

There was also another band that kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from thence. The middlemost bulwark was then assaulted, in which were very few to defend the same; who, seeing the number of their enemies, retired back, leaving therein five only to defend it. There was a huge rock not far from the aforesaid bulwark, behind the same a great number of the enemies were hid; and anon there issued out two ensigns, assuring themselves to win the bulwark; but immediately one of their ensign-bearers was wounded to death, whereupon many recoiled back; the other set up his ensign upon the bulwark. They that were within, had neither halberd, nor any other long weapon, but only one pike, and the same without any iron; which one of the five took, and threw down the ensign, and manfully beat back the scalers, and threw them down to the ground. Divers of the enemies were entered into the bulwark by a door below, and slew one of the five who kept the middle part of the bulwark. The other four looked to be destroyed out of hand. Then one of the four chased away those who had entered below with stones; and the other three, leaving their hand-guns, defended themselves likewise with great stones: and perceiving the band which was on the rocks to flee, they took courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly, till their companions were returned from the chase.

In the mean time, the bulwark which was upon the side of the mountain was furiously assailed by the one half of the army. Those that were within, suffered their enemies to approach near to the bulwark, without any gunshot or other defence; whereat the enemies much marvelled: but when they were even at hand, they fell upon them, some with throwing of stones, some with rolling down mighty stones, and some with harquebusses. There was a huge stone rolled down, which passed throughout the whole army, and slew divers. The soldiers at that time

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had won a little cottage near to the said bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men; but among them one devised to roll down a great huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the soldiers, that they thought they had been all destroyed; and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.



The Waldois roll a huge stone on their enemies

Then the soldiers made certain fences of wood, five feet long, three feet broad, and of the thickness of three boards; but they were so sore vexed with the shot of the harquebusses, that they were fain to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made others of earth for the soldiers. But all these policies of the enemies availed them nothing; for the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead, one upon another. God so wrought with the

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poor Christians, that the shot of two harquebusses slew four men. It was said for a certainty, that the shot of a harquebuss came so near the lord of Trinity's head, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire sixscore paces backward; and seeing his soldiers in such great numbers murdered and wounded on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the rest of his army. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Tour. Moreover, he was determined, if that day's journey had not succeeded, to encamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the assault. Many gentlemen and others came thither 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 had much ado to save himself and his; and seeing the mischiefs which they intended to do unto others, were fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of the plain also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies and the wounded to be so great, (for from noon until the evening they ceased not to carry them away,) were likewise exceedingly dismayed. Albeit they carried not all away; for there were many that lay near to the bulwarks, whom the people covered with winding-sheets the next morning. The soldiers themselves confessed to them of Tour, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain, they were so tired, and clean out of heart.

Many marvelled why the people did not follow the army, but especially the soldiers, seeing the great discomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten such advantage of them already: but this was done for two causes; the one was, because they had already determined not to follow the army being once retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves; the other cause was, for that they were weary, and had spent all their munition: for many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty, spending great store both of pellets and hail shot. The rest of the army retired, crying with a loud voice, "God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong! "

The next day one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of Trinity, saying unto 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 hurt. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, "God fighteth for them." One of the captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce assaults and combats, and sundry battles well fought, but yet he never saw soldiers so faint-hearted and amazed; yea, the soldiers themselves told him, they were so astonished that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this people never shot but they hurt or killed some of the soldiers. Some others said, that the ministers by their prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight. And indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, so great assaults and adventures, so much and such terrible shot, continually made against this poor people, yet all in a manner came to no effect, so mightily God's holy power wrought for his people: insomuch that for all the said combats, skirmishes, and so many conflicts of all the Angrognians, there were but nine only that miscarried, and the whole number of those that were slain were but only fourteen persons. Here also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and those also but poor silly shepherds and neat-herds, to encounter with such a mighty power of so strong and brave soldiers coming against them with weapons and armour, being so well furnished and appointed with munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary

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side being unarmed, and unprovided of all habiliment of war, having for their defence for the most part nothing else but slings and stones, and a few harquebusses.

On the ninth of March there was a hot skirmish at Angrogne; for three companies of soldiers went to Angrogne, to burn and spoil all that remained, and to destroy the wines which were hidden in the ground. Where, amongst themselves, they mocked and flouted the poor people, saying, "These Lutheran Waldois are valiant fellows behind their bulwarks; but if they had been in the plain field, they had been well canvassed." After this it chanced that thirty of the Waldois went and assailed these aforesaid companies in the plain field. They fought a long season, and that so near, that some of them fought hand to hand. In this conflict one of those of Angrogne, wrestled with a captain of the enemies, strong and mighty, and cast him down upon the ground. Many of the soldiers were slain, and many hurt; but of the Angrognians there was but one slain, and another hurt a little, who notwithstanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the soldiers, seeing the loss of their men, retired suddenly.

After that, the lord of Trinity sent two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne to them of Angrogne, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer was given, that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent very often to treat of the agreement; but what his meaning was, it 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 touching the agreement with certain men pertaining to the lord of Ranconis, and the safe-conduct was promised and granted.

The night before the ministers and rulers of Angrogne should take their journey, they perceived a company of soldiers going up a hill by which they of Angrogne should pass, and hid them in houses on the way-side, thinking to take at unawares them of Angrogne that were sent to treat of the agreement. But they, having intelligence of this conspiracy, watched and warded. It was an easy matter, as divers thought, that night to have taken the lord of Trinity, and to have spoiled his whole camp; but they of Angrogne and Lucerne would not execute this enterprise, lest thereby they should offend God, and pass the bounds of their vocation, taking upon them no more but to defend themselves.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the meadow of Tour. The lord of Ranconis, seeming to be sorry for this war, sent into the meadow of Tour an honest man of Briqueras, named Francis of Gilles, to take advice what means were best to further the agreement; who, having consulted with the ministers and rulers, returned homeward that day according to his master's commandment, and having sent back one who conducted him, was murdered soon after, at the foot of Angrogne, by two of Angrogne, who otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soon after, one of the two, who had committed this fact, entered into the meadow of Tour and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the fact without any further delay. Immediately the other also was taken.

The Waldois were marvellously troubled and aggrieved with this fact, and wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the whole circumstance of the fact, and that they had the offenders in ward, and that if it would please him to send certain to examine the matter, they, for their part, would so execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocency to all men

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should appear. The lord of Ranconis wrote unto them that they should deliver unto him the offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them as the case required. To this they of Angrogne answered, that upon three conditions they should be delivered according to his request: first, that the prisoners should be compelled to do nothing against their consciences; and as touching religion, nothing should be spoken unto them, but out of the word of God: secondly, that speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this should be no prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the people of Angrogne: the third, that the execution of them should be upon the borders of Angrogne, for an example to all others. This being accorded with one assent, (yea, without contradiction of their parents,) they sent them prisoners, accompanied with sixty gunners, to the confines of Lucerne, and there delivered them into the hands of the lord of Ranconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrogne.

After this the lord of Trinity, having left certain garrisons about Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, went to Perouse near to the valley of St. Martin, to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcity of victuals which sore pressed them, and namely those of the meadow of Tour, for they were spoiled of their victuals. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread: but afterwards, when they were even like to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succour, both of corn and bread, than they had before. The enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Tour by famine; for they took away the victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every household was suffered to have no more than should sustain them that day, and that also was very little; to the end that they should not succour this poor people.

After that, the lord of Trinity, being returned from Perouse to Lucerne, sent certain to treat of an agreement, and required to commune with some of the people. Then they began to consult and devise, by all means, how they might come to some good agreement. But on Monday, being the seventeenth of April, by break of day, he sent certain bands of Spaniards, which he had there, with the garrison of Tour, to the mountain of Tailleret, by the way which leadeth to the meadow of Tour, on the south side: they murdered men, women, and children of Tailleret, whom they found in their beds. Then they marched on along upon the mountain, towards the meadow of Tour. Anon after, the people perceived two other companies of soldiers, marching by Angrogne by two several ways, to assault the meadow of Tour. In the morning, as soon as they rose, they blew their horns, for they saw the Spaniards already entered. When they had made their prayers, every man ran to meet the enemies; some on the east side, and the others on the south. They which first resisted the Spaniards (who were already past the bulwarks) were in the beginning but twelve gunners, and a few others, whom they caused to go up to the hill, and roll down great stones. These twelve, having found a fit place for their purpose to stay the Spaniards, began to shoot off their arquebusses at them. The Spaniards, seeing themselves so sore assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so narrow and so strait, recoiled back, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they had been enclosed between the two mountains; which place was so strait, that they could not have escaped. The people chased them unto their camp, which was at Tour. As they fled, they found often some forts, where they did resist for a little while, but they were always beaten out. In this combat, God gave victory to the poor Waldois, with great slaughter of the Spaniards, where also very many of them were sore hurt and wounded.

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The said lord of Trinity sent unto the Spaniards, that they should not faint and give over, but stick to it like men, and he would shortly send them succour: but they would not. Those of the valley of Lucerne, hearing of this conflict, came in the mean time to help their neighbours. Amongst others, there was one slain in that battle, for whom the lord of Trinity much lamented, saying, that he would rather have lost a whole band than that man. The other two companies which marched by Angrogne, perceiving the Spaniards to be so beaten and put to flight, and seeing also those of the meadow of Tour coming to encounter with them, retired in haste. Upon that the lord of Trinity went to Cavors, three miles from Lucerne, being in a great perplexity; and as he was about to send succour to the Spaniards, he heard the sound of a drum above Lucerne, and suspected that there was an army of the Waldois coming against him. Upon this divers of the soldiers fled away by the plain, crying that all was lost. It was certainly reported, that if the Waldois had pursued the army, as they might easily have done, the camp had that day been chased out of Lucerne. The poor people lacked no courage so to do; for albeit they had neither eaten nor drunk all the day before, and had sore travailed and fought, yet they said, that if they had but a little refreshed themselves with a morsel of bread, and a glass of wine, they durst take upon them to enter into the camp of their enemies.

Within a few days after, they of Angrogne were advertised by the lord of Trinity's letters, that he fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corn being on the ground; and furthermore, that two forts should be built at Angrogne. The day was assigned, and horsemen appointed, with all speed to execute this mischievous enterprise. The poor people thought that they should be assailed as sore as ever they were, and fight as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night before this should be executed, the lord of Trinity received certain letters from the duke, which stayed this enterprise. They of the meadow of Tour being advertised that the lord of Trinity did now intend to send ordnance to beat down the bulwarks which were made of stones, they made a bulwark of earth, which was in compass about five hundred paces, which they might easily see from Lucerne. They of the meadow of Tour told the lord of Trinity's men, that if they brought any artillery, they should not so soon carry it away again; and shortly the ordnance was sent back again.

About this season, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldois, requested earnestly the lord of Ranconis to present a supplication which they had made to the duchess of Savoy: for they had intelligence, that she was sore offended that her subjects were so cruelly handled. 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 were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon.

About this time the lord of Trinity, by sickness, was in great danger of his life. Soon after the supplication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer to the Waldois, by the said lord of Ranconis. The effect thereof was, that she had obtained of the duke's Grace all that they demanded in their supplication, upon such conditions as the said lord of Ranconis would propound unto them. But when they understood that the said conditions were very rigorous, they

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sent another supplication unto the duchess, wherein they humbly besought her Grace to be a mean that the said conditions and articles might be moderated; which articles here follow.

"First, That they should banish their ministers.

"Secondly, That they should receive the mass, and other ceremonies of the Romish Church.

"Thirdly, That they should pay a ransom to the soldiers for certain of their men which they had taken.

"Fourthly, That they should assemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.

"Fifthly, That the duke would make fortresses at his pleasure, in all that country: with other like things."

The supplication of the Waldois to the duchess of Savoy.

The people made humble request in this their last supplication, "that it would please the said duchess to give the duke her husband to understand, how that these conditions were strange and rigorous. And as for their parts, although they had good trial of their ministers, that they were good men and fearing God, of sound doctrine, of good life, and honest conversation; yet nevertheless they were contented so to do, if he would give leave to some of them to remain: requesting this, that it might be permitted unto them to choose some other good ministers in their places, before they departed, lest that their churches should remain without pastors.

"Concerning the mass, and other ceremonies of the Church of Rome, if the duke should cause them to be ministered in their parishes, they neither would nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those that should minister them, or be present thereat: notwithstanding they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministration thereof, nor to pay any thing to the maintenance of the same, or else to yield either favour or consent thereunto.

"As touching the ransom which was demanded of them for their prisoners, considering the extreme poverty that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had suffered, it was to them a thing impossible. Yea, if his Highness were truly informed what loss they had sustained, by burning, spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods, without all mercy or pity, he would not only not require of them any such thing, but, as a gracious and merciful prince, he would succour 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 said lord and prince: and therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor brethren remaining in captivity and prison, and such as were sent to the galleys for the profession of their religion, might speedily be delivered and set at liberty.

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"As for their assemblies and preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only amongst themselves, in their accustomed places, and in other valleys aforesaid, where any assembly of the faithful should be, which were desirous to hear the preaching of the gospel.

"Touching the fortresses, forasmuch as by those which were already made they had suffered great molestations and troubles, as well concerning their goods, as also their religion, they were assured, that if he should build up new forts, they should never be able to abide the troubles, miseries, and calamities, that would follow thereupon: and therefore they most humbly desired the said duchess to be so good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of 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 said 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 should not need to build any other. And because many of those which dwelt near about 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 said goods by way of justice, and to buy again that which the soldiers had sold, and that for the same price for the which it was sold.

"Briefly, they also besought their said lord, that it might please him to be so gracious unto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises, immunities, and privileges, as well general as particular, given unto them as well by him as by his predecessors; and likewise of those, who, as well as their ancestors, had bought of their lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

"And because in time past, instead of good and speedy justice, all iniquity was committed by those that had the administration of justice in their valleys; and forasmuch 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 amongst them, whereby the wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

"Finally, forasmuch as divers of this poor people (being astonished at the coming of the army, and fearing lest they should not only be spoiled of all their goods, but also they with their wives and children be utterly destroyed) made promise, against their consciences, to live according to the traditions of the Church of Rome; they were marvellously troubled and tormented in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distress. Wherefore they humbly besought the said duchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their conscience; and moreover, 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 honour to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithful subjects unto their lord and prince; yea, more than any other." Underneath the said 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."

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After that this supplication was viewed and read of the said duchess, she so persuaded with the duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these articles following:

"That there shall shortly be made letters patent by the duke's Highness, by the which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the valleys of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet, (bordering upon Tour,) St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and all such as have aided them; of all such faults as they have committed, as well in bearing armour against his Highness, as against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

"That it shall be lawful for them of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, members of the valley of Lucerne, and for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Maneille, and Salsa, (members of the valley of St. Martin,) to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in places accustomed.

"That it shall be lawful for them of Villars (members of the valley of Lucerne) to have the same, but that only until the time that his Highness doth build a fort in the same place. But whilst the said fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their preachings and assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, where they shall think good, on that side towards Bobi. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their ministers to come within the precinct aforesaid, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their religion, so that they preach not, nor make any assembly there.

"It shall also be permitted to them of Tailleret, and La Rua de Bonet, bordering upon Tour, to have their sermons and assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Tour.

"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 to any of his Highness's dominions; nor to have their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, out of their own borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

"The like shall be lawful for them of the parish of Perouse, which at this present are fled because of the said religion, and were wont to have their assemblies and preachings, and other ministries according to their religion, at the place called Le Puis; so that they come not to other places and borders of the said parish.

"It shall be permitted to them of the parish of Pinachia, of the valley of Perouse, who at this present be fled because of the said religion, and were wont to go to sermons and assemblies, and other ministries of that religion, to have the like, only at the place called Le Grandoubion.

"It shall be permitted to them of the parish of St. Germain, of the valley of Perouse, and to them of Roccapiata, who at this present are fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same, to have one only minister, who may the one day preach at St. Germain, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

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"It shall be permitted to all them of the towns and villages of the said valleys, who at this present are fled, and continue in the said 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 above specified, so that they obey that which is above said.

"And because many of the said towns and villages dwell out of the precinct of the preaching, having need to be visited, and of other things according to their said religion, their ministers, which dwell within the precinct, shall be suffered, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid them of such ministries as shall be necessary for them, so that they make no sermons nor assemblies.

"By especial grace it shall be permitted to all them of the valley of Meane, and them of St. Barthilimi, neighbours to Roccapiata, and who are fled and continue in the said religion, peaceably to enjoy the grace and liberties granted in the next article before, so that they observe all which they before promise to observe.

"The goods already seized as forfeited, shall be restored to all the inhabitants of the said valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the said religion, as well them of the said valleys, as to those of Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and of Meane; so that they be not seized for any other cause than for the said religion, and for the war present and lately passed.

"It shall be lawful for them aforesaid to recover by way of justice, of their neighbours, their movable goods and cattle, so it be not of soldiers; and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by way of justice, so that they restore the price for which it hath been sold. Their neighbours shall have the like against them.

"All their franchises, freedoms, and privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his Highness's predecessors, as by himself, and obtained of other inferior lords, whereof they shall make proof by public writing, shall be confirmed unto them.

"The said valleys shall be provided for, to have good justice ministered unto them, whereby 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 them of the said valleys, which are fled for religion, as well such as have abjured as others, to the end they may be restored and maintained in their goods and households, and enjoy such grace and benefits as their prince and lord hath bestowed on them.

"And inasmuch as it is known to every man, that the prince may build fortresses in his country, where it shall please him, without contradiction, nevertheless, to take all suspicion out of the minds of the aforesaid Waldois, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his Highness shall make a fort at Villars, the inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the charges, but only as they shall think good lovingly to aid their prince: which fort being builded,

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(by God's aid,) a governor and captain shall therein be appointed, who shall attempt nothing but the service of his Highness, without offence of the inhabitants, either in their goods or consciences.

"It shall be lawful for them, before the discharging of their ministers, such as it shall please his Highness to have discharged, to choose and call others in their steads; so that they choose not M. Martin de Pragela, nor change from one place to another of the said valleys any of them which be discharged.

"The mass, and other service after 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 thereat, nor to minister aid or favour to such as shall use that service.

"All the expenses and charges borne by his Highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever; also the eight thousand crowns wherein the inhabitants of the said valleys were behind, as part of sixteen thousand crowns which they had promised in the war passed; and his Highness will command that the writings for that cause made shall be annulled and cancelled.

"All the prisoners shall be rendered and restored, which shall be found to be in the hands of the soldiers, paying ransom reasonable, according to their goods, as they shall be seized; and those that shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ransom.

"Likewise all they of the said valleys, which for religion, and not for other causes, are detained in the galleys, shall be released without ransom.

"Finally, it shall be lawful for all them of the said valleys, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and St. Barthilimi, of what degree, estate, or condition soever they be, (except ministers,) to accompany and dwell and to be in daily conversation, with the rest of their 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 before is said,) so that they preach not, nor make any assemblies or disputations, as we have before said: and that these which be of the limits dwell not out of of them; and they which be of the towns and villages of the said valleys, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: and in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his Highness.

"Furthermore, his Highness shall set order to stay all troubles, inconveniences, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, after such sort that they shall remain quietly in their religion. For observation whereof, 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 Bobi; Michael Raymundet, sent from the commonalty of Tailleret, and of La Rua de Bovet, bordering upon Tour; John Malenote, sent from certain persons of St. Jean; Peter Paschall, sent from the commonalty of the valley of St. Martin; Thomas Roman of St. German, sent from the commonalty of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them

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and their commonalties severally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolately kept; and for breach thereof do submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his Highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families of the commonalties to allow and confirm the said promise.

"The honourable lord of Ranconis doth promise, that the Duke's highness shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favour of the noble lady the princess.

"In testimony hereof, the aforesaid lord of Ranconis hath confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand; and the ministers have likewise subscribed, in the name of all the said valleys; and they that can write, in the names of all their commonalties.

"At Cavor, the fifth day 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 until this present; and God, of his infinite goodness, have delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at liberty to serve him purely, and with quietness of conscience.

Wherefore there is none at this present (except he be altogether blind or senseless) but seeth and well perceiveth, that God would make it known by experience to these poor Waldois, and all other faithful people, that all things turn to the best to them which love and fear him: for by all these afflictions which they suffered, (as is before rehearsed,) this good heavenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he hath effectuously taught them to have recourse to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ for their only Saviour and Redeemer.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the world, and lift them up to heaven and to be always in a readiness to come to him, as unto their most loving and pitiful Father. To be short, he hath sent them to the school of his children, to the end they should profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry unto him. And above all, he hath made them so often to prove his succours at time of need, to see them before their eyes, to feel and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) after such sort, that they have had good occasion, and the faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, and so careful for the health of his children; but to assure themselves they shall never be confounded what thing soever happen.

And yet to see this more manifestly, and that every man may take profit thereof, it shall be good to understand what this poor people did, whilst they were in these combats and conflicts. As soon as they saw the army of their enemies approach, they cried all together for aid and

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succour to the Lord; and before they began to defend themselves, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up their hearts, and sighed to the Lord. As long as the enemies were at rest, every one of these poor people on their knees called upon God. When the combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the comfort and succour which they had felt. In the mean time, the rest of the people, with their ministers, made their hearty prayer unto God, with sighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they assembled again together: they that had fought, rehearsed the wonderful aid and succour which God had sent them, and so all together rendered thanks unto 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 of rejoicing and comfort.

This poor people had two terrible enemies, war and famine, which kept them under in such sort, that a man would have thought they had been utterly lost and destroyed: but God, of his endless mercy, delivered them from such dangers, and restored them to their houses, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietness; and all they that had declared themselves to be their open enemies, were brought to confusion, as well those who sought to get their goods, as those who only desired to shed their blood; for proof whereof, the only example of two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne shall suffice. These not only moved cruel war against their poor tenants and others, but most shamefully spoiled them, and took intolerable fines of all those that disobeyed their edicts to keep a good conscience.

Besides this, they went about to seize all their goods as forfeited, waiting to have the whole forfeiture thereof themselves. And for this cause they did not only incense the duke with false reports, and with grievous complaints and accusations against these poor Waldois, but also pursued the same so long, and with such charges, that they were fain to sell their inheritance, in hope to bring their purpose to pass, and to enjoy that goodly prey, which they thought could not escape their hands. But in the end, for their reward, they got nothing but shame and confusion.

And as for the monks and priests, who by such means thought to advance themselves, and to bring their trumpery into estimation, they have lost the little rule which they had over that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought to disdain. Thus God beateth down those who exalt themselves above measure, and maketh his adversaries to fall into the pits which they themselves have made. Let us pray unto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissant arm at this day to maintain his poor church now afflicted, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his members, to the advancement of his glory and kingdom.

The conclusion of the story of Merindol and Cabriers.

And thus hast thou, Christian reader! for thy erudition and comfort, the story and doings discoursed concerning these two countries, both of Provence and also of Piedmont, the one being subject to the dominion of France, the other belonging to the duke of Savoy; in which two aforesaid regions and countries, how long the gospel of Christ hath continued, (even from the time of the first Waldenses,) the history itself declareth.

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Furthermore, what injuries and wrongs have been done against them for the gospel's sake, what rigour and cruelty hath been showed of the adversary part; again, for their part, what patience in their suffering, what constancy in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and simplicity in their deeds, what obedience towards their magistrates, and faith towards God, they have used; and finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemies, the said history may give thee full knowledge and experience.

Wherein this thou hast moreover, for thy more learning, to note and consider with thyself, besides many other memorable things in this story contained, how unwilling this people were at first, and what remorse of conscience they had for their obedience towards their magistrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being slain and cruelly murdered, as willingly offering their throats without any resistance to the cruel hands of their enemies, the rest were compelled to flee into the mountains, being spoiled of house, victual, and weapon, only to save their poor lives with fleeing (which otherwise they would not with resisting) into rocks and caves, thinking there rather to perish by famine, than to use that defence for themselves, which nature giveth to every brute beast to help itself, as it may, against violence and injury. Yet these poor Waldois, refusing all resistance, and laying down their own weapons, for obedience' sake, yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only used the poor shift of fleeing from their enemies, till at length the rage of those bloody persecutors, satisfied with no blood, nor contented with any reason, ceased not still most furiously to infest them, yea, to take also the mountains from them, who had taken from them their houses before; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild beasts in the desert, who could not live in their towns at home; till at length, by extreme necessity, the providence of God so working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take those weapons which the ground gave into their hands. And with these stones so marvellously the God of hosts wrought for his people, that they beat, vanquished, and overthrew their adversaries; they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, and at last stayed the intolerable rage of their persecution. So mercifully and victoriously the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people, (they but turning almost their faces to their enemies,) no otherwise than he fought in times past with Joshua against the heathen, with the Israelites against the Philistines, with the Maccabees against Antiochus and the Syrians.

This history, carrying with it a true narration of things done in the said country of Piedmont, and written as it seemeth by certain of the ministers who were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and simplicity we have collected, partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French tongue; for in both languages it is written although; in the French tongue it is much more largely discoursed, which book most principally herein we have followed.

Now that we have finished these foreign histories, concerning such matters as have been passed in other realms and nations of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Savoy; consequently it remaineth, after this digression, to return and reduce our story again to our own country matters here done and passed at home, after that first we shall have added one foreign story more concerning the martyrdom of a Christian Jew, who suffered about these years in Constantinople, among the Turks, in this wise as followeth:

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The story of a Christian Jew martyred by the Turks at Constantinople, A.D. 1528.

To these foreign martyrs aforesaid we will adjoin the history of a certain Jew, who, A.D. 1528, dwelling in the city of Constantinople, and there receiving the sacrament of baptism, was converted, and became a good Christian. When the Turks understood hereof, they were vehemently exasperated against him, that he, forsaking his Jewishness, should be regenerated to the faith of Christ: and fearing lest his conversion should be a detriment to their Mahometical law, they sought means how to put him to death, which in a short time after they accomplished; and, for the greater infamy to be done to the man, they cast his dead corpse into the streets, commanding that no man should be so hardy as to bury the same.

Wherein the marvellous glory and power of Christ appeared; for the dead corpse, lying so by the space of nine days in the midst of the streets, retained so its native colour, and was so fresh, without any kind of filthiness or corruption, and also not without a certain pleasant and delectable scent or odour, as if it had been lately slain, or rather not slain at all, which when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvellously astonished; and being greatly afraid, they themselves took it up, and carried it to a place near, without the town, and buried it.

The conclusion.

Having thus comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly saints, and blessed martyrs, which have suffered in other foreign nations above mentioned, here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth book, we are (God willing) to return again to our own matters, and to prosecute such acts and records, as to our own country of England do appertain; in the process whereof; among many other things, may appear the marvellous work of God's power and mercy, in suppressing and banishing out of this realm the long-usurped supremacy of the pope; also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of monks and friars, with divers other matters appertaining to the reformation of Christ's true church and religion. All which things, as they have been long wished and greatly groaned for in times past by many godly learned men, so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of reformation which God hath given us. If John Huss, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliff before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; if Zisca with all the company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Reimond, with all the Toulousians; if the Waldois, or the Albigenses, with infinite others, had either been in these our times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the pope, and revealing of antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now, beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lord our God, who by his mighty power, and the brightness of his word, hath revealed this great enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all man, who before was hid in the church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, that the bishop of Rome (commonly received, and believed, almost of all men, to be the vicar and vicegerent of Christ here in earth) to be antichrist, and the great adversary of God, whom St. Paul so expressly prophesieth of, in these latter days to be

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revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all men now, for the most part, may see it is come to pass? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

155. Pope Leo's Bull against Luther, and Luther's Answer

Now, as you have heard the presumptuous and arrogant sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh upon him, contrary to the ordinance of God in his Levitical law, (as is before showed,) and contrary to the best learned judgments of Christendom, to command and compel the king, against his conscience, to retain in matrimony his brother's wife; here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promise, another like wicked, blasphemous, and slanderous bull of Pope Leo against Martin Luther, with the just appellation also of the said Martin Luther from the pope to a general council: wherein may appear to all men, the lying spirit of the pope, both in teaching most heretical doctrine, derogating from the blood of Christ, and also falsely depraving and perverting the sound doctrine of Luther, falsely and untruly charging him with heresy, when he is the greater heretic himself. For what heretic would ever say that the Church of Rome was consecrated and sanctified by the blood of Peter, but only the pope? or who would call this heresy, to refer all our salvation and sanctification only and totally to the blood of the Son of God, unless he were a heretic of all heretics himself?

After the like dealing we read of wicked King Ahab, who, being only the disturber of Israel himself, crieth out upon Elias for troubling Israel. So here, in semblable wise, Pope Leo, with what heaps of tragical words and exclamations doth he fume and rage against the true servant of God, poor Luther, for disturbing the church of God, when it is the pope only and his father's house that troubleth, and long hath troubled, the true church of the Lord; as by his doings all the world may see enough and too much. In the mean time read, I beseech thee, with judgment, this impudent and false slanderous bull of the pope, with the appeal also of Luther again from the said pope; a copy whereof, because it be rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto commonly seen, being before omitted, I thought to commit here to history, as I had it out of certain registers; the manner and tenor whereof is this as followeth.

A copy of the bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, no less slanderous than barbarous, against Martin Luther and his doctrine: with the answer of Luther joined to the same.

"Leo, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual memory. Rise up, O Lord! and judge thy cause; remember the rebukes wherewith we are scorned all the day long of foolish rebukers. Incline thine ear unto our prayers; for foxes are risen up, seeking to destroy thy vineyard, the winepress whereof thou only hast trodden; and, ascending up to thy Father, didst commit the charge and regiment thereof unto Peter, as chief head and thy vicar, and his successors. The wild boar out of the wood seeketh to exterminate and root up thy vineyard. Rise up, Peter! and for this thy pastoral charge committed to thee from above, attend to the cause of the holy church of Rome, the mother of all churches and of our faith, which thou, by the commandment of God, didst consecrate with thine own blood; against which (as thou hast foretold us) false liars have risen up, bringing in sects of perdition, to their own speedy destruction; whose tongue is like fire, full of unquietness, and replenished with deadly poison;

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who, having a wicked zeal, and nourishing contentions in their hearts, do brag and lie against the verity.

"Rise up, Paul! also, we pray thee, who hast illuminated the same church with thy doctrine and like martyrdom. For now is sprung up a new Porphyry, who, as the said Porphyry then unjustly did slander the holy apostles, so, semblably, doth this man now slander, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark against the holy bishops our predecessors, not in beseeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he distrusteth his cause, there he falleth to opprobrious checks and rebukes, after the wonted use of heretics, whose uttermost refuge is this, (as Jerome saith,) that when they see their cause go to wreck, then, like serpents, they cast out the venom with their tongue; and when they see themselves near to be overcome, they fall to railing. For though heresies (as thou sayest) must needs be, for the exercise of the faithful, yet, lest these heresies should further increase, and these foxes gather strength against us, it is needful that, by thy means and help, they be suppressed and extinguished at the beginning.

"Finally, let all the whole universal church of God's saints and doctors rise up, whose true expounding of Holy Scripture being rejected, certain persons whose hearts the father of lies hath blinded, and wise in their own conceits, (as the manner of heretics is,) do expound the Scriptures otherwise than the Holy Ghost doth require, following only their own sense of ambition and vain-glory; yea, rather do wrest and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as Jerome saith, now they make it not the gospel of Christ, but of man, or, which is worse, of the devil. Let all the holy church, I say, rise up, and with the blessed apostles together make intercession to Almighty God, that the errors of all schismatics being rooted and stocked up, his holy church may be conserved in peace and unity. For of late, (which for sorrow we cannot express,) by credible information and also by public fame it hath come to our ears, yea, we have seen, also, and read with our eyes, divers and sundry errors, of which some have been condemned by councils and constitutions of our predecessors, containing expressly the heresies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians; some again respectively, either heretical, or false, or slanderous, or offensive to good ears, or, such as may seduce simple minds, newly to be raised up, by certain false pretended gospellers; who, by curious pride, seeking worldly glory against the doctrine of the apostles, would be more wise than becometh them; whose babbling, (as St. Jerome calleth it,) without authority of the Scriptures, would find no credit unless they should seem to confirm their false doctrine even with testimonies of the Scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh us so much the more grief, for that those heresies be sprung up in the noble nation of the Germans, unto which nation we, with our predecessors, have always borne special favour and affection. For after the empire was first translated by the Church of Rome, from the Greeks unto the Germans, the said our predecessors and we, have always had them as special abettors and defenders of this our church, and they have always showed themselves as most earnest suppressors of heresies: as witness whereof remain yet those laudable constitutions of German emperors, set forth and confirmed by our predecessors, for the liberty of the church, and for expulsing heretics out of all Germany; and that under grievous penalty and loss of all their goods and lands; which constitutions, if they were observed this present day, both we and they should now be free from this disturbance.

"Furthermore, the heresy of the Hussites, Wicklevists, and of Jerome of Prague, being condemned and punished in the council of Constance, doth witness the same: moreover doth witness the same, so much blood of the Germans, spilt fighting against the Bohemians. To

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conclude, the same also is confirmed and witnessed by the learned and true confutation, reprobation, and condemnation, set forth by the universities of Cologne and Louvain in Germany, against the aforesaid errors. Many other witnesses also we might allege, whom here (lest we should seem to write a story) we pretermit.

"Wherefore we, for the charge of our pastoral office committed unto us, can no longer forbear or wink at the pestiferous poison of these aforesaid errors; of the which errors we thought here good to recite certain, the tenor of which is this as followeth

"It is an old heresy to say, that the sacraments of the new law do give grace to them which have in themselves no let to the contrary.'

'To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is to tread down Paul and Christ under foot.'

'The origin of sin, although no actual sin do follow after, doth stay the soul, leaving the body, from the entrance into heaven.'

'Unperfect charity of a man departing must needs bring with it great fear, which of itself is enough to deserve the pain of purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven.'

'To say that penance standeth of three parts, to wit, contrition, confession, satisfaction, is not founded in Holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian doctors.'

'Contrition, which a man stirreth up in himself, by discussing, remembering, and detesting his sins, in revolving his former years in bitterness of soul, and in pondering the weight, number, and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and getting of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a man a hypocrite, and a great sinner.'

'It is an old proverb, and to be preferred before the doctrine of all that have written hitherto of contrition: from henceforth to transgress no more. The chiefest and the best penance is a new life.'

'Neither presume to confess thy venial sins, nor yet all thy mortal sins; for it is impossible to remember all the mortal sins that thou hast committed, and therefore, in the primitive church, they confessed the mortal sins which only were manifest.'

'While we seek to number all our sins sincerely unto the priest, we mean nothing else herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercy of God to be forgiven.'

'In confession no man hath his sins forgiven, except he believe, when the priest forgiveth, the same to be remitted: yea, otherwise, his sin remaineth unforgiven, unless he believe the same to be forgiven. For else remission of the priest, and giving of grace, doth not suffice, except belief come on his part that is remitted.'

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'Think not thy sin to be assoiled for the worthiness of thy contrition, but for the word of Christ, Whatsoever thou loosest, &c. When thou art absolved of the priest, trust confidently upon these words, and believe firmly thyself to be absolved, and then art thou truly remitted.'

'Admit the party that is confessed were not contrite, (which is impossible,) or that the priest pronounced the words of loosing not in earnest, but in jest; yet, if the party believe that he is absolved, he is truly absolved indeed.'

'In the sacrament of penance and absolution, the pope or bishop doth no more than any inferior priest can do: yea, and where a priest is not to be had, there every Christian man, yea, or Christian woman, standeth in as good stead.'

'None ought to say to the priest, that he is contrite; neither ought the priest to ask any such matter.'

'It is a great error of them who come to the holy house trusting upon this, that they are confessed, that their conscience grudgeth them in no deadly sin, that they have said their prayers, and done such other preparatives before; all those do eat and drink to their own judgment: but, if they believe there to obtain God's grace, this faith maketh them pure and worthy.'

'It were good that the church should determine in a general council, laymen to communicate under both kinds; and the Bohemians so doing be therein neither heretics nor schismatics.'

'The treasures out of which the pope doth grant his indulgences, are not the merits of Christ, nor of his saints.'

'Indulgences and pardons be a devout seducing of the faithful, and hinderance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things lawful, but not expedient.'

'Pardons and indulgences, to them which have them, avail not to remission of the punishment due before God for actual sins committed.'

'They which think that indulgences are wholesome and conducive to the fruit of the Spirit, are deceived.'

'Indulgences are only necessary for public transgressions, and are only granted to them that are obstinate and impatient.'

'Indulgences and pardons are unprofitable to six sorts of persons: first, to them that be dead, or lie in dying: secondly, to them that be weak and infirm: thirdly, to such as have lawful impediments: fourthly, to them that have not offended: fifthly, to such as have offended, but not publicly: sixthly, to those that amend and do well.'

'Excommunications be only outward punishments, and do not deprive a man of the public spiritual prayers of the church.'

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'Christians are to be taught rather to love excommunication, than to dread it.'



he bishop of Rome, successor of Peter, is not the vicar of Christ, ordained by Christ in St. Peter, to have authority over all the churches in the world.'

'The words of Christ to Peter, Whatsoever thou loosest, &c., extend no further but only to those things which be bound of Peter himself.'

'It is not in the hands either of the church or of the pope, to make articles of the faith, yea, or laws either of manners or good works.'

'Albeit the pope, with a great part of the church, teaching so or so, did not err therein, yet is it no sin nor heresy for a man to hold contrary to them; namely, in such things which are not necessary to salvation, so long as it is not otherwise condemned or approved by a general council.'

'We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the authority of councils, and freely to gainstand their doings, and to judge upon their decrees, and boldly to speak our knowledge, whatsoever we judge to be true, whether the same be approved or reproved by any general council.'

'Some of the articles of John Huss, condemned in the council of Constance, are Christian, most true and evangelical, which the universal church cannot condemn.'

'In every good work, the just man sinneth.'

'Every good work of ours, when it is best done, it is a venial sin.'

'To burn heretics, is against the will of the Spirit.'

'To fight against the Turks, is to repugn against God, visiting our iniquities by them.'

'Free-will, after sin, is a title and name only of a thing; and while man doth that which lieth in him, he sinneth deadly.'

'Purgatory cannot be proved out of Holy Scripture which is canonical.'

'Souls in purgatory be not certain of their safety, at least not all; neither is it proved by reasons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the state to deserve or increase charity.'

'Souls in purgatory do sin without intermission, so long as they seek rest, and dread punishment.'

'The souls being delivered out of purgatory by the prayers of the living, be less blessed than if they had satisfied for themselves.'

'Ecclesiastical prelates, and worldly princes, should not do amiss, if they would scour away all the bags of Begging Friars.'

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"All which errors there is no man in his right wits but he knoweth the same, in their several respects, how pestilent they be, how pernicious, how much they seduce godly and simple minds; and finally, how much they be against all charity, and against the reverence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all the faithful and mistress of the faith itself, and against the sinews and strength of ecclesiastical discipline, which is obedience, the fountain and well-spring of all virtues, and without which every man is to be convinced easily to be an infidel.

"We, therefore, desiring to proceed in the premises more earnestly, as behoveth in things of most importance, and meaning to cut off the course of this pestiferous and cankered disease, lest it should spread itself further in the Lord's field, like hurtful brambles or briars; and using upon the said errors, and every of them, diligent trial, debating, strait examination, ripe deliberation; and further, weighing and thoroughly sifting all and every of the same together, with our reverend brethren the cardinals of the Church of Rome, the priors of the orders regular, or ministers general; also with divers other professors and masters of divinity, and of both laws, and those the best learned: do find the aforesaid errors or articles respectively, as is aforesaid, not to be catholic, nor to be taught as catholic, but to be against the doctrine or tradition of the catholic church, and against the true interpretation of Holy Scripture, received by the same; to whose authority Augustine thought we ought so much to lean, that he would not (as he said) have believed the gospel, if the authority of the church had not thereunto moved him.

"For by these errors, or at least by some of them, it followeth consequently, that the same church, which is guided by the Holy Ghost, now doth, and ever hath erred: which is utterly against that which Christ at the time of his ascension, (as we read in the holy Gospel of Matthew,) promised to his disciples, saying, I am with you until the end of the world, &c.; and also against the determination of the holy fathers, against the express ordinances or canons of councils and head bishops, whom not to obey, hath always been the cause and nurse of all heresies and schisms, as Cyprian doth witness.

"Wherefore, by the counsel and assent of the said our reverend brethren, upon due consideration of all and singular the premises, by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, all and singular the articles or errors aforesaid respectively, as some to be heretic, some to be slanderous, some to be offensive to godly ears, or else seducing simple minds, and repugnant to the catholic truth; and, by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare, that they ought of all Christian people, both men and women, to be taken as damned, reprov'd, and rejected. And therefore, forbidding here, under pain of the greater curse and excommunication, losing of their dignities, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and to be deprived and made incapable of all regular orders and privileges, given and granted by the see apostolic, of what condition soever they be; also of losing their liberties to hold general schools, to read and profess any science and faculty; of losing also their tenures and feoffments, and of inability for ever to recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under pain of secluding from Christian burial, yea, and of treason also, and incurring such pains and punishments expressed in the law, as are due for all heretics and abettors of the same: we charge and command all and singular Christian people, both men and women, as well of the laity as of the clergy, both secular and also regular, of what order soever they be; and, briefly, all other persons, of what degree or condition soever they be, or in what dignity soever they are placed, either ecclesiastical or temporal: as first, the cardinals of the holy

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Church of Rome, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, with the prelates and heads of the churches patriarchal, metropolitan, or other cathedral, collegiate, and other small and inferior churches; also all clerks and other persons ecclesiastical, as abbots, priors, or ministers, general or particular, brethren or religious men, exempt and not exempt: also universities of schools, and all others, as well secular priests, as regular and religious persons of all orders, yea of the Begging Friars also: Item, kings, electors of the imperial crown, princes, dukes, marquises, barons, captains, conductors and servitors, and all officers, judges, notaries, whether they be ecclesiastical or secular; commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, castles, lordships, and places, with the inhabitants of the same: and, finally, all other persons whatsoever, ecclesiastical or regular, dispersed in whatever places through the whole universal world, or who shall be hereafter dispersed, but especially in high Almany, that they shall not presume, publicly or privately, under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressly, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour, the aforesaid errors or any of them, or any such perverse doctrine.

"Over and besides, forasmuch as the aforesaid errors, and many others, are contained in the books or writings of the aforesaid Martin Luther, therefore we condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, and hold for utterly condemned, reprov'd, and rejected, the aforesaid books, and all the writings of the said Martin, with his preachings, in what tongue soever they are found, wherein the said errors, or any of them, are contained; willing and commanding, under the virtue of holy obedience and incurring the penalties aforesaid, to all and singular Christian people, both men and women above rehearsed, that they presume not by any manner of ways, directly or indirectly, colourably or expressly, privily or apertly, either in their houses, or in other public or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by others; but, straight-ways after the publishing hereof, they do burn, or cause to be burned, the said errors, by their ordinaries diligently being searched out, and solemnly presented in the sight of the whole clergy and the people, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

"Now, as touching the said Martin, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charity have we not showed, whereby to have reduced him from these errors? For, after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers tractations had with our legate, as by our own letters, that he would relinquish the aforesaid errors, or else, having safe-conduct offered to him, with money necessary for his journey, to come to us without any fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to cast out; and so, after the example of our Saviour and his apostle St. Paul, he would speak, not in corners and in secret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no less but that, reforming himself, he would have recognised his errors, neither should have found so many faults in the court of Rome, which he, being seduced with the rumours of malicious people more than he ought, doth so much reprehend: where we would have taught him to see more clearly than the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome, our predecessors, (whom he, without all modesty, most injuriously doth rail upon,) did never err in their canons and constitutions, which he so much depraveth. For, as saith the prophet, Neither is there resin nor physician lacking in Gilead. But he hath always showed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appear; and yet to this present day, continuing still in his stubborn mind and heart indurate, hath remained more than a year under our curse; yea, and moreover, adding mischief to mischief, (which is worst of all,) he, hearing of this our citation, burst out into a presumptuous

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appellation from us, unto the next general council, against the constitution both of Pope Pius the Second and Pope Julius the Second, our predecessors, which so decreed, that all they which so did appeal, should be punished as heretics.

"In vain, also, he seeketh refuge to the general council, who profeseth himself not greatly to regard such councils. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one notoriously suspected of his faith, yea, a very heretic indeed, without any further citation or delay, to the condemnation of him, as of a heretic, and to the severity of all and singular pains and censures afore written. Yet we, notwithstanding, by the counsel of our brethren aforesaid, following the clemency of Almighty God, who willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the see apostolic, have thought good to use all favourable means towards him that we might; and so to work (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation; so that he, forsaking his former errors, might be received as the lost child, and return home again into the lap of his mother the church.

"Wherefore, in most hearty wise we exhort and beseech the said Martin and all his adherents, receivers, and abettors, by the bowels of the mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom and by whom is made the redemption of mankind, and the edification of holy mother church, that they will cease to disturb the peace, unity, and verity of the said church, for which our Saviour so instantly prayed to his Father; and that they will abstain from such pernicious errors aforesaid; who, in so doing, shall find with us, (if they shall obey, or shall certify us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed effectually herein,) the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency: willing and charging the said Martin, notwithstanding, from henceforth, that he utterly desist in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching. Or else, if the love of justice and virtue shall not restrain the said Martin from sin, neither the hope of our pardon shall reduce and bring him to repentance, to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admonish the said Martin and his adherents, abettors, favourers, and receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the virtue of holy obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, strictly charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first, ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediately following after the setting up of these present letters, the said Martin, his abettors, favourers, adherents, and receivers aforesaid, do surcease from the aforesaid errors, and from the preaching, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same; also from setting out of book or scriptures upon the said errors, or any of them; and, furthermore, that they burn, or cause to be burned, all and singular such books and scriptures as contain the aforesaid errors, or any of them, by any manner of way. Also, that the said Martin do utterly revoke those errors and assertions, and so to certify us of the revoking thereof by public testimony, in due form of law, signed by the hands of two prelates, to be sent unto us within the term of other like forty days, or else to be brought by him unto us, if he himself will come, (which would please us much rather,) with a full safe-conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true obedience, should hereafter remain.

Contrariwise, if the said Martin, (which God defend,) his abettors, favourers, adherents, and maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfil, to every effect and purpose, all

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and singular the premises within the term aforesaid, we then, following the doctrine of the apostles, which teacheth us to avoid an heretical person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now – declaring, by our authority, the said Martin, his abettors, favourers, adherents, maintainers, and receivers, as withered branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary doctrine, repugnant to the catholic faith, slanderous and damnable, to the great offence of God's majesty, to the detriment and slander of the universal church and catholic faith, and despising the keys of the church, to be, and to have been, notorious and obstinate heretics,– do condemn the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such by all Christian people aforesaid.

"Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that no man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, privily or apertly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by any other, the said books and writings; not only those wherein the errors aforesaid are contained, but also all others, whatsoever have been or shall be set forth, written, or made by the said Martin, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the catholic faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all Christian people; or rather, with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

"We admonish, moreover, all and singular Christ's faithful people, under the said pain of the great curse, to avoid, or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lie, the aforesaid heretics not obedient to our commandments, and to have no fellowship, nor any conversation or communion, with them, or with any of them, neither to minister to them things necessary.

"And moreover, to the more confusion of the said Martin, with his abettors, adherents, and retainers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as heretics after the expiring of the term aforesaid, we command all and singular Christ's faithful people, both men and women, as patriarchs, archbishops, prelates of churches (either patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral, collegiate, and other inferior churches); to deans and chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons secular, and of all other orders, even of the Begging Friars also (especially of that congregation, where the said Martin is professed, or hath his abode); also to regulars exempt, and not exempt: Item, to all and singular princes, (what dignity or calling soever, either ecclesiastical or temporal, they be of,) to kings, princes, electors, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, captains, conductors, servitors, commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, lands, castles, and places, or the citizens and inhabitants thereof: and briefly, to all and singular others aforesaid, through the universal world dispersed, especially in Almany, that they and every of them, under all and singular penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said Martin, his abettors, adherents, receivers, and favourers, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who, in so doing, for their good work shall receive of us and the see apostolic condign reward and recompence); or, at least, that they utterly drive them, and every one of them, out of their metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches, houses, monasteries, convents, cities, dominions, universities, commonalties, castles, lands, and places respectively, as well the clergymen, as the regulars and laymen, all and singular aforesaid.

"These cities, dominions, lands, castles, villages, commonalties, holds, towns, and places, wheresoever they be situate respectively; metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches;

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monasteries also, priories, convents, and religious and devout places, or what order soever (as is aforesaid) unto which it shall chance the said Martin to come; so long as he or they shall there remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the ecclesiastical interdiction.

"And that the premises may be known to all men, we command moreover to all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, prelates of the patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral and collegiate churches; to deans and chapters, and other persons ecclesiastical, and of what order else soever aforesaid; to regular brethren, religious monks, exempt and not exempt as aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within Almany, that they and every of them, under like censures and pains, do publicly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced by others, the said Martin, with all and singular his aforesaid adherents, which shall not obey our commandments and monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every Sunday, and other festival days, within their churches, when the greatest concourse of people shall resort to divine service, to be declared and condemned for heretics; and that all Christ's faithful people shall avoid them under the said censures and penalties as be afore expressed; and that they do set up these presents, or cause to be set up, or the transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensuing, in their churches, monasteries, houses, convents, and other places, there openly to be seen and read.

"Item, We do excommunicate and curse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, pre-eminence, dignity, or excellency they be, who shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or others, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, whereby these presents, or the copies transcribed, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their lands and dominions, &c.

"Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary, this writing of our damnation, reprobation, rejection, decree, declaration, inhibition, will, commandment, exhortation, beseeching, request, admonition, assignation, grant, condemnation, subjection, excommunication, and curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure, that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, A. D. 1520, the seventeenth of the calends of July, and of our popedom the eighth year."

Although it was somewhat long before this bull aforesaid of Pope Leo, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of Luther, yet as soon as he, by means of his friends, might get a sight thereof, he shaped an answer again to the same, in such sort as, I am sure, the pope himself will say that this bull was never so baited, and so well-favouredly shaken in all his days; as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his answer, may evidently appear. The contents and copy of which answer I thought here, next under the said bull, immediately to exhibit to the Christian reader, that whoso is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the pope, out of his painted vizor, appear in his own perfect colours. The answer now to the bull here followeth:

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"Martin Luther to the Christian reader, wisheth the grace of Christ to eternal salvation. I heard a fame afar off, Christian reader, that a certain bull was past out against me, and sent almost over all the world before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except, peradventure, it was for that the said bull, like unto a night-crow, and as a bird of darkness hatched in the night, durst not fly in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night-fowl, after long time, by help of friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likeness to behold. 'Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my papists do daily and jest with me, in setting out such famous libels without any name. against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad-men so against me at Rome, or no. For first, neither do I see here the style, (as it is called,) nor the process of the court of Rome observed. And again, (which maketh me more to doubt,) herein be brought and condemned such articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, that the said monster was hatched by John Eckius, a man wholly compacted, and framed altogether, of lies, dissimulations, errors, and heresies.

"The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruited abroad, that the said Eckius is thought and said to be the apostle of such a goodly bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet apostle for such an apostleship than he. And indeed I heard no less long since, than that a bull was in working against me at Rome, partly by the workmanship of Eckius; which, because (as the style and composition thereof declareth) it displeased the good and learned men there, was therefore deferred, and should have been suppressed.

"But, whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wheresoever this apostle Eckius beareth rule, there to be the kingdom of antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the mean time I will so deal, that I will not seem to believe Pope Leo the Tenth, with his learned cardinals, to be the authors of this furious madness; which I do, not so much for the honour of the see of Rome, as because I will not be puffed up too much with pride, and seem to myself as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the verity of God. For if it were so indeed, that the bishop of Rome did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for so manifest a truth of such a proud prelate? wherein what were more to be wished for by me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and furious antichrist? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulness to God, if it might be my hap at any time – in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter find its martyr worthy for the same: I, for my sins, am not worthy to come to that honour.

"Let other men, therefore, think of these Romanists what they list; thus I think, that whosoever was the author of this bull, he is a very antichrist; and against antichrist these things I write, to redeem the verity of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboured to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy angels, and all the world, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this bull, which bull I also do curse and execrate, as an enemy, a church-robber, and blasphemy against Christ the Son of God, cur Lord, Amen.

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"Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full trust of my spirit, those articles in the said bull condemned and excommunicated; and I affirm, that the same ought to be holden by all faithful Christians, under pain of eternal malediction; and that they are to be counted for antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said bull, whom I also, together with the spirit of all them which purely know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the precept of our Lord Jesu Christ, Amen. And let this stand for my revocation, O thou bull, which art the very daughter of all vain bubbles.

"This my confession and protestation made, (for witness whereof I take all them that shall read these presents,) before I proceed to defend and declare these aforesaid articles, I will first begin with certain arguments for the confutation of the said bull; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish antichrist. For the apostle Peter so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a reason of that faith and hope which is in us; and the apostle Paul willeth a bishop to be mighty to exhort in sound doctrine, and to refute the gainsayers. And these things be they, which, now three years ago, I have desired and looked for out of Rome, or from them that take part with Rome: which things, also, we do read to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient fathers, whensoever they condemned heresy: neither do we read that the apostles did ever decree any thing in their councils, but they first alleged the Holy Scripture. So I also, when I waited that they would answer me with grapes, and inform me with true testimonies of the Scripture, behold they bring to me sour and wild grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words; whereas I have fortified my matter with plain Scriptures.

"I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned antichrist, hast thou joined such brain-sick rashness together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to think all men to be turned into stocks and blocks, and to think that thou, with thy bare and naked words only, canst triumph against the invincible force and power of God's holy word? hast thou learned this manner of condemning the magistralities of Cologne and of Louvain?

"If this be the manner of the church to damn errors, only to say, 'I like it not,' 'I deny it,' 'I will not,' what fool, what patch, what ass, what block, cannot condemn after this manner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed, in the public sight of the church to dare once to set the trifling vanities of thy naked and bare words only against the thunderbolts of God's eternal word? O impudent condemnation and right seemly for antichrist! who hath not one jot or tittle to bring against such evident Scriptures inferred against him, but only with one word cometh and saith, 'I condemn thee.' And why then do we not believe the Turk? why do we not admit the Jews? why do we not honour the heretics, (who also condemn our writings as well as he,) if it be enough only to condemn? unless we do not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some Scriptures and reasons. But these men, after a new-found fashion, utterly, without all Scriptures or reason, do condemn us. What then shall I think to be the cause, why they proceeded against me with their bull condemnatory, so vain, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their mere blockishness, whereby they, seeing my allegations to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrify me with their vain rattling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee, antichrist, that Luther, being accustomed to war, will not be terrified with these vain bulls, and hath learned to put a difference between a piece of paper and the omnipotent word of God.

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"Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their own conscience, durst not particularly digest all and singular the articles in their orders; for they feared lest they should note him for a heretic, whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive, and therefore they have found out this adverb respective: and after the numbering of the articles, then come they, and say that some be respectively heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; which is as much to say, that we suppose them to be heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous: but we cannot tell which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou! how art thou afraid of the light! how dost thou turn and return into all things, lest thou shouldst be taken, like a Proteus! And yet, for all that, thou shalt not so escape; yea, in thy wiliness thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

"Come out therefore, O thou ass-headed antichrist! show forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us, if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this article is heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth; and too shameful it is to condemn an article for heretical, and yet cannot name the same: neither will I be answered here with 'respectively,' but I look to be taught simply and plainly; for I am one of Ocham's faction, which contemn these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

"Thou seest therefore, good reader, the ignorant dotage of this antichrist; how craftily, and yet grossly, he thinketh to walk in a net under his adverb 'respectively,' who not only doth not teach the truth, and the cause of his condemning, but neither also dare prove any error, nor show forth what it is that he condemneth; and yet must he needs condemn. Is not this, trow you, a proper kind of damning, to damn, and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine manner of elocution, passing all rhetoric, to speak, and yet not to know what he speaketh? What purgations might we wish sufficient to purge the doltish brains of these bull-bragging bedlamites? with such blindness and doltishness are all these adversaries of God's truth worthy to be plagued.

"But I know whereupon all this grief riseth. The origin thereof is this: Eckius, mine old adversary, remembering how he was put to shame enough at Leipsic, when he, rousing himself upon his stage, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, with a furious voice called me three hundred times 'heretic,' for the articles of Huss, and yet afterwards was not able to prove the same, whereas the sentence condemnatory of the council of Constance, alleged of me otherwise than Eckius looked for, noted there no certain article for heretical; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishness called some of Huss's articles heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; and Eckius, hearing this, being confounded in himself for his impudent rashness, perceiving that he had called me heretic falsely and untruly, he thought then to heal this wound again at Rome, and there to establish his false and impudent lying. But the lying sophister shall not prevail, by the help, I trust, of Christ; for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in general, do show what is, and what is not, heretical. But when will they so do? When Christ and Belial, or when light and darkness, shall agree together.

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"And what shall I do then in the mean time? First, I will contemn these dastardly dotipoles and unlearned papists and apostles of antichrist. And I will scorn them as Elias did, and say, If Baal be God, let him answer. Peradventure he is drunk, or busy in his journey: cry out higher, for he is a god, and peradventure sleepeth. For what other thing do these bull-bragging asses deserve else, which condemn that they know not, and confess all their own ignorance?

"Secondly, I will not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretic, erroneous, or offensive, so long as I shall not be proved and plainly convicted with simple and manifest words in what article I am so judged. Neither do I here charge my papists, these blockheads, that I will put them to their proofs, but only that they will show me at least my error; that is, that they will show me, if they know what it is that they themselves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their own doings. For so long as they assign me no heretical article, I am at free liberty to deny what article soever they lay unto me to be heretical, and say it is catholic.

"Again, what a rudeness is it in this wicked and doltish antichrist, worthy to be laughed at, whereas these dromedaries do distinguish heretical articles from those that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offensive, and those again from slanderous? By the which subtile distinction of those gross-headed dolts this we do gather, that that article which is erroneous is not heretical; and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertain to these ecclesiastical condemners, who ought to condemn those things only which be heretical? For that which is not heretical, is catholic; as Christ himself saith, He that is not against us is with us. Yea, I would wish that these jolly sophisters would show me in all the church an article that is erroneous and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from heretical, but only in stiffness of defending. For all things be equally either true or false, although affection, in some one thing which is true or false, may be greater or less. Ye see therefore again, how these men, for all their bragging bulls, are not able to produce me one article which is erroneous and not heretical; and yet, like wise brain-sick men, they will needs babble they know not themselves what, condemning that which they find erroneous and not heretical, which cannot stand either in matter or in words; so that such as are the articles, such is the condemnation.

"The like wisdom also they show in affirming that to be scandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That article I would fain see either in my books, or in the words and works of any writer else from the beginning of the world to the latter end. What made my papists then to excogitate these so prodigious monsters, but only their monstrous fury and madness? unless, peradventure, they mean those articles to be as scandalous as commonly all true and catholic articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous than verity? Yea, only truth and verity is scandalous to all proud and senseless persons, as it is said of Christ: We preach, saith St. Paul, Christ crucified; a stumbling-stone to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness; and, He is set to be the fall and rising up of many in Israel. Wherefore, whereas my papists do distinguish scandalous articles from heretical and erroneous, and forasmuch as that which is not heretical or erroneous must needs be catholic and true; it followeth thereof; that these scandalous articles be understood and condemned by them for such as be very catholic and sound. O worthy condemnations, and meet for the papists!

"Mark here, good reader, the impiety of these blind buzzards; whither they roll themselves; how they deride and mock themselves; how easily they are taken in their own

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words; how fond and foolish they are in their studies, not only in not proving any error or slander in these articles, but also in going about only to express them; how they cast out things impossible, and most foolishly repugnant to themselves. Where is then, thou most presumptuous and shameless bull, thy doltish respective now become? whither respectedst thou? Verily into the bottomless pit of impiety, and thine own brutish stolidity.

"The like, also, is to be said touching the articles offensive, which must be neither slanderous, nor erroneous, nor heretical, seeing they are made distinct by such great rabbins. Who will not now marvel at the deep and profound wisdom of these papists, who could find out that to be offensive in the church, which is neither false, nor heretical, nor slanderous, but true, sound, catholic, and edifying, and yet must that also be condemned? And who would not now desire and covet to be condemned, also, by such hair-brained idiots, who, by their own condemning, do utter themselves to approve things damnable, and to condemn things justifiable; that is, who openly show themselves, to their own great ignominy and shame, to be more senseless than stocks, rocks, or blocks? Go ye now, therefore, O ye impious and brainless papists, and if ye will needs write, show yourselves more sober: for this bull, it appeared, was either spewed out in your night feasts, among drabs and harlots, or else huddled up in the canicular days, or mad midsummer moon: for never were there any dizards that would show themselves so mad.

"Let us now return this dirt of antichrist, and cast it in his own teeth, and of his own words let us judge him and condemn him, that hereafter he may learn to take better heed, and to be better advised in his lying. For, as the proverb saith, A liar had need to have a good memory. If some articles be offensive, and others heretical, and thou condemnest him which is no heretic, and consequently a true catholic, although he be six hundred times offensive, doth not thy shameless mouth then condemn thyself, not only of heresy, but of extreme impiety, blasphemy, and treason against God's holy truth, showing thyself to be the man indeed who is the adversary, and is extolled above all that is called God, or is worshipped? Art not thou, then, the man of sin, the son of perdition, that denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of truth, to establish the setting forth of his error, for men to believe iniquity; as Paul foretold? for if the article be not heretical, it cannot be offensive or slanderous, but only to such heretics as antichrist is, and satanists of all piety. See therefore how his shameless and most foolish bull, while it condemneth in me one thing to be heretical, and another offensive, doth manifestly declare the authors thereof to be true heretics, and the enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appear that there is no knowledge nor counsel against the Lord, seeing blind impiety is thus caught in the words of his own mouth: so truly it is said, that he that casteth up a stone on high, it falleth down again upon his own pate.

"And (which is chiefest of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to pass, that the cogitations of their own hearts be revealed, and that they themselves chiefly do utter and disclose their own wickedness which they covet most to conceal, that all men may see how ready they are to condemn all verity even at once. For when they affirm such articles to be heretical, which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare show or name to be heretical, what have we thereby to understand, but that they are adversaries of Christ from the bottom of their hearts, and ready to impugn all truth? And yet, notwithstanding, with their damnable hypocrisy, they pretend themselves to be condemners of heresies! Learn, learn, ye beetle-headed asses with your

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blustering bulls, learn, I say, what it is, Christ to be a sign of contradiction, and a stone of offence. How soon and easily are all your inward impiety and your ignominy disclosed with the same covert of words, wherewith in vain you went about to cloak the same! Thus then have we here proved by this first and manifest argument, that the aforesaid bull proceedeth from none other than very antichrist himself, the chiefest adversary of God and of all godliness. And now let either Eckius, or the pope, acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what opinion we ought to have of him, or what name to give him; in whom all cursed names, as in one heap, do concur together and agree, as impiety, blasphemy, ignorance, foolishness, hypocrisy, lying, yea, briefly, Satan himself with his antichrist.

"Neither doth this impiety any thing less appear in that also which I will now say. For this worshipful bull decreeth in plain and most impudent words, that those books also of mine ought to be burned, in which are no errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

"Canst thou, O Christian reader, now doubt that the great dragon of hell himself speaketh in this bull? It is an old proverb, 'that the ass singeth therefore evil-favouredly, because he taketh his note too high.' So this bull, in like manner, should have piped more tuneably, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against heaven, so impudently and devilishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whensoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth. But this man of sin, the adversary that is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily, but apertly, and that in the open church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned, the sincere verity of Christ, known and allowed both of him and of all others. What more could be done amongst the Turks? What place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of hell? And are ye not afraid, ye antichrists! with your brutish bulls, lest stories and trees should sweat with blood, at the most horrible sight of this your execrable impiety and blasphemy?

"Where art thou now, good Emperor Charles? Where are ye, Christian kings and princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in baptism, and can ye now abide these infernal voices of such an antichrist? Where be ye bishops? where be ye doctors? where be all ye that confess Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious monsters of the papists? O miserable church of God! which art made now so great a scorn, and a very mocking-stock of Satan! O miserable are all they which live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the papists, enemies to the cross of Christ and verity of God, resisting all men, and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached; as St. Paul said of the Jews. Admit, I pray you, that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious bull doth make me to be, a heretic, erroneous, schismatical, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my books; yet why should the other books of mine be condemned that are catholic, Christian, true, edifying, and peaceable? Where have these wretched papists learned this religion, that, for the person's cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and sound verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye pluck up the good wheat also with the cockle? Will ye also scatter the corn away together with the chaff? And why then receive ye Origen in his catholic books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked Aristotle, (in whom is nothing taught but errors,) and do not at least in some part condemn him? Why burn ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical decretals of the pope? Why do ye not

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all this, I say? but only for that ye are set in tins holy place for no other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in Daniel, which should put down truth and set up lies, and the operation of error: for this thing, and no other, becometh the seat of antichrist.

"Wherefore this I say to thee, Pope Leo the Tenth, and to you, lords cardinals, and all others whosoever, in any part or doing in that court of Rome, and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptism the son of God, and coheir with Christ, being founded upon a sure rock, which neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heaven, nor earth – and say, admonish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reform yourselves, and take a better way, and refrain hereafter from those diabolical blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties. And this I allege, that unless ye so do, know for certain that I, with all them that worship Christ, do account your seat, possessed and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned seat of antichrist, which we not only do not obey, and will not be subject nor concorporate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the principal and chiefest enemy of Christ; being ready, in this our sentence and profession, not only to suffer gladly your fond foolish censures, but also do pray you heartily, that you will never assoil us again, nor ever number us in your fellowship: and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer ourselves to die for the same. And, according to the power and might that the Spirit of Christ and the efficacy of our faith can do in these our writings, if ye shall still so persist in your fury, we condemn you; and, together with this bull, and all the decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the flesh, that your spirit in the day of the Lord may be delivered, in the name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen!

"For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth, (in whom I do nothing doubt,) who, I firmly trust, will shortly come and slay with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this man of sin, and son of perdition; forasmuch as I cannot deny, if the pope be the author and doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, final, most wicked, and famous antichrist, that subverteth the whole world by the operation of his delusions; as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

"But whither doth the burning zeal of charity carry me? neither am I as yet fully persuaded this to be the pope's bull, but to proceed from his wicked apostle Eckius, who, with his fathers, furiously gaping at me like a gulf, would swallow me clean up, singing with the wicked thus, Let us swallow him up quick and whole like hell, and like one descending down into the pit. For little careth this furious mad-brain how the verity of God be extinguished, (yea, he would count that for a lucre,) so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his brother. Oh miserable state of the church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood! But who heareth our groanings? or who comforteth our weepings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us.

"Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, that besides other great friendship which they have showed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberality, in my journey to Rome. Will ye see what a charity is newly come upon the city of Rome, which, after it hath pilled and

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polled the whole world of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by intolerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offereth money? But this impudent lie, I know with whose hammer it was coined: Cajetan the cardinal, a man born and formed to lie for the whetstone, after his worshipful legation despatched in Germany, coming home to Rome, there forged and feigned that he promised me money; whereas he, being at Augsburg, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his family. But thus it becometh the bull to be a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

"And so these great judges and condemners, after all this, have yet authority to command us to believe them to say truth, when they do nothing but lie; and that they are good catholics, when they be stark heretics; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very antichrist: and all by the virtue of this universal Whatsoever thing thou bindest, &c., so that where nothing is excepted, they think they may do all things. Who not only do lie most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudency) do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men falsely to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me: whereas these tyrants of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no adversary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now, if there were no other matter else to bring this bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vain, and false this bull is. What! would Rome, think ye, offer money to me? And how then cometh this, which I know to be most certain, that out of the bank (as they call it) two or three hundred crowns were assigned in Germany to be disposed and given to ruffians and catchpoles, to murder Luther? For these be the reasons and arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy apostolic see, the mistress of faith, and mother of all churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very seat of antichrist, and manifold ways heretical, if she had fought with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; whereof she herself is nothing ignorant. And therefore, because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth, and taketh on like as she were mad, in the church of Christ; confounding and consuming all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction; and yet, for all this, they must needs be counted most holy fathers in God, vicars of Christ, and pastors of his flock!

"But go to (that I may also dally with them a while); let them yet send me the money they spake of – for as touching their promise and safe-conduct, (because I will not overcharge them,) that I gladly resign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, to conduct me safe to Rome; and so, for any other promise of safe-conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in Rome, that devoureth up her inhabitants; neither keepeth, nor ever did keep, promise with any; where these most holy fathers do slay their beloved children in the charity of God, and brethren destroy their brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and the style of Rome. In the mean time, I will keep myself free and safe from the citation of the most reverend bull. O ye miserable varlets! which are so confounded with the truth, and with your own conscience, that neither ye can lie handsomely, neither dare ye speak the truth; and yet neither can ye so keep yourselves quiet: to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

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"Furthermore, here in this bull is brought in a strange fashion of style not heard of before. For whereas Augustine hath said, that he would not believe the gospel except he had been moved by the authority of the church, now cometh in this goodly bull, and maketh this catholic church to be a few reverend cardinals his brethren, and priors of regular orders, masters of divinity, and doctors of the law, out of whose counsel the said bull boasteth herself to be born and brought forth; blessed babe, forsooth, of such a universal church! O happy travail, no doubt, of this catholic church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as Augustine, the valiant impugner of sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the synagogue of the devil! See, therefore, the madness of these papists: The universal church is a few cardinals, priors, and doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in all; when, also, it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the member of one chapel or altar. And whereas the church is the communion of saints, as we say in the Creed, out of this communion of saints, that is, out of this universal church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons: and so, whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the universal church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be liars, heretics, and antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

"Would there ever any man think such doltishness and madness to be in Rome! Are there any brains in these men's heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? Augustine speaketh of the church dispersed through the whole world, confessing the gospel with one consent; neither would God, that any book else should be received with such consent of the whole world as the Holy Scripture, (as the said Augustine, in his Confessions, affirmeth,) lest, by the receiving of other books, schisms may take occasion to rise; according as the wicked see of Rome hath long sought by her decrees, and hath, for a great part, brought the same to pass already. But yet the universal church did never agree thereto; for in the east, west, and south there have been Christians, who, being content only with the gospel, have not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular church to make herself a universal church, and accuseth other churches as schismatical; whereas she hath cut off herself from the universal church, and striveth in vain to draw the whole universal church to her, being the mother and fountain of all schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

"Let no man, therefore, ever think that this true catholic church aforesaid will believe or maintain those things which this detestable bull here prattleth, when neither that which is the very true Church of Rome indeed doth herself so think, nor taketh that by and by to be catholic, whatsoever is known to proceed from the Church of Rome: for, as I said, there is no book which shall be called catholic hereafter, as neither it hath been heretofore, besides only the Holy Scripture. For the Church of Rome, it may suffice to glory herself to be a little parcel or piece of the universal church; and so let her vex herself only with her own decrees. Neither let any man think this to be the bull of the catholic church, but rather to proceed out of the court of Rome. For such wisdom and religion may well beseem that seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole universal church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked bulls most arrogantly and vainly on the whole world, instead of sincere catholic doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that she, trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, taketh upon her to prescribe laws to all men, of all their doings and sayings; as though, for dominion only and loftiness of spirit, she were to be counted the house and church of Christ: whereas, by this means, Satan also, (the prince of the world,) or the Turk, might be counted the

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church of Christ. Again, neither can the monarchies of the Gentiles abide mighty princes to reign over them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the church the spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man; and not the pope alone, or the court of Rome, unless they be spiritual.

"But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible champion of the church, St. Paul, who saith, If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace. Here have ye plainly, that the pope, or any other elder, whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to another that is inferior in the church. I, therefore, upon his authority, contemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea, of the pope himself, with his whole church, unless he shall inform me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first article is this:

"I. 'It is an heretical sentence, and also common, to say, that sacraments of the new law do give grace to them that have no obstacle in themselves to the contrary.'

Answer.— I acknowledge this article to be mine, and I ask of you, good masters respectivists, which make these articles respectively, some to be heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, &c., whither respected this article, I pray you? to heresy, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whither respected you in condemning the same? To the Holy Scripture? to the holy fathers? to faith? to the church? To which of these, I beseech you, tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labour of proving, but only require you to show your judgment, what you think, that I may know wherein I say amiss. Will you that I should tell you, you babish infants and noddies, whither this article respecteth? I will. This article hath two respects; whereof the one respecteth the papists, the condemners hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be mules, some to be horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense; and yet, notwithstanding, they will needs condemn all things. Another respect it hath to the Holy Scripture, which saith, Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Whereupon consequently it followeth, that the sacraments of the new law can give no grace to the unbelievers, (forasmuch as the sin of infidelity is the greatest obstacle,) but only to the believers: for only faith putteth no obstacle. All other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the sophisters understand, meaning only of the actual purpose of external sin. I confess therefore this article not only to be mine, but also to be the article of the catholic and Christian verity; and the bull which condemneth the same, to be twice heretical, impious and blasphemous, with all them which follow the same, who, little regarding the sin of incredulity, foolishly and madly do hold, that the obstacle is taken away, if a man cease from sinning, although the unbeliever can think no good thing. But these things I have discussed more at large in my books, and will more discuss, if those prating Romanists dare at any time prove their opinion, and confute mine.

"II. 'To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is as much as to tread down Christ and Paul together under foot.'

Answer.— I would also require of them to show the cause why this article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in their fantastical respects that they are not able to perceive why they would have this article condemned: and yet I cannot tell whether it be heretical or erroneous; and

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no marvel when the condemners themselves cannot tell me. I hold, therefore, this article by the apostle, I myself in my mind do serve the law of God, and in my flesh the law of sin. Here the apostle confesseth plainly of himself, that in his flesh he serveth sin. And also, Christ is made to us of God our righteousness, our wisdom, sanctification, and redemption. And how then doth he sanctify them that be sanctified already, unless it be as the Apocalypse saith, He that is holy let him be holy still. To be sanctified, is as much as to be purged from sin: but what have these our respectivists to do with the apostle Paul, seeing they are the whole universal church, by whose authority Paul either standeth or falleth, being but a member only, and a part of the church? The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and these thy Satanical papists!

"III. 'The original root of sin, although no actual sin do follow, stoppeth the soul departing out of the body from entrance into heaven.'

"Answer.— As touching this matter, I never defined any thing hitherto, but largely and probably I have disputed hereof; neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done with such a soul. But our papists, more blind than buzzards, when they are nothing able to perceive what cause this article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that, which the whole universal church is ignorant of: I yet, notwithstanding, contemning this foolish and fond condemnation aforesaid, do hold this article probably to be true. For, seeing this original root, which I spake of, is truly sin, as I have proved, and seeing that sin letteth a man from entering into heaven; as it is written, No polluted thing shall enter; I suppose, therefore, that original sin withholdeth a man from entering into heaven: neither do I any thing at all esteem the fantastical dreams of them, whereby they, extenuating original sin, do call it openly the pain of sin, and imperfections; plain against the manifest Scriptures, which call it sin, and teach the same to be cured by grace, which is the medicine of true, and not of feigned, sin.

"IV. 'The imperfect charity of a man departing, necessarily carrieth with it great fear, which of itself is enough to make the pain of purgatory, and letteth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven.'

"Answer.— This followeth of the other going before, which, in like manner, I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet hold the same, asking, before, a dispensation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this: 'We are the highest powers in the church, yea, we are the church itself: ergo, we are the best learned, most holiest, full of the Holy Ghost, which cannot err, although we stink like a filthy puddle to the whole world, polluted with all kinds of sins, and drowned in ignorance.' But all these reasons prevail nothing with me: peradventure they may with them which fear lest, if my sentence should prevail, then purgatory should be taken out of the pope's hands; and then priests and religious men, having lost their gainful offices of vexing (of releasing, I would have said) the dead, should be pinched by the bellies and brought to penury. It was time, therefore, for their greedy avarice here to awake and look about, and not to suffer their frivolous opinions, but yet very gainful, to be overcome with truth, and so to be overthrown.

"V. 'Whereas they say penance standeth of three parts, to wit contrition, confession, and satisfaction, it is not founded in Holy Scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian doctors.'

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Answer.— This article, in what respect it is condemned, I do right well perceive; for the respect thereof is to greedy covetousness, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like respect, which is this: If this article were true, then men would give nothing for satisfaction and indulgences, neither should we have any more wherewith to vex them with confessions, cases reserved, restricted, or amplified for our gain: and so should we become beggars, and God's service should be minished in vigils and masses: but it is wicked that God's service should be minished; therefore, Luther is a heretic. This consequence holds from the bull to the papists, and contrariwise.

"I beseech thee, by the Lord Jesus, whatsoever grave and learned reader shall read these things, that thou wilt pardon this my levity, and, as it may seem, my childishness. For thou seest how I have to do with such men as be twice children, and yet do brag themselves to be peers and principal pillars of all men. I assure you, I know it most certainly to be true, that there be many and great governors of the people, which this so ridiculous and foolish reason above recited hath moved to the condemnation of my books. Unless I perceived (with tears I speak it) the anger of God sharp and fierce against us, in bringing us under subjection of such effeminate children, and such dregs of the earth, and vile refuse of all other people of the whole world, it would make me to burst for very grief and sorrow.

"My sentence is, and hath been, this: That the satisfaction, which the keys are able to dispense withal, standeth not by the law of God: for, if it did, then could it not be dispensed withal by the keys. If these bull-founders do charge me with any other thing besides in this article, they do nothing else but as they are wont to do: for what matter or marvel is it, if antichrist do lie?

"VI. Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembering, and detesting our sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years past in the bitterness of his soul, in pondering the greatness, the multitude, and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and the purchasing of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a hypocrite, yea, rather a man to be more a sinner.'

Answer.— O the incredible blindness and brutishness of these Romish bulls! This article is truly mine, and very Christian; which I will not suffer to be wrested from me, for all the popes and papists in the world. For this I meant by that doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unless it be done in faith and charity; which thing they also would teach themselves, but that they do neither know nor teach, either what faith or charity is. And therefore, in condemning my doctrine, they condemn also their own, foolishly repugning against themselves in their own contradiction. I say, therefore, that he that teacheth repentance in such wise and manner that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and faith in the same, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of Judas Iscariot; he is pestilent, a devil to men's souls, and tormentor of consciences. Read the books of these sophisters, where they write of repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or faith: for these lively parts of repentance they clean omit, and only do vex men with these dead contritions. But hereof we will hereafter treat more at large.

"But what should I here stand upon every article, seeing my books be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, and more would have done, if mine adversaries also had

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brought to light theirs? For what foolishness is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, That they count all my sayings as damned? whereas I did write to this end only, that they should acknowledge their errors wherewith they have so long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, who, understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned before, with sufficient authority both of Scripture and reason: neither looked I that they should tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough); but that which I sought of them, was, to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught; and, behold, none of them all durst once put forth his head. Wherefore I see these asses nothing to understand either the things that I say, or yet themselves; but they be such blind buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seek in my books: for they dream that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their side, when there is nothing that I less think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth, and showed myself as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned by them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous; and so openly to denounce them as heretics and erroneous, unless they showed some better reason and ground of their doings and doctrine; whereas they, on the other side, like foolish minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouths, but we condemn that we have condemned proving, after a new kind of logic, the same thing by itself. O most idiot huddipeaks, and blockish condemners! Where is the saying of Peter, Be always ready to render an account of that faith and hope which is in you?

"Wherefore, seeing these ignorant papists, being thus confounded, do so flee away from the face of the manifest verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themselves or of their cause, and have blasted out with much ado this timorous bull of theirs; I, being comforted with the flight of these mine adversaries, do account this their dastardly damnation, instead of a full justification of my cause; and so rebound again their own damnation upon their own heads. For how could they more condemn themselves, than while they (fearing to be found themselves culpable of heresy, if they should be driven to give account of their doctrine) do flee to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say 'I will not, I damn thee; I hear thee not, I allow thee not?' If I should have played any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dastardly fear declareth what cowards they are.

"Wherefore, not to burden the reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every article, I here protest in these presents, that I confess all these things here condemned by this miserable bull, for pure, clear, and catholic doctrine, whereof I have sufficiently given account in my books which be extant abroad.

"Furthermore, I will also that the said my books, being extant abroad, shall be taken as a public accusation against these wicked sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unless they shall give an account of their doctrine, and shall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lieth, denounce them as guilty of errors, heresy, and sacrilege; admonishing, desiring, and in the Lord exhorting, all them that truly confess Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their pestiferous doctrine; and not to doubt, but that the true antichrist reigneth by them in the world amongst us.

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"And if any shall contemn this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and clean from his blood, and excused from the last judgment of Christ: for I have left nothing undone, which Christian charity did bind me to do.

"Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babbling and trifling condemners, the uttermost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrel; that is, this life and blood of mine. For better it were for me a thousand times to be slain, than to revoke one syllable of these articles, which they have condemned. And now, as they do curse and excommunicate me for their damnable heresy, so I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God. Christ, who is the Judge of all, judge and determine this matter between us, whether of these two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him! Amen."

[Note: The following remarks of Thomas Carlyle on the character of Luther are extremely apposite:

"It is curious to reflect what might have been the issue, had Roman popery happened to pass this Luther by; to go on in its great wasteful orbit, and not come athwart his little path, and force him to assault it! Conceivable enough, that in this case he might have held his peace about the abuses of Rome; left providence and God on high to deal with them! A modest, quiet man; not prompt he to attack irreverently persons in authority. His clear task, as I say, was to do his own duty; to walk wisely in this world of confused wickedness, and save his soul alive. But the Roman high priesthood did come athwart him; afar off at Wittenberg he, Luther, could not get live in honesty for it; he remonstrated, resisted, came to extremity, was struck at, and struck again, and so it came to wager of battle between them! This is worth attending to in Luther's history. Perhaps no man of so humble, peaceable a disposition, ever filled the world with contention. We cannot but see that he would have loved privacy, quiet diligence in the shade; that it was against his will he ever became a notoriety. Notoriety, what would that do for him? The goal of his march through this world was the Infinite Heaven; an indubitable goal for him. In a few years he should either have attained that, or lost it for ever! We will say nothing at all, I think, of that sorrowfulest of theories, of its being some mean shopkeeper grudge, of the Augustine monk against the Dominican, that first kindled the wrath of Luther, and produced the Protestant Reformation. We will say to the people who maintain it, if indeed any such exist now, Get first into the sphere of thought by which it is so much as possible to judge of Luther, or of any man like Luther, otherwise than distractedly; we may then begin arguing with you.

"The monk Tetzel, sent out carelessly in the way of trade, by Leo the Tenth,— who merely wanted to raise a little money, and for the rest seems to have been a pagan rather than a Christian, so far as he was any thing — arrived at Wittenberg and drove his scandalous trade there. Luther's flock bought indulgences; in the confessional of his church, people pleaded to him that they had already got their sins pardoned. Luther, if he would not be found wanting at his own post, a false sluggard and coward at the very centre of the little space of ground that was his own and no other man's, had to step forth against indulgences, and declare aloud that they were a futility and sorrowful mockery, that no man's sins could be pardoned by them. It was the beginning of the whole Reformation. We know how it went forward from this public challenge of Tetzel, on the last day of October, 1517, through remonstrance, and argument;— spreading ever wider, rising ever higher; till it became unquenchable, and enveloped all the world. Luther's heart's desire was to have this grief and other griefs amended; his thought was still far from introducing separation in the church, or revolting against the pope, father of Christendom. The elegant pagan pope cared little about this monk and his doctrines; wished, however, to have done with the noise of him. In the space of some three years, having tried various softer measures, he thought good to end it by fire. He

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dooms the monk's writings to be burnt by the hangman, and his body to be sent bound to Rome – probably for a similar purpose. It was the way they had ended with Huss, with Jerome, the century before. A short argument, fire. Poor Huss: he came to that Constance council, with all imaginable promises and safe-conducts; an earnest, not rebellious, kind of man: 'three feet wide, six feet high, seven feet long;' burnt the true voice out of this world; choked it in smoke and fire. That was not well done!

"I, for one, pardon Luther for now altogether revolting against the pope. The elegant pagan, by this fire-decree of his, had kindled into noble, just wrath the bravest heart then living in this world. The bravest, if also one of the humblest, peaceablest, it was now kindled. 'These words of mine, words of truth and soberness, aiming faithfully, as human inability would allow, to promote God's truth on earth, and save men's souls, you, God's vicegerent on earth, answer them by the hangman and fire! You will burn me and them, for answer to the God's message they strove to bring you! You are not God's vicegerent; you are another's, I think! I take your bull as an emparchmented lie, and burn it. You will do what you see good next: this is what I do.'— It was on the tenth of December, 1520, three years after the beginning of the business, that Luther with a great concourse of people took this indignant step of burning the pope's fire-decree in the market place of Wittenberg. Wittenberg looked on 'with shoutings.' The whole world was looking on. The pope should not have provoked that 'shout!' It was the shout of the awakening of nations. The quiet German heart, modest, patient of much, had at length got more than it could bear. Formulism, pagan popism, and other falsehood and corrupt semblance, had ruled long enough; and here once more was a man who durst tell all men, that God's world stood not on semblances but on realities; that life was a truth and not a lie!"

– Carlyle's Hero Worship, p. 212-216.]

In storying the life of Luther, it was declared before, how the said Luther in the beginning, being rejected first by the Cardinal Cajetan, appealed from the cardinal unto the pope. When that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of Luther to the pope be received, but that the pope with his cardinals, contrary to all equity and conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the express truth of God's word, thinking by mere authority to bear down the verity as he had used before to do: Luther, following the justness of his cause, was then compelled to appeal from the pope to the next general council, and so did, as before you may read; which was two years before the pope's bull against Luther came out. The tenor of this appellation, before omitted, I thought here to exhibit; whereby the reader, considering the great change of religion and state of the church which since hath ensued, may also perceive the true original cause and occasion how it first began; by what order and degrees it after increased; what humility and submission, first on Luther's part were showed; and, again, what insolency, wrong, and violence, of the pope's part, were declared. And further, whereas Pope Leo, in his bull above prefixed, seemeth to pretend certain conditions of favour, charity, and money offered to Luther in the beginning, how false and vain that is, by this present appeal may appear.

The tenor and form of the appeal of Martin Luther from Pope Leo to the next general council.

"That forasmuch as the liberty of appealing is provided for a remedy to relieve the oppressed from injury and violence of the superior, it was therefore lawful for Martin Luther so to do; especially being manifold ways injured and molested by the see of Rome, and other the pope's confederates, as he, in the said appeal, declareth. For at first, whereas he, modestly disputing of the errors and abuses of the pope's pardons, did somewhat withstand the impudent raving and blasphemies of them that came about with the pope's pardons, to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them in their public sermons to be a

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heretic, and, consequently upon the same, accused to Pope Leo for a heretic, by Marius the pope's proctor and others.

"Then was obtained of the pope a commission to cite up the said Luther to appear at Rome before the cardinals, by Hieronymus, and Sylvester Prieras, his mortal enemies, whereas he could by no way appear without manifest danger of his life, both by the way, and also in the city of Rome.

"For the consideration whereof, Duke John Frederic, prince elector, and the landgrave, entreated for him to have his cause indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to two parties that were equal, and not partial: yet, notwithstanding the earnest suit of these princes, the contrary labour of the cardinals, which were his capital adversaries, so prevailed at Rome, that the cause of Luther was still detained in their own hands; and, contrary to all indifferency, was committed to the hearing of the pope's legate then in Germany, called Cardinalis Sancti Sixti; who, being no less enemy against Luther than the others, and notwithstanding that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and with humble protestation submitted himself to be answered by the Scriptures; and referred himself to the judgment of the see of Rome, and of four universities, to wit, Basil, Friburg, Louvain, and Paris; yet, contrary to all equity, showing forth no Scripture nor reason, rejecting his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer, with all other his requests and suits, he would needs forthwith have him to revoke his errors, threatening and menacing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his sight.

"Whereupon Luther, being thus proudly rejected of the cardinal, made his appeal from the said cardinal to Pope Leo, being better informed.

"This appellation also being contemned of the pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reasonable condition, nor show Luther his errors by the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to be decided, but would needs perforce proceed against him by mere authority and oppression at Rome, Luther then, seeing there was no other refuge or remedy for his own defence, and seeing, moreover, the truth of God's word to lie under foot, by might and authority oppressed, so that none durst almost confess the same, and that the poor flock was so nursled in errors and vain opinions, to the seduction of their souls; for these, and other such causes, he, being necessarily thereunto compelled, commenced this appeal from the pope misinformed, to the next general council that should be, calling for the help of the public notary, and testimony also of sufficient witnesses, requisite in that behalf accordingly."

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