

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

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 9

The Reign Of Queen Mary I. – Part I.

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Portrait of Mary I

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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**THE TENTH BOOK.
THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.**

240. The Abominable Blasphemy of the Mass.



ORASMUCH as we are come now to the time of Queen Mary, when so many were put to death for the cause especially of the Mass, and The Sacrament of the Altar, (as they call it,) I thought it convenient, upon the occasion given, in the ingress of this foresaid story, first, to prefix before, by the way of preface, some declaration collected out of divers writers and authors, whereby to set forth to the reader the great absurdity, wicked abuse, and perilous idolatry, of the popish mass; declaring how, and by whom, it came in, and how it is clouted and patched up of divers additions: to the intent that the reader, seeing the vain institution thereof, and weighing the true causes

why it is to be exploded out of all churches, may the better thereby judge of their death, which gave their lives for the testimony and the word of truth.

First concerning the origin of this word *Missa*, whether it came of non מוסח in Hebrew, or nee which signifieth "oblation;" or whether it came of sending away the catechumens, and persons unworthily out of place of ministrations, (as certain writers suppose,) or else, "Of gifts and oblations, wont to be offered before the communion." Or whether *Missa* is derived of *Remissa*, which in the former writers was used *Pro remissione*, that is, forgiveness; or whether *Missa* is taken for sending away the congregation by the words of the deacon, *Ite missa est*: or whether *Missa* hath its denomination of what the Grecians call αφεσις του λαου [*Aphesis tou laou*], "dismissal of the people" (alluding to the story of the Hebrews, licensed of Pharaoh to depart out of captivity after the eating of the paschal lamb, as I read in an old popish book, entitled *De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus*); or what term soever it be else, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch, or French, or howsoever else it taketh its appellation, as there is no certainty amongst themselves who most magnify the mass, so it is no matter to us that stand against it. To my judgment or conjecture, this latter exposition of the word seemeth more probable, both for that it is joined with the word *ite*, which signifieth "departing," and also the time and order in speaking the same agreeth well thereunto. For, as the old Hebrews, after the supper of the lamb, and not before, were set at liberty straightway to depart out of captivity, so, belike, to declare our mystical deliverance by Christ offered and slain for us, first goeth before the action of the holy supper: that done, then the priest or deacon saith *Ite missa est*, meaning, thereby, the deliverance and liberty which is spiritually wrought in us, after that the body of Christ hath been offered for us. Or else, if *Missa* otherwise should signify the celebration or the action of the supper, it would not be said *Ite*, but *Venite missa est*, &c. Moreover, besides other arguments, there be certain places in Cassianus which seem to declare that *Missa* signifieth the dismissal of the congregation: as where he writeth of him which cometh not in time to the hours of prayer, saying it not to be lawful for him to enter into the oratory, that he ought, standing without the doors, to wait for the miss of the congregation.

And again in the next chapter following, he inferreth the same vocable *Missa*, in like sense: "contented with so much sleep as served, us for the miss, or breaking up of the night vigil,

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unto the coming of the day," &c. But, to let pass these conjectures, this by the way I give the reader to note and understand: that as this word *Missas* never yet entered into the church nor usage among the Greeks, so it is to be observed among our Latin interpreters, (such as have translated of old time the ancient Greek authors,) as Eusebius, and the Tripartite History, (and others that were the Greek writers,) have these terms, "to call the congregation," "to convent assemblies," and "to frequent together;" the old translator of Epiphanius, and others, translate upon the same *Missas facere, collectus agere, missas celebrare, &c.* Whereby it is not obscure to be seen, that this word "mass," in the old time, was not only and peculiarly applied to the action of consecration, but as well as to all Christian assemblies collected, or congregations convented, according as in the Dutch language this name *Masse* signifieth any solemn frequency, or panagery, or gathering together of the people. But of the name enough and too much.

To (express now) the absurdity of the said mass, and the irreligious application thereof, unseemly and perilous for Christians to use, I will bring two or three reasons of the worthy servant and martyr of God, John Bradford, to which many more may also be added out of others. First, the mass, saith he, is a most subtle and pernicious enemy against Christ; and that, double ways: namely, against his priesthood, and against his sacrifice. Which he proveth by this way: for the priesthood of Christ, saith he, is an everlasting priesthood, and such an one as cannot go to another; but the mass utterly putteth him out of place, as though he was dead for ever, and so God were a liar which said, that Christ should be "a Priest for ever;" which, briefly, cometh unto this argument.

That thing is not perpetual, nor standeth alone, which admitteth succession of others, to do the same thing that was done before:

But the mass-priests succeed after Christ, doing the same sacrifice, as they say, which he did before:

Ergo, the mass-priests make Christ's priesthood not to be perpetual.

Another Argument.

All priests either be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchizedek, or after the order of the apostles, or after that spiritual sort, whereof it is written, *Vos estis spirituale sacerdotium, &c.*

But our mass-priests neither be after the order of Aaron, for that is to resume that which Christ hath abolished; neither after the order of Melchizedek, for that is peculiar only to Christ; neither after the order of the apostles, for then should they be ministers, not masters; not priests, but preachers; and which of the apostles was ever named by the title of a priest? Again, neither are they after the general sort of the spiritual priesthood, for after that prerogative every true Christian is a spiritual priest, as well as they offering up spiritual, not bodily, sacrifice: as prayers, thanksgiving, obedience, mortification of the body framed to the obedience of his commandments.

Ergo, our mass-priests are no priests, unless it be after the order of the priests of Baal!

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Secondly, concerning the sacrifice of Christ above mentioned, he reasoneth in like manner; which we have reduced in the way of argument as followeth:

To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accomplishing of the end whereof it was begun, declareth the imperfection of the same thing before.

The mass-priests do reiterate the sacrifice of Christ, once done for the end whereof it was begun; that is, for propitiation and remission.

Ergo, mass-priests make the sacrifice of Christ to be imperfect; and so are they injurious to the sacrifice of Christ.

For confirmation of the premises, mark here, reader, I beseech thee, the Rubric here following, written before the Mass of the Five Wounds, in the mass-book.

"Boniface; bishop of Rome, lay sick and was like to die, to whom our Lord sent the archangel Raphael with the office of the Mass of the Five Wounds, saying, Rise and write this office, and say it five times, and thou shalt be restored to thy health immediately; and what priest soever shall say this office for himself, or for any other that is sick, five times, the person for whom it is said shall obtain health and grace, and in the world to come, if he continue in virtue, life everlasting. And in whatsoever tribulation a man shall be in this life, if he procure this office to be said five times for him of a priest, without doubt he shall be delivered. And if it be said for the soul of the dead, anon as it shall be said and ended five times, his soul shall be rid from pains. This hearing, the bishop did erect himself up in his bed, conjuring the angel, in the name of Almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he should depart without doing him harm; who answered, that he was Raphael the archangel, sent unto him of God, and that all the premises were undoubtedly true. Then the said Boniface confirmed the said office of the Five Wounds by the apostolic authority."

Another argument against the mass is, for that it is a hinderance to the true service of God, and to the godly life of men; the declaration whereof is more at large by the said author set out, but, briefly, in form of argument it may be thus contracted.

Another argument.

Whatsoever causeth or occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving of God, (whose service should be all inward, in spirit and verity,) that hindereth the true service of God.

The mass occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving; as, in hearing, seeing, and saying mass, which be but outward senses of a man, and is, as they say, meritorious.

Ergo, the mass hindereth the right and true service of God.

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Another argument, proving that the mass hindereth good life, is this:

Upon the mass riseth false hope; a false remedy is promised to wicked livers. For evil men, hearing mass in the morning, upon hope thereof, take more security in doing all day what they list. And such as have (in bibbing, brawling, taverning, swearing, whoring, dicing, carding) committed wickedness, to them the mass is set up; promising him sufficient propitiation, sacrifice, remedy of body and soul, for man and beast, though they never heard preaching, never used praying, never repented. Or, how wicked soever they have been, yet if they come to the church, take holy bread and holy water, and hear mass, or find a soul-priest upon the remedy thereof, then they think themselves discharged, and good catholic men.

Upon what cause soever riseth false hope, and false remedy is promised to wicked livers, which hindereth good life.

Ergo, the mass hindereth good life.

Another argument.

Where one thing is sufficient and serveth alone, there all other helps be needless thereunto, wherein it serveth.

The mass (as they say) hath all—serveth for all; for, by it cometh pardon for sins, by it cometh deliverance from hell and purgatory, by it cometh health for man and beast.

Ergo, all other helps else be needless; hearing of God's word, faith, praying in spirit, repenting, preaching, piety, and all other helps to good life, &c.

Another argument: proving that the mass is diverse and contrary from the institution of Christ's supper.

I. Christ ordained his supper to be a memorial of his death and passion, to be preached until he came.

The mass is no memorial thing of Christ remembered in the sacrament, but rather they make the sacrament to be Christ himself offered and sacrificed for remission of sins; both for the quick and the dead.

II. Christ ordained his supper to be celebrated and received of the congregation; and therefore Paul biddeth the Corinthians to tarry one for another. In the mass there is no such thing: choose the people to come or no, "Sir John" is kin to the tide, he will tarry for no man; if he have a boy to say "amen," it is enough.

III. Christ received not, but he distributed also the whole in every part: "Sir John," when he hath received all alone, he showeth the people the empty chalice; and if he distribute to the people once a year, it is but in one kind alone.

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IV. Christ ordained the supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a distributing and a remembering matter: contrary our mass-men make it a matter, not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, pixing, boxing, carrying, re-carrying, worshipping, stooping, kneeling, knocking, with "stoop down before," "hold up higher," "I thank God I see my Maker to-day," &c. Christ ordained it a table-matter: we turn it to an altar-matter. He, for a memorial, we, for a sacrifice: he sat, our men stand; he in his common tongue, we in a foreign tongue: whereby it is manifest to appear, how diverse and repugnant the mass is to the institution of the Lord's supper.

Another argument: proving that the Mass is contrary to God's commandments.

Item, Whereas the first table of God's blessed and sacred commandments, teacheth men to worship and serve him, and to direct the meditations of their hearts only unto him, and that in all places, at all times, both publicly and privately;

The mass-book doth point out service for saints and for creatures by name, to be served at least three hundred days and years; as appeareth by the calendars, masses, collects, martyrologue, &c.:

Ergo, the doctrine and institution of the mass-book tendeth contrary to God's holy commandments.

Another reason against the Mass.

Item, Whereas St. Paul, in express words, willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the mass is celebrated in a tongue foreign, strange, and unknown to the people; so that although the matter therein contained were wholesome and consonant to Scripture, (as it is much disagreeing to the same,) yet for the strangeness of the tongue it giveth but a sound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant.

Now both the tongue being strange to the ears of the people, and the matter also in the mass contained being repugnant to God's word, what defence can the mass have, but utterly it is to be rejected?

And forasmuch therefore as the mass so long used in a foreign language hath not hitherto come to the understanding of the simple and vulgar sort, to the intent they may themselves perceive the matter, and be their own judges, I have here set forth the chiefest part thereof, which is the canon, in English, so as I found it in a certain written copy, by Master Coverdale translated, adjoining withal the rubric and circumstance of the same in every point, as it is in the mass-book contained.

The whole canon of the Mass, with the Rubric thereof, as it standeth in the Mass-book, after Salisbury Use, translated word by word out of Latin into English.

After the Sanctus, the priest immediately joining his hands together, and lifting up his eyes, beginneth these words:

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Te igitur clementissime, &c.; that is to say, _ "Therefore, most gracious Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly beseech thee,"

Let him bow down his body while he saith: "And we desire,"

Here the priest, standing upright, must kiss the altar on the right hand of the sacrifice, saying: "That thou accept and bless,"

Here let the priest make three crosses upon the chalice and the bread, saying:

"These + gifts, these + presents, these + holy and unspotted sacrifices."

When the signs are made upon the chalice, let him lift up his hands, saying thus:

"Which, first of all, we offer unto thee for thy holy catholic church, that thou vouchsafe to pacify, keep, unite, and govern it throughout the whole world, with thy servant our pope *N.* and our bishop *N.*," [that is his own bishop only] "and our king *N.*" [and they are expressed by name.]

Then let there follow:

"And all true believers, and such as have the catholic and apostolic faith in due estimation." Here let him pray for the living:

"Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids *N.* and *N.*"

In the which prayer a rule must be observed for the order of charity. Five times let the priest pray: first, for himself: secondly, for father and mother, carnal and spiritual, and for other parents: thirdly, for special friends, parishioners, and others: fourthly, for all that stand by: fifthly, for all Christian people. And here may the priest commend all his friends to God, (but my counsel is, that none make over-long tarrying there, partly for distraction of mind, partly because of immissions which may chance through evil angels,) and all that stand hereby round about, whose faith and devotion unto thee is known and manifest; for whom we offer unto thee, or which themselves offer unto thee, this sacrifice of praise for them and theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and health, and render their vows unto Thee, the eternal living and true God.

Communicating, and worshipping the memorial, first, of the glorious and ever Virgin; bowing down a little, let him say:

"Mary, the mother of our God and Lord Jesu Christ, and also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints: by whose merits and prayers, grant thou, that in all things we may be defended with the help of thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

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Here let the priest behold the host with great veneration, saying:

"Therefore, Lord, we beseech thee, that thou, being pacified, wilt receive this oblation of our bound service, and of all thy household: and order our days in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of thine elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here again let him hold the host, saying:

"Which oblation we beseech thee, O Almighty God, in all things to make,"

Here let him make three crosses upon both when he saith:

"+ blessed, + appointed, + ratified, reasonable, and acceptable; that unto us it may be,"

Here let him make a cross upon the bread, saying: + "The body," here upon the chalice, "and + blood,"

Here with hands joined together, let him say, "of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesu Christ;

Here let the priest lift up his hands and join them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift up the host, saying:

"Who, the next day, afore he suffered, took bread into his holy and reverent hands, and his eyes being lift up into heaven,"

Here let him lift up his eyes,

"unto the God Almighty his Father,"

Here let him bow down, and afterward erect himself up a little, saying:

"Rendering thanks unto thee, he + blessed, he brake,"

Here let him touch the host, saying:

"and gave unto his disciples, saying, Take ye, and eat of this ye all; for this is my body."

And these words must be pronounced with one breath, and under one prolation, without making of any pause between. After these words let him bow himself to the host, and afterward lift [it] up above his forehead, that it may be seen of the people: and let him reverently lay it again before the chalice, in manner of a cross made with the same. And then let him uncover the chalice, and hold it between his hands, not putting his thumb and forefinger asunder, save only when he blesseth, saying thus:

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"Likewise after they had supped, he, taking this excellent cup into his holy and reverent hands, rendering thanks also unto thee,"

Here let him bow himself, saying:

"Blessed, and gave unto his disciples, saying, Take, and drink of this ye all;"

Here let him lift up the chalice a little, saying thus:

"For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and everlasting testament, the mystery of faith, which, for you and for many, shall be shed to the remission of sins."

Here let him lift the chalice to his breast, or further than his head, saying:

"As oft as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me."

Here let him set down the chalice again, and rub his fingers over the chalice. Then let him lift up his arms, and cover the chalice. Then let him lift up his arms crosswise, his fingers being joined together until these words: *de tuis donis*; this is to say, of thine own rewards.

"Wherefore, O Lord, we also, thy servants, and thy holy people, being mindful as well of the blessed passion and resurrection, as of the glorious ascension of the same Christ thy Son, our Lord God, do offer unto thy excellent Majesty of thy own rewards and gifts."

Here let there be made five crosses, namely, the three first upon the host and cup, saying:

+ a pure host; + a holy host; + an undefiled host."

The fourth upon the bread only, saying: "The holy + bread of eternal life,"

The fifth upon the cup, saying:

"And + cup of eternal salvation. Vouchsafe thou also, with a merciful and pleasant countenance, to have respect hereunto, and to accept the same, as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the undefiled host, that the high priest Melchizedek did offer unto thee."

Here let the priest, with his body bowed down, and his hands holden across, say, *Supplices te rogamus*, "We humbly beseech thee," until these words, *Ex hac altaris participatione*, "of this partaking of the altar." And then let him stand up, kissing the altar on the right side of the sacrifice; and let him make a sign of the cross upon the host, and in his own face, when he saith, *Omni benedictione cælesti*, "with all heavenly benediction."

"We humbly beseech thee, O Almighty God, command thou these to be brought by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar in the presence of thy Divine Majesty, that as many of us as,"

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Here erecting up himself, let him kiss the altar on the right side of the sacrifice, saying:

"Of this participation of the altar shall receive thy Son's holy"

Here let him make a sign of the cross upon the host, saying:

"body,"

Then upon the cup, saying:

"and + blood may be replenished"

Then let him make a sign in his own face, saying: "With all heavenly benediction and grace through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him pray for the dead.

"Remember, Lord, also, the souls of thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.* which are gone before us with the mark of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace. We beseech thee, O Lord, that unto them, and unto all such as rest in Christ, thou wilt grant a place of refreshing, of light, and of peace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him smite once upon his breast, saying:

"Unto us sinners also, thy servants, hoping of the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to give some portion and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints; within whose fellowship we beseech thee admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveness through Christ our Lord."

Here is not said "Amen."

"By whom, O Lord, all these good things thou dost ever create."

Here let him make a sign over the chalice three times, saying:

"Thou+ sanctifiest; thou + quickenest; thou + blessest, and givest unto us."

Here let him uncover the chalice, and make a sign of the cross with the host five times: first, beyond the chalice on every side; secondly, even with the chalice; thirdly, within the chalice; fourthly, like as at the first; fifthly, before the chalice.

"Through + him, and with + him and in him, is unto thee God, Father + almighty in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory."

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Here let the priest cover the chalice, and hold his hands still upon the altar till the Pater-noster be spoken, saying thus:

"World without end, Amen.—Let us pray. Being advertised by wholesome precepts, and taught by God's institution, we are bold to say,"

Here let the deacon take the paten, and hold it uncovered on the right side of the priest, his arm being stretched out on high until *da propitius*.

Here let the priest lift up his hands, saying, *Pater noster*, &c. The choir must say, *Sed libera nos*, &c.

"Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evil past, present, and for to come; and that, by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, and our Virgin Mary the mother of God, and thy blessed apostles Peter, and Paul, and Andrew; with all saints."

Here let the deacon commit the paten to the priest, kissing his hand; and let the priest kiss the paten. Afterward let him put it to his left eye, and then to the right. After that let him make a cross with the paten above upon his head, and so lay it down again into its place, saying:

"Give peace graciously in our days, that we, being helped through the succour of thy mercy, may both be always free from sin, and safe from all trouble,"

Here let him uncover the chalice, and take the body, doing reverence, shifting it over in the hollow room of the chalice, holding it between his thumbs and forefingers; and let him break it into three parts; the first breaking, while there is said:

"Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son,"

The second breaking:

"Who, with thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth God."

Here let him hold two pieces in his left hand, and the third piece in the right hand, upon the brink of the chalice, saying this with open voice: "World without end."

Let the choir answer:

"Amen."

Here let him make three crosses within the chalice with the third part of the host, saying:

"The peace of the Lord + be always + with + you,"

Let the choir answer:

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"And with thy spirit."

To say Agnus Dei, let the deacon and subdeacon approach near unto the priest, both being on the right hand, the deacon nearer, the subdeacon further off. And let them say privately:

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace."

In masses for the dead it is said thus:

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, give them rest,"

With this addition in the third repetition, "Everlasting."

Here making a cross, let him put down the said third part of the host into the sacrament of the blood, saying:

"This holy mingling together of the body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, and to all that receive it, salvation of mind and body: a wholesome preparation both to deserve and to receive eternal life, through the same Christ our Lord."

Afore the pax be given, let the priest say:

"O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, grant me so worthily to take this holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ, that by this I may merit to receive forgiveness of all my sins, and be replenished with thy Holy Spirit, and to have thy peace: for thou art God alone, neither is there any other without thee, whose glorious kingdom and empire endureth continually world without end, Amen."

Here let the priest kiss the corporas on the right side, and the brink of the chalice, and afterward let him say to the deacon:

"Peace be unto thee, and to the church of God." Answer:

"And with thy spirit."

On the right hand of the priest let the deacon receive the pax of him, and reach it to the subdeacon. Then to the step of the choir let the deacon himself bear the pax unto the rectors of the choir; and let them bring it to the choir, either of them to his own side, beginning at the eldest. But in feasts and ferial days, when the choir is not governed, the pax is borne from the deacon unto the choir by two of the lowest of the second form, like as afore.

After the pax given, let the priest say the prayers following, privately, before he communicate; holding the host with both his hands:

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"O God, Father, thou fountain and original of all goodness, who, being moved with mercy, hast willed thine only begotten Son, for our sake, to descend into the lower parts of the world, and to be incarnate, whom I unworthy hold in my hands;"

Here let the priest bow himself to the host, saying: "I worship thee, I glorify thee, I praise thee with whole intention of mind and heart: and I beseech thee that thou fail not us thy servants, but forgive our sins, so as with pure heart, and chaste body, we may be able to serve thee, the only living and true God, through the same Christ our Lord: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, thou Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, the Holy Ghost working withal, hast quickened the world through thy death, deliver me, I beseech thee, through this thy holy body, and this thy blood, from all my iniquities, and from all evils. And make me to alway obey thy commandments, and never suffer me to be separated from thee for evermore, thou Saviour of the world, who, with God the Father, and the same Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, world without end: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, let not the sacrament of thy body and blood which I receive, (though unworthy,) be to my judgment and damnation; but, through thy goodness, let it profit to the salvation of my body and soul: Amen."

To the body let him say with humiliation before he receive:

"Hail for evermore, thou most holy flesh of Christ; unto me, afore all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, sinner, the way and life, in the + name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the body, a cross being first made with the same body afore his mouth, saying:

"Hail for evermore, thou heavenly drink! unto me, before all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ profit me, sinner, for a remedy everlasting unto life eternal: Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the blood, which when it is received, let him bow himself, and say the prayer:

"I render thanks to thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, which hast refreshed me out of the most holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ. And I beseech thee, that this sacrament of our salvation, which I, unworthy sinner, have received, come not to my judgment nor condemnation after my merits; but to the profit of my body, and to the salvation of my soul into life everlasting: Amen."

Which prayer being said, let the priest go to the right side of the altar, with the chalice between his hands, his fingers being yet joined together as afore, and let the subdeacon approach dear, and pour out wine and water into the chalice. And let the priest rinse his hands, lest any

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parcels of the body or blood be left behind in his fingers or in the chalice. But, when any priest must celebrate twice in one day, then, at the first mass, he must not receive any ablution, but put it in the sacristy, or in a clean vessel, till the end of the other mass; and then let both the ablutions be received.

After the first ablution, is said this prayer: "That we have received with mouth, O Lord, let us take with a pure mind, and out of a temporal gift, let it be to us a remedy everlasting."

Here let him wash his fingers in the hollow room of the chalice, with wine being poured in by the subdeacon; which, when it is drunk up, let the prayer follow:

"Lord, let this communion purge us from sin, and make us to be partakers of the heavenly remedy." After the receiving of the ablutions, let the priest lay the chalice upon the paten; that if aught remain behind, it may drop. And afterward bowing himself, let him say:

"Let us worship the sign of the cross, whereby we have received the sacrament of salvation." Afterward let him wash his hands. In the mean season let the deacon fold up the corporas. When his hands are washen, and the priest returneth to the right end of the altar, let the deacon reach the chalice to the priest's mouth, that if aught of that which was poured in do remain behind, he may receive it. After that, let him say the communion with his ministers. Then, making a sign of the cross in his own face, let the priest turn himself to the people; and with his arms somewhat lifted up, and his hands joined together, let him say, *Dominus vobiscum*; and, turning him again to the altar, let him say, *Oremus*, "Let us pray."

Then let him say the postcommon, according to the number and order of the aforesaid prayers. Before the epistle, when the last postcommon is ended, and the priest hath made a sign of the cross in his forehead, let him turn him again to the people, and say, *Dominus vobiscum*. Then let the deacon say, *Benedicamus Domino*. At another time is said, *Ite missa est*. As oft as *Ite missa est* is said, it is always said in turning to the people. And when *Benedicamus Domino* or *Requiescant in pace* must be said, let it be said in turning to the altar. When these things are spoken, let the priest (with his body bowed down, and his hands joined together) in the midst before the altar, say, with a still voice, this prayer:

"O holy Trinity, let the office of my bond-service please thee! and grant that this sacrifice, which I, unworthy, have offered in the eyes of thy Majesty, may be acceptable unto thee: and that unto me and all them for whom I have offered it, it may avail to obtain remission, thou being merciful, who livest and reignest God," &c.

Which prayer being ended, let the priest stand upright, crossing himself in his face, saying, In nomine Patris, &c. And so when obeisance is made, after the same order wherein they came afore to the altar at the beginning of the mass, so, having on their apparel, with the censor-bearer, and other ministers, let them go their way again.

THE END OF THE CANON.

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Now it remaineth (as we have promised before) to entreat of the parts and parcels of the Mass, declaring likewise how, and by whom, this popish, or rather apish, mass became so clampered and patched together with so many divers and sundry additions; whereby it may the better appear what hath been the continuance of the same.

First, in the beginning of this preface it was declared before, how this word "mass" was never used or known in the old primitive church among the first Christians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and derive the origin of the mass from St. James and Basil, are far deceived. As I think, that St. James was once bishop at Jerusalem, so I think not contrary, but sometimes he ministered at the communion there, in breaking of bread, and that not without the Lord's Prayer, and other prayers of thanksgiving, as we now in our communion use like prayers, and these prayers make not the communion to be a mass. And the like is to be said of St. Peter, who though he did celebrate the communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he said mass at Rome, as some report him to have done.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the origin, how this error first came up among the people, that St. James said mass at Jerusalem, if a man consider well histories and authors which have written. For in the history of Eusebius, Egesippus thus writeth of St. James, *Eum ab apostolis primum constitutum fuisse episcopum et liturgum*, &c. Upon the which word *liturgus*, it is not unlike, and divers suppose, this error to come: that St. James did first set and institute the order of mass. For so lightly the old translators, wheresoever they find *liturgia*, or *collecta*, (*κοινωνια* [Greek: *koinonia*],) they translated it *missa*; whereupon the greatest occasion of this error riseth, to make the people believe the mass to be so ancient as to proceed from the apostles, and from St. James. Notwithstanding, that error, as it lightly came up, so it may be as lightly exploded. For how could St. James say mass then at Jerusalem, or St. Peter at Rome, when as yet neither the name of mass was heard, nor the parts thereof invented? And although Sigebert in his Chronicles reports, that in the city of Bazas, being delivered from the siege of the Huns, the pastor of that church did celebrate mass with thanksgiving, about the year 453, yet Sigebert, in so saying, is to be taken as speaking rather after the use and manner of his time when he wrote it, than of that time when it was done. For in all the works of St. Augustine, and of Chrysostom, and in all that age, the name of mass is not found, but it is called either the supper of the Lord, or the Lord's board or communion, *synaxis*, sacrifice, oblation, mystery, celebration of the sacrament, *eucharistia*, the mystical table, *mystagogia*, *cœna mystica*; or with some other like term they nominate it. The name of the mass was not yet devised, nor were the patches thereof compiled. Platina testifieth, that before Pope Celestine, only the epistle and gospel were read at the communion, which being done, the communion ended. And Gregory saith, that the apostles, afore the ministration of the sacrament did use only the Lord's Prayer, that is, the Pater-noster. Let us hear what Walafridus Strabo writeth of that matter: "That which now is done in the church, with such a long circumstance of so many orisons, lessons, or readings, songs and consecrations; all that the apostles, and they that next succeeded the apostles, (as it is thought,) did accomplish simply with prayer only, and with the commemoration of the Lord's passion," &c. It followeth in the same author: "And, as the report is, like as it is in the Roman church upon Good Friday, where the communion is wont to be taken without any mass; so it was in the old time with them," &c.

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Now how this mass hath grown up and increased since, let us search out, by the Lord's help, out of authors, so much as may be found.

The "Introite."

Pope Celestine gave the first Introite, as Platina and Sigebert write.

The Psalm. "Judica me Deus," &c.

And before the priest do prepare himself to his mass, first with the psalm, *Judica me Deus et discerne causam meam*, &c.: that was ordained by the said Celestine.

And where they ascribed to St. Ambrose the two prayers which he used in the preparation to the mass, and he added to the books of Ambrose, Erasmus judgeth the same to be none of his, and that rightly as it seemeth: for therein are contained errors, not else to be found in the books of Ambrose, both in giving adoration to the bread of the sacrament, and making invocation to saints, namely, to blessed Mary; as in the second prayer, where he saith, "And that this my prayer maybe of efficacy, I desire the suffrage and intercession of blessed Mary the virgin," &c.: whereby it may appear learned Ambrose not to be the author of such an error.

Chrysostom, in the eleventh Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew, saith, that in his time, and afore his time, the use was to sing whole psalms, till they were entered and assembled together. And so belike Celestine borrowed this custom of the Greeks, and brought it into the Latin church, as Rupertus writeth.

Gregory the Great (as some write) called a synod at Rome, about the year of our Lord 594, in which synod he appointed that the introite of the mass should be taken out of some psalm.

The "Confiteor."

The *Confiteor* Pope Damasus brought into the mass, as it is written: albeit peradventure not this popish Confiteor, winch in the latter church hath been used, stuf full of idolatry and invocation of saints, against the word of God.

The "Kyrie Eleison."

The Kyrie Eleison, nine times to be repeated in such a tongue as few priests either understand, or do rightly pronounce, Gregory did institute about 600 years after Christ; taking it out of the Greek church, and yet transposing it otherwise than there it was used. For among the Greeks this *Kyrie Eleison*, which they called their litany, was sung of all the people; the which Gregory ordained to be sung only of the choir: adding thereto also *Christe Eleison*, which the Grecians used not; as Gregory himself, writing to the bishop of Syracuse, doth testify.

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"Gloria in Excelsis."

Next followeth *Gloria in Excelsis*, &c. which words were sung of the angels, at the birth of our Saviour. Albeit these words also were corrupted, as many other things were in the church; for where the words of the angels' hymn were "to men good will;" the mass said, "to men of good will," &c. This hymn was brought into the mass by Pope Symmachus, (and not by Telesphorus, as some not truly write, that he ordained three masses on Christmas day; for in his time there was no mass, A.D. 140,) about the year of our Lord 510. And after, the said hymn was augmented by Hilary, of Poitiers, with those words that follow, *Lan-damns te*, &c., singing it first in his own church, which was A.D. 340. And afterward it was brought into other churches by Pope Symmachus, A.D. 510, as is aforesaid.

"Dominus vobiscum," with the answer "Oremus," and the Collects.

Dominus vobiscum, with the answer of the people, although we have no certain author named by whom it came; yet this is certain, that it was deduced out of the Greek church into the Latin; as may appear by the Liturgy of Chrysostom and Basil (if the Liturgy be rightly ascribed unto them): also by Origen, and other ancient writers; by whom, it may seem that the liturgy or mass (as they call it) did first begin with *Dominus vobiscum*, and then *Sursum corda*; after that *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, and so following upon the same, *Vere dignum et justum est*, &c.: to the which beginning of the canon other additions, after, were put by others, as ye shall hear, by the Lord's grace, hereafter more at large.

Hugo de Sto. Victore writeth, that this prayer was taken out of the ancient salutation of Boaz saluting his harvest-folks. And out of the book of Paralipomena, where the prophet saluteth Asa the king, with his company about him, saying, *Dominus vobiscum*. Honorius writeth thus: "As the priest saluteth the people with the words of the Old Testament, *Dominus vobiscum*; so the bishop useth the words of the New Testament, saying, *Pax vobiscum*," &c. Concerning the collects, Walafridus writeth, that as they be divers and uncertain, so they were made of divers and sundry authors, as every of them thought it congrue. Hugo de Sto. Victore affirms, that chiefly they were made by Gelasius and Gregory.

Why they were called collects, William Durand and Micrologus show the cause: for that in the city of Rome they said them over the people collected together on the station-day, therefore they were called collectæ.

The "Gradual," with "Alleluia," "Tract," and "Sequences."

The responsory, which is called the "gradual," (being wont to be sung at the steps going up,) with Alleluia, Honorius saith that Ambrose made them, but Pope Gregory ordained them to be received.

Upon festival days the "sequences," which were wont to be sung, were chiefly composed by an abbot called Notherus de Sto. Gallo, and by Pope Nicholas commanded to be sung in the mass.

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The gradual the people were wont to sing when the bishop was about to go up to the pulpit, or some higher standing, where the word of God might be the better and more sensibly heard at his mouth, reading the epistle and the gospel.

The epistle and the gospel.

The reading of the epistle and the gospel, although it was not used in the apostles' times, yet it seemeth to be of ancient continuance, as Hugo saith: "In former time the mass began first with the epistle of St. Paul, after which epistle then followed the gospel, as also now," &c.

Walafridus saith, "It is uncertain who first ordered and disposed them so to be."

Some attribute them to Jerome, some to Damasus, some to Telesphorus aforesaid. This is certain, that Pope Anastasius ordained to stand up at the hearing of the gospel read; about the year of our Saviour 406.

Petrus Ciruelus writeth thus: "We read that about five hundred years since almost, the epistle," saith he, "was brought into the mass."

Honorius: "Alexander," saith he, "appointed the epistle and gospel to be read at mass. The translation and the disposition of them, in that order as they stand, Jerome the priest collected; but Damasus appointed them to be read in the church, so as the use is now."

Betwixt the epistle and the gospel the old canons of the Spaniards did forbid any hymn or canticle to be sung in the order of the mass, which now by the Romish order is broken.

The Creed.

The creed was made by the synod of Constantinople, but, by Damasus the pope, ordained to be sung at the mass. And whereas some affirm, that it was brought in by Pope Marcus, about the year of our Lord 340—to reconcile these two together, peradventure thus it may be taken, that the one brought in the creed, or symbol, of the Nicene council, the other appointed the creed of Constantinople, as is said.

The Offertory.

After this, oblations were wont to be offered of the people to the priest; and the offertory to be sung of the choir.

Of these oblations speaketh Irenæus: "Instead of the sundry rites of sacrifices, let the simple oblation of bread and wine suffice the faithful."

Item, Walafridus: "Every person entering in the church must do sacrifice, as the order of ecclesiastical institution doth teach." What order this was, it is declared in *Ordine Romano* by these words: "The people give every one his oblations; that is, bread and wine, first the men, then the women. After them priests and deacons offer, but bread only," &c.

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Likewise Burchardus testifieth the same: "In the synod of Masçon it was ordained, that every Sunday and festival day, oblation should be made of all the people which came to the mass, or liturgy, both men and women, in the church; every person bringing and offering his own oblation. The liturgy being done, they should receive the oblations of the priest," &c.

Thus ye may see what were their oblations and sacrifice in the ancient time, in their liturgy. Whereof now remaineth nothing but the name only with the song.

This offertory some ascribe to Eutychianus, about the year of our Lord 280, but thereof no certain evidence appeareth.

"Orate pro me, fratres," &c.

Nauclerus writeth, that Pope Leo brought in that which is said in the mass, *Orate pro me, fratres et sorores, &c.*

The preface of the canon.

The preface of the canon from *vere dignum et justum est, &c.*, to *per Christum Dominum nostrum*, is given to Gelasius. *Sursum corda* seemeth to be borrowed out of the old manner of the Greek church; St. Cyprian also maketh mention of the same, and St. Augustine. And therefore Thomas Walden judgeth that this part of the preface cannot be attributed to Gelasius.

After *Christum Dominum nostrum*, in the old liturgy, then followed *Qui pridie quam pateretur*, as Rhenanus supposeth; but then came Gelasius I. about the year of our Lord 497, which inserted that which followeth, *Te igitur clementis ime, &c.* Whereby it is to be noted, that Polydore Virgil, which ascribeth *Qui pridie* to Pope Alexander, is deceived.

The like is also to be said of Panormitane, who referreth the same clause, *Qui pridie, &c.*, to the apostles.

Furthermore note, good reader, how this doth agree with the long canon of St. Ambrose (lib. iv. de Sacrament. cap. 5): *Dicit Sacerdos, Fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesus Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit ad caelum, ad te Sancte Pater omnipotens et aeternae Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit, &c.* If it be true either that Panormitane saith, or that Gelasius made *Qui pridie, &c.*, how can this canon then be fathered upon St. Ambrose? And by the same reason also his whole book, entituled *De Sacramentis*, may be suspected; as of divers learned men it is.

Then came Pope Sixtus ten years after him, who brought into the canon *Sanctus, Sanctus*, thrice to be sung out of the book of Isaiah; and, to annex it together, joined also that which goeth before, *Per quem majestatem tuam, &c.*

He that writeth the Liturgy of Basil, ascribeth it to his name: whether he doth it truly or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that seeing in the said Liturgy of Basil the same

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particle *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua, Osanna in Excelsis* is sung; therefore it must needs follow, that either Leo, who was about the year of our Lord 460, borrowed this out of Basil's Liturgy, or else the same is falsely attributed to Basil.

After this followeth *Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*, till ye come to *placatus accipias*, which Leo the First did make and institute.

The words in the communion, *Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis, &c.*, were put in by Pope Alexander, as Humbertus writeth: *Alexander martyr. et papa quintus ab apost. Petro, passionem Domini inserens canon missæ, ait, Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, &c.*

Pope Gregory the Third, about the year of our Lord 732, put to his piece, *Et eorum quorum memoria, &c.*

This Gregory the Third called a council at Rome, wherein he decreed, that images should not only be had in temples, but also be worshipped, and that all gainsayers should be counted as heretics.

Innocent the Third affirmeth Pope Gelasius, who was about four hundred and ninety years after Christ, to have made a great piece of that canon, as he himself did something therein, about the year of our Lord 1215.

Panormitane affirmeth that Gregory did add to the canon this clause, *Diesque nostros in pace disponas*.

Briefly, Gregory saith, "that one Scholasticus made the most part of the canon, finding also fault with the same, that in composing the canon he would put in his own prayers, and leave out the Lord's Prayer," &c.

Where it is to be noted, for the reconciling these writers together, of whom some impute the canon to Gelasius, some again to Scholasticus: in my conjecture it may be said, that both these be one, and so the matter is reconciled. The reason that moveth me is this; for so I find in a certain ancient book *De Officio Missæ*, after these words, *Gelasius, Papa ex Scholastico effectus, in ordine 48. fecit Tractatus et Hymnos, &c.*

The elevation and adoration.

The elevation and adoration of the sacrament we cannot find to come in by any other than by Honorius the Third, about the year of our Lord 1222; who ordained that the people then should kneel down and worship the sacrament.

The "Pater-noster."

John the deacon, writing of Gregory, saith, "that Gregory caused the Lord's Prayer to be recited immediately after the canon upon the host," &c.

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Although the apostles ever used the Lord's Prayer at the supper of the Lord, as is said before; yet Gregory (belike) placed it so, in that order, after the canon, and brought it in with those words, *Præceptis salutaribus*, &c.

Gregory: "The Lord's Prayer," saith he, "amongst the Grecians, was wont to be sung generally of all the people: with us it is sung only of the priest."

The "Agnus."

The *Agnus*, Pope Sergius, about the year of our Lord 700, brought into the mass, as witnesseth Expositio Rom. Ordin. *Propter officium confractionis Dominici corporis, constitutum est a papa Sergio ut Agnus Dei decantetur*, &c.

The "Pax."

Innocent ordained the pax to be given to the people. *Pacis, ait, osculum dandum post confecta mysteria, ut constet populism ad omnia, quæ in mysteriis aguntur, præbuisse consensum*, &c.

Peter Martyr, in his commentaries on Jude, saith, that it was brought in by Pope Leo the Second, as it is said: and yet he supposeth the same not to be so, saying, "That this was an ancient custom in the apostles' time, for Christians to salute one another with the kiss of peace," &c.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth also Gabriel Biel, writing in these words: "In the primitive church the priest gave a kiss of peace to the minister, to be given by him to the people."

The distribution and communion.

After this followeth the communion, wherein our popish mass and ministers thereof do much alter and degenerate from ancient antiquity, two manner of ways. First, in that they make no communion thereof, receiving only to themselves, contrary both to their own words, where they say after their receiving, *Sacramenta quæ sumpsimus*, &c., and also to the ancient examples and decrees of the apostles and others; and where it is decreed in the epistle of Anacletus, "The consecration being done, let all communicate together; unless they will be thrust out of the church doors," &c.

Here note by the way, gentle reader, how Gratian, the writer of the pope's decrees, is overseen, who, in his book De Consecrat., dist. 2, referreth this saying of Anacletus to Pope Calixtus. And likewise also Cochleus, writing against Musculus, followeth Gratian in the same error.

Likewise in the canons of the apostles (if the canons were theirs) we read, "All the faithful, who resort to the church, and tarry not out the end of the service, and receive not the holy communion, be such as, bringing in disorder to the church, ought to be dissevered," &c.

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And again, *Si quis episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, aut quicumque ex sacerdotali consortio, oblatione facto, non communicaverint, causam dicito, &c.*

For how can that be called a communion, which is not common, but private to one? As Micrologus writeth: "It cannot be called a communion, except more than one do participate of one sacrifice," &c.

And Durandus: "In the primitive time all that were present at the ministration were wont every day to communicate, because that the apostles did all together drink of the cup," &c.

Secondly, They alter and degenerate therein from ancient antiquity, in that when they communicate also with the people, yet they deprive them of the holy cup: which deprivation was not in the church before the council of Constance, about the year of our Lord 1414. For before, it was so authentically received, that it was counted a sacrilege to receive the one without the other, as appeareth by the words of Pope Gelasius. The whole in English is this: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving the one part only of the holy body, abstain from the cup of the sacred blood; who, because they be taught so to do, (by what superstition I cannot tell,) either let them receive the sacrament whole together, or let them abstain from the whole sacrament altogether; because the division of that one and whole sacrament cannot be without great sacrilege," &c.

Hitherto also pertaineth the testimony of St. Augustine in these words: "There be you at the table; and at the cup there also be you with us: for together we receive, and together we drink, because we live together."

As also out of the book of Gregory it is manifest, that not only the people received them in both kinds; but also the words were prescribed to the minister, that he should say in giving the cup: "Let the priest say, in giving the cup, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to everlasting life, Amen.'"

Further, in rendering the cause why it should so be done, Thomas Aquinas writeth: "For that serveth to represent the passion of Christ, wherein his blood was parted severally from the body, &c. Secondly, for that it is convenient to the use of the sacrament, that the body should severally be given to the faithful for meat, and the blood for drink."

And therefore served the office of the deacons, as we read: "To lay the offerings of the people upon the altar to be hallowed, and when the mysteries be consecrated, to distribute the cup of the sacred blood of the Lord to the faithful," &c.

But among all other testimonies to prove that the sacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more evident than that of Jerome: "The supper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his disciples there present," &c.

And thus have ye heard the canon described, which otherwise is called *Secretum*; that is, "The secret of the mass," being so termed, because the priest was wont to read it in secret or in silence. The reason thereof Pope Innocent the Third declareth in his third book: "For that the

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holy words," saith he, "of the canon should not grow in contempt with the people, by the daily use and hearing thereof." And he bringeth in an example concerning the same of certain shepherds, which in the fields, using the same words of the canon upon their bread and wine, "the matter was turned," saith he, "into flesh and blood, and they plagued therefor from heaven:" but with such popish tales the church hath been long replenished.

The Postcommon.

After the canon and communion then followeth the postcommon, with the collects, which the mass-book requireth always to be used in an odd number, sometimes teaching to use but one, as in the Sundays in Lent; and sometimes three, as in certain masses from Low-Sunday till the Ascension; but never to pass the number of seven.

"Ite missa est."

Last of all cometh *Ite missa est*, whereby the minister dimitteth and sendeth away all the congregation there present to their business: for, as you heard before, it was decreed in ancient time, that it was not lawful to depart from the congregation in the time of holy ministrations, before the end of the whole communion. And therefore, all things being accomplished, the minister, turning to the assembly, pronounceth, *Ite missa est*.

Where note, that upon Sundays and festival days only, when Gloria in excelsis was sung, *Ite missa est* was wont to be said: on the work days *Benedicamus Domino*; sometimes *Requiescant in pace*.

Now concerning such trinkets as were to the aforesaid mass appertaining or circumstant: first, the linen albes and corporasses were brought in by Pope Mark, A.D. 340; if that be true which is thought by some. Where note again, that in the time of this pope it was nothing offensive for every honest priest to have his own proper wife. In the time also of this Mark was the council of Elvira in Spain, which condemned all kinds of images and pictures in temples.

Contrary to the which council Pope Gregory the Third, about the year of our Lord 732, calling a council at Rome, did not only stablish the images before condemned, but condemned the gainsayers for heretics, as is aforesaid.

By Sixtus the Second it was ordained, that no liturgy should be done save only upon altars hallowed, about the year of our Lord 260, as some suppose. But as I see no firm probation upon the same, so have I probable conjecture the same not to be true.

Some there be that shame not to say, that St. Clement brought in the albes and vestments to the popish mass.

Item, That the sacrament of the blood of the Lord should be consecrated in chalices of glass, and not of wood, as it was in time before, they say it was the ordinance of Pope Zephyrinus.

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After this came in golden chalices, and a true proverb withal, "That once they had wooden chalices, and golden priests; now they have golden chalices, and wooden priests."

Sabinian ordained the ringing of bells and burning of lamps in churches.

Vitalian, the playing on the organs.

Damasus, by the instigation of Jerome, appointed *Gloria Patri* after the Psalms.

Pelagius devised the memento for the dead. Leo brought in the incense.

Eutychian, as others say, brought in the offertory, which was then after a manner far otherwise than it is, or hath been used now a great while. For what time as many of the heathen, being greatly accustomed with offerings, were converted unto Christ, and could not be well brought from their old long use of offerings, the pope thought to bear somewhat with the weak, and permitted them to bring meats into the congregation or church, that when the bishop had blessed them, they that brought them might distribute them to the poor, or take them to their own use. But afterwards did Pope Gregory so help with this sentence, "Thou shalt not appear in the sight of thy God empty," &c., that as he willed the people to lay their offerings upon the altar, so they did; and have not yet forgotten to do so still.

Soul-masses, and masses applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, who brought in the Memento, as is said.

Wherein note, good reader, and mark, how these two stand together, that which our Saviour saith in his evangelist, Do this in remembrance of me; and that which they say, "In whose commemoration the body of Christ is taken," &c. Christ would it to be done in his remembrance; and the pope saith, "Do it in remembrance of the dead," &c.—What can be more contrary?

Innocent the Third ordained that the sacrament should be reserved in the church. The same brought also in auricular confession as a law, about the year of our Lord 1215. He did also constitute that no archbishop should enjoy the pall, unless he were of his own religion; and therefore no great marvel if there be such unity in popery.

Vigilius ordained that the priest should say mass having his face toward the east.

Platina writeth how the first Latin mass was sung in the sixth council of Constantinople, which was about the year of our Lord 680: so that the said mass was there and then first allowed, and not before. And yet they (I mean the Greek church) should have known as soon as the mass, if it had proceeded from James or Basil, as the Latin church did know it.

The opinion to think the mass to help souls in purgatory, was confirmed by Pope John the Seventeenth by reason of a dream, wherein he dreamed that he saw (and heard the voices of) devils lamenting and bewailing, that souls were delivered from them by the saying of masses and

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diriges. And therefore he did approve and ratify the feast of All Souls, brought in by Odilo. Moreover he adjoined also to the same the feast of Allhallows, about the year of our Lord 1003.

Concerning Lent fast, some think that Telesphorus, about the year of our Lord 140, was the author thereof. But that peradventure may be as true, as that which they also attribute to him, that he ordained three masses of one priest to be said on Christmas day. Or, if he did ordain that fast, yet he did ordain it but freely to be kept: for so I find among the decrees, that Lent was commanded first to be fasted but only of the clergy or churchmen.

Pope Leo commanded the sacrament to be censed.

Pope Boniface set in his foot for covering of the altars.

In St. Cyprian's time it seemeth that water was then mingled with the wine, whereof we read mention in his second book of Epistles, which mixture is referred to Alexander the First, in the Order of the Roman canon.

As concerning the breaking of the body in three parts, we read also mention to be made in the same book of Order, but no certain author thereof to be named. The words of the book be these: "Three ways is the body of the Lord understood: one which rose again from the dead, being signified by that part which is let fall to the blood in the chalice; the other is that which yet is living in the earth, which the part of the priest eaten doth signify; the third is that which now resteth in Christ, which also is figured by that particle that is reserved upon the altar."

Dedication of churches came in by Felix the Third; and that churches might not be hallowed but by a bishop, A.D. 492.

The canticle, *Gloria laus, &c.*, in the procession before the mass on Palm Sunday, was instituted by Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, as Sigebert writeth, about the year of our Lord 483.

Giving of holy bread came in by this occasion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and others. The manner was in ancient time, that the ministers were wont to receive certain meal of every house or family, wherewith a great loaf was made, called *Panis Dominicus*, able to serve in the communion, and to be distributed unto the people, who then were wont every day to be present and to receive, especially they that offered the meal: for whom it was wont therefore to be said in the canon, *Omniium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc sacrificium laudis offerunt, &c.* But afterward, the number of the people increasing, and piety decreasing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordained to communicate but only upon Sundays.

At length followed the third constitution, that thrice a year, at least Easter, every man should communicate; it being thus provided, that instead of the daily communion before used, the pax did serve. And instead of receiving upon the Sunday, bread was hallowed, and suddenly given and distributed unto the people, which also was called *Eulogia*; the constitution whereof seemeth to proceed from Pope Pius. For so we read in the decrees of the said Pope Pius: "That the minister shall take of the oblations offered of the people, remaining of the consecration, or

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else of the bread which the faithful bring unto the church, or else to take of his own bread, and cut it conveniently in portions in a clean and a convenient vessel; so that after the solemnity of the ministration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receive every Sunday or festival day 'eulogies,' or benedictions, with the same."

As concerning holy water, which they used to sprinkle at the church door upon them that entered in, I will not say that it sprung from the idolatrous use of the Gentiles.

This I say as I find in *Historia Zozomeni*: "It was an old custom among the Romans, that at the entering in at the church door, the priest, after the usual manner of the ethnics, having in his hand moist branches of olive, did sprinkle with the same such as entered in," &c. To the which custom this our manner of giving of holy water is so like, that it seemeth to proceed out of the same.

In the book of the pope's Decrees, and in the Distinctions of Gratian, there is a certain decree fathered upon Alexander the First, about the year of our Lord 121; which decree may well seem to be a bastard decree, neither agreeing to such a father, nor such a time, concerning the conjuring of holy water. The words of the decree be these: "We bless water sprinkled with salt among the people, that all such as be sprinkled with the same may be sanctified and purified; which thing we charge and command all priests to do. For if the ashes of the cow, in the old law, being sprinkled among the people, did sanctify and cleanse them, much more water sprinkled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers, sanctifieth and cleanseth the people. And if that Elisha the prophet, by the sprinkling of salt, did heal and help the barrenness of the water; how much more doth the salt, being hallowed by godly prayers, take away the barrenness of human things, and sanctify and purge them that be defiled; also multiply other things that be good, and turn away the snares of the devil, and defend men from the deceptions of fantasy," &c.

Thus ye have heard the author and father of holy water, which some also ascribe to Pope Sixtus, who succeeded Alexander: but as the papists do not agree in the first author or institutor of this hallowing of elements, so I think the same untruly to be ascribed to either. But leaving the probation of this to further leisure, let us now hear, in our own tongue, their own words, which they use in this their conjuration.

The form and words used of the priest in conjuring salt.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of salt, by the + living God, by the + true God, by the holy God, &c.: that thou mayest be made a conjured salt, to the salvation of them that believe; and that unto all such as receive thee thou mayest be health of soul and body; and that from out of the place wherein thou shalt be sprinkled, may fly away and depart all fantasy, wickedness, or craftiness of the devil's subtlety, and every foul spirit," &c.

The form of conjuring water.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of water, in the name of + God the Father almighty, and in the name of + Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the virtue + of the Holy Ghost, that thou become a conjured water to expel all power of the enemy," &c.

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Who seeth not in these words blasphemy intolerable; how that which is only due to the blood of Christ, and promised to faith only in him, is transferred to earthly and insensate creatures, to be salvation both to body and spirit, inwardly to give remission of sins, to give health and remedy against evils and devils, against all fantasies, wickedness, and all foul spirits, and to expel the power of the enemy, &c.? If this be true, whereto serveth the blood of Christ, and the virtue of Christian faith?

Therefore judge thyself, gentle reader, whether thou think this trumpety rightly to be fathered upon those ancient fathers aforesaid; or else whether it may seem more like truth that John Sleidan writeth, whose words, in his second book De Monarchiis, are these: "The decrees of these aforesaid bishops and martyrs be inserted in the Book of Councils; but of these decrees many be so childish, so trifling, and so far disagreeing from the Holy Scripture, that it is very like that the same were feigned and counterfeited of others long after their time," &c. Thus much saith Sleidan, with more words in that place; unto whose testimony if I might be so bold also to add my conjecture, I would suppose the conjuration of this aforesaid water and salt to spring out of the same fountain from whence proceeded the conjuring of flowers and branches, because I see the order and manner of them both to be so like and uniform as may appear.

The manner of hallowing flowers and branches.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of flowers and branches, in the name of + God the Father almighty, and in the name of + Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the virtue of the Holy + Ghost. Therefore be thou rooted out and displanted from this creature of flowers and branches, all thou strength of the adversary, all thou host of the devil, and all the power of the enemy, even every assault of the devils," &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water; whereby thou mayest partly conjecture the same not to be so old as Stephen Gardiner, in his letter against Master Ridley above mentioned, would have; being both deceived himself, and also going about to seduce others.

Furthermore, as touching the relics and the memorial of saints brought into the mass, Gregory the Third is the author thereof, who also added to the canon thereof this clause, *Quorum solemnitates hodie in conspectu Divinae majestatis tuae celebrantur*, &c.

Finally, it were too long to recite every thing in order, devised and brought in particularly to the mass, and to the church. For after that man's brain was once set on devising, it never could make an end of heaping rite upon rite, and ceremony upon ceremony, till all religion was turned well nigh to superstition. Thereof cometh oil and cream, brought in by Pope Silvester, not wont to be hallowed but by a bishop: that the corporas should not be of silk, but only of fine linen cloth: that the psalms should be sung on sides, the one side of the choir singing one verse, the other another, with Gloria Patri, &c.: that baptism should be ministered at no other time in the year but only at Easter and Whitsuntide, (save only to infants, and such as were in extreme infirmity,) and that it should be required forty days before: so determined by Pope Sirloins. And therefore was it that fonts were hallowed only at these two seasons, the which hallowing they keep yet still, but the ordinance they have rejected. Item, that bells also were christened. Item, no

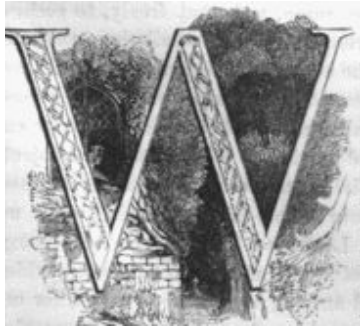
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priest should wear a beard, or have long hair: so appointed by Pope Martin the First. Item, that auricular confession should be made, that the book of decrees and decretals should be established, and transubstantiation confirmed; in which three acts Pope Innocent the Third was the chiefest doer, about the year of our Lord 1215.

And thus have ye in sum the gatherings of the mass, with the canon and all the appurtenance of the same: which, not much unlike to the crow of Æsop, being patched with the feathers of so many birds, was so long a gathering, that the temple of Solomon was not so long in building, as the pope's mass was in making, Whereby judge now thyself, good reader, whether this mass did proceed from James and other apostles, or no. And yet this was one of the principal causes for which so much turmoil was made in the church, with the bloodshed of so many godly men, suffering in so many quarters of this realm; some consumed by fire; some pined away with hunger; some hanged; some slain; some racked; some tormented one way, some another: and that only or chiefly for the cause of this aforesaid popish mass; as by the reading of this story following, by the grace of Christ our Lord, shall appear more at large. In whom I wish thee to continue in health, and to persevere in the truth.

241. The Beginning of The Reign of Queen Mary

The first entering of Queen Mary to the crown, with the alteration of religion, and other perturbations happening the same time in this realm of England.



W^HAT time King Edward, by long sickness, began to appear more feeble and weak, in the mean while, during the time of this his sickness, a certain marriage was provided, concluded, and shortly also upon the same solemnized in the month of May, between the Lord Guilford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter; whose mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, King Henry's second sister, who first was married to the French king, and afterward to Charles duke of Suffolk. But to make no long tarrance hereupon, the marriage being ended, and the king waxing every day more sick than other, whereas indeed there seemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the king, by his testament, did appoint the aforesaid Lady Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, to be inheritrix unto the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order subscribed all the king's council, and the chief of the nobility, the mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and chief lawyers of this realm, saving only Justice Hales of Kent, a man both favouring true religion, and also an upright judge as any hath been noted in this realm, who, giving his consent unto Lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to Lady Jane. Of this man (God willing' you shall hear more in the sequel of this story. The causes laid against Lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared she would marry with a stranger, and thereby entangle the crown; as also that she would clean alter religion, used both in King Henry her father's, and also in King Edward her brother's days, and so bring in the pope, to the utter destruction of the realm, which indeed afterward came to pass, as by the course and sequel of this story may well appear.

Much probable matter they had thus to conjecture of her, by reason of her great stubbornness showed and declared in her brother's days, as in the letters before mentioned, passing between her and King Edward and the council, may appear. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by every man's hand, King Edward, an imp of so great hope, not long after this, departed by the vehemency of his sickness, when he was sixteen years of age; with whom also decayed in a manner the whole flourishing estate and honour of the English nation.

When King Edward was dead, this Jane was established in the kingdom by the nobles' consent, and was forthwith published queen by proclamation at London, and in other cities where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Between this young damsel and King Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was not only equal, but also superior unto him, being instructed of a master right nobly learned.

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If her fortune had been as good as her bringing up, joined with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to the house of Vespasians, Sempronians, and the mother of the Gracchi, yea, to any other women beside, that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the university men, which have taken many degrees of the schools.

In the mean time, while these things were a-working at London, Mary, which had knowledge of her brother's death, writeth to the lords of the council in form as followeth.

A letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the lords of the council, wherein she claimeth the crown after the decease of King Edward.

"My Lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy; which news how woeful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do, humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit now, after his Majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm and the whole world knoweth; the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would, pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause, our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother, dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having eftsoons amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service; and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands, and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared—by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto; yet doubt you not, my Lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely, to eschew bloodshed and vengeance, against all those that can or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part, as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of others our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my Lords, we require you, and charge you and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person, only employ yourselves, and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth; not failing hereof as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

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"Given under our signet, at our manor of Kenning-hall, the ninth of July, 1553."

Votre tres humble et tres obeissante fille

MARIE

To this letter of the Lady Mary, the lords of the council make answer again, as followeth:

"Madam, we have received your letters, the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have, to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady Queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, councillors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must, therefore, as of most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said Grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will, upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady Queen Jane's subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect show yourself quiet and obedient, (as you ought,) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad, with your quietness, to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553.

"Your Ladyship's friends, showing yourself an obedient subject,

Thomas Canterbury.

The Marquis of Winchester.

John Bedford.

William Northampton.

Thomas Ely, chancellor.

Northumberland.

Henry Suffolk.

Henry Arundel.

Shrewsbury.

Pembroke.

Cobham.

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R. Riche.
Huntingdon.
Cheney.
Darcy.
R. Cotton.
John Gates.
W. Cecil.
W. Peter.
John Cheke.
John Mason.
Edward North.
R. Bowes."

After this answer received, and the minds of the lords perceived, Lady Mary speedeth herself secretly away far off from the city, hoping chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and yet perchance not destitute altogether of the secret advertisements of some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, and perceived her stoutness, and that all came not to pass as they supposed, they gathered speedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and first assigned that the duke of Suffolk should take that enterprise in hand, and so have the leading of the band. But afterward, altering their minds, they thought it best to send forth the duke of Northumberland, with certain other lords and gentlemen; and that the duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the Lord Guilford and the Lady Jane the same time were lodged.

In the which expedition the guard also, albeit they were much unwilling at the first thereunto, yet notwithstanding, through the vehement persuasions of the lord treasurer, Master Chomley, and others, they were induced to assist the duke, and to set forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, and the duke now being set forward after the best array out of London, having notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his journey appointed by the council, to the intent he might not seem to do any thing but upon warrant, Mary, in the mean while, tossed with much travail up and down, to work the surest way for her best advantage, withdrew herself into the quarters of Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the duke's name to be had in much hatred for the service that had been done there of late under King Edward, in subduing the rebels; and there, gathering to her such aid of the commons on every side as she might, kept herself close for a space within Framlingham castle. To whom first of all resorted the Suffolk men; who, being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the gospel, promised her their aid and help, so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion, which her brother King Edward had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole realm in that behalf.



Queen Mary receiving a letter

To make the matter short, unto this condition she eftsoons agreed, with such promise made unto them that no innovation should be made of religion, as that no man would or could then have misdoubted her. Which promise, if she had as constantly kept, as they did willingly preserve her with their bodies and weapons, she had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had also made her reign more stable to herself through former tranquillity. For though a man be never so puissant of power, yet breach of promise is an evil upholder of quietness; fear is worse; but cruelty is the worst of all.

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Thus Mary, being guarded with the power of the gossellers, did vanquish the duke, and all those that came against her. In consideration whereof it was, methinks, a heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterwards, who did make supplication to her Grace to perform her promise: "Forasmuch," saith she, "as you, being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same." And not only that, but also to cause the more terror unto others, a certain gentleman named Master Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndham side, for the same cause, (that is, for advertising her by humble request of her promise,) was punished, being three sundry times set on the pillory to be a gazing-stock unto all men. Divers others delivered her books and supplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the doctrine then established; and for their good will were sent to prison. But such is the condition of man's nature, as here you see, that we are for the most part more ready always to seek friendship when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once past and received. Howbeit, against all this, one sheet-anchor we have, which may be a sure comfort to all miserable creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above; though the same, being shut out of the doors in this world, be not to be found here among men. But, seeing our intent is to write a story, not to treat of office, let us lay Suffolk men aside for a while, whose deserts, for their readiness and diligence with the queen, I will not here stand upon. What she performed on her part, the thing itself, and the whole story of this persecution, do testify, as hereafter more plainly will appear.

On the contrary side, the duke of Northumberland, having his warrant under the broad seal, with all furniture in readiness, as he took his voyage, and was now forward in his way; what ado there was, what stirring on every side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, and instructions went to and fro, what talking among the soldiers, what heart-burning among the people, what fair pretences outwardly, inwardly what privy practices there were, what speeding of ordnance daily and hourly out of the Tower, what rumours and coming down of soldiers from all quarters there were; a world it was to see, and a process to declare, enough to make a whole Iliad.

The greatest help that made for the Lady Mary was the short journeys of the duke, which by commission were assigned to him before, as is above mentioned. For the longer the duke lingered in his voyage, the Lady Mary the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her, which after the council at London perceived, and understood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them, to stand with her, and that certain noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their song, and proclaimed for queen the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to King Henry the Eighth, and appointed by parliament to succeed King Edward, dying without issue.

And so the duke of Northumberland, being by counsel and advice sent forth against her, was left destitute, and forsaken alone at Cambridge with some of his sons, and a few others, among whom the earl of Huntingdon was one; who there were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown, notwithstanding that he had there proclaimed her queen before.

Thus have ye Mary now made a queen, and the sword of authority put into her hand, which how she afterward did use, we may see in the sequel of this book. Therefore, (as I said,)

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when she had been thus advanced by the gospellers, and saw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, sending the duke captive to the Tower before, (which was the twenty-fifth of July,) she followed not long after, being brought up the third day of August to London, with the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear of more, and yet with flattery peradventure most great, of feigned hearts.

Thus coming up to London, her first lodging she took at the Tower, where the aforesaid Lady Jane, with her husband the Lord Guilford, a little before her coming, were imprisoned; where they remained waiting her pleasure almost five months. But the duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded; albeit he, having a promise, and being put in hope of pardon, (yea, though his head were upon the block,) if he would recant and hear mass, consented thereto, and denied in words that true religion, which, before time, as well in King Henry the Eighth's days, as in King Edward's, he had oft evidently declared himself both to favour and further—exhorting also the people to return to the catholic faith, as he termed it; whose recantation the papists did forthwith publish and set abroad, rejoicing not a little at his conversion, or rather subversion, as then appeared.

Thus the duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (which Palmer, on the other side, confessed his faith that he had learned in the gospel, and lamented that he had not lived more gospel-like,) being put to death; in the mean time Queen Mary, entering thus her reign with the blood of these men, besides hearing mass herself in the Tower, gave a heavy show and signification hereby, but especially by the sudden delivering of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not minded to stand to that which she so deeply had promised to the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of religion, as in very deed the surmise of the people was therein nothing deceived.

Besides the premises, other things also followed, which every day more and more discomforted the people, declaring the queen to bear no good will to the present state of religion; as not only the releasing of Gardiner, being then made lord chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester, Dr. Poynt being put out; but also that Bonner was restored to his bishopric again, and Dr. Ridley displaced. Item, Dr. Day, to the bishopric of Chichester; John Scory being put out. Item, Dr. Tonsal to the bishopric of Durham. Item, Dr. Heath to the bishopric of Worcester, and John Hooper committed to the Fleet. Item, Dr. Vesey to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale put out. These things being marked and perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more to all good men's hearts; but on the contrary, to the wicked, great rejoicing: in which discord of minds, and diversity of affections, was now to be seen a miserable face of things in the whole commonwealth of England. They that could dissemble, took no great care how the matter went: but such whose consciences were joined to truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true Christian man; as indeed it came to pass. In the mean while Queen Mary, after these beginnings, having removed from the Tower to Hampton Court, caused a parliament to be summoned against the tenth of October next ensuing, whereof more is to be said hereafter.

242. Prohibition of Unauthorised Preaching.

Ye heard before, how divers bishops were removed, and others placed in their rooms; amongst whom was Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Dr. Ridley, in the time of Queen Jane, had made a sermon at Paul's Cross, so commanded by the council; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the Lady Mary, and dissuaded them, alleging there the incommodities and inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their queen; prophesying, as it were before, that which after came to pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them, besides the subverting also of all Christian religion then already established: showing, moreover, that the same Mary being in his diocese, he, according to his duty, (being then her ordinary,) had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion, and notwithstanding in all other points of civility she showed herself gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she showed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that, which, with so great labours, had been confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this sermon, Queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon he, speedily repairing to Framlingham to salute the queen, had such cold welcome there, that, being despoiled of all his dignities, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

After him preached also Master Rogers the next Sunday, entreating very learnedly upon the gospel of the same day.

This so done, Queen Mary, seeing all things yet not going so after her mind as she desired, devised with her council to bring to pass that thing by other means, which as yet, by open law, she could not well accomplish; directing forth an inhibition by proclamation, that no man should preach or read openly in churches the word of God, besides other things also in the same proclamation inhibited, the copy whereof here followeth.

An inhibition of the queen, for preaching, printing, &c.

"The queen's Highness, well remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown to this her Highness's realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in questions of religion, and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some light and evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to do to understand, to all her Highness's most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following:

"First, her Majesty, being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto: which as her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's

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grace, during her time, so doth her Highness much desire, and would be glad, the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

"And yet she doth signify unto all her Majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her Highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheless all her subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further order may be taken, and therefore willeth and straitly chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort and Christian charity, leaving those new-found devilish terms of papist or heretic, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed express that great hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, which, by rash talk and words, many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof as her Highness shall be most glad, so, if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her Highness's laws.

"And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them, without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God after their own brain in churches, and other places both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and printing of false-found books, ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in question and controversy, touching the high points and mysteries of Christian religion; which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her Grace's subjects, of an evil zeal, for lucre and covetousness of vile gain: her Highness, therefore, straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach; or, by way of reading in churches, or other public or private places, (except in schools of the university,) to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion; neither also to print any books, matter, ballad, rhyme, interlude, process, or treatise, nor to play any interlude, (except they have her Grace's special licence in writing for the same,) upon pain to incur her Highness's indignation and displeasure.

"And her Highness also further chargeth and commandeth all and every her said subjects, that none of them, of their own authority, do presume to punish, or to rise against any offender in the causes above-said, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the duke of Northumberland, or his complices, or to seize any of their goods, or violently to use any such offender by striking or imprisoning or threatening the same; but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her Highness and public authority, whereof her Majesty mindeth to see due punishment, according to the order of her Highness's laws.

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"Nevertheless, as her Highness mindeth not hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes abovesaid, unto her Grace or her council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her Highness's laws provided in that part: so her said Highness exhorteth and straitly chargeth her said subjects, to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her said Highness's indignation and most grievous displeasure; the severity and rigour whereof, as her Highness shall be most sorry to have cause to put the same in execution, so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects (whereof may ensue the danger of her royal estate) to remain unpunished, but to see her said laws touching these points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities she trusteth all her said loving subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly; her said Highness straitly charging and commanding all mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other public officers and ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next gaol, there to remain without bail or main-prize, till, upon certificate made to her Highness, or her privy council, of their names and doings, and upon examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment, to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the laws aforesaid.

"Given at our manor of Richmond, the eighteenth day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign."

Master Bourn preaching at Paul's Cross.



bout this time, or not long before, Bonner, bishop of London, being restored, appointed Master Bourn, a canon of Paul's, to preach at the Cross, who afterward was bishop of Bath. Bourn took occasion of the gospel of that day, to speak somewhat largely in justifying of Bonner, being then present: "Which Bonner," said he, "upon the same text, in that place that day four years, had preached before: and was, upon the same, most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, and there kept during the time of King Edward." His words sounded so evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence; and began to murmur and to stir in such sort, that the mayor and aldermen, with other estates then present, feared much an uproar. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the preacher; but who it was, it could not then be proved, albeit afterward it was known.

In fine the stir was such, that the preacher plucked in his head, and durst no more appear in that place. The matter of this sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of King Edward, which thing the people in no case could abide. Then Master Bradford, at the request of the preachers brother and others, then being in the pulpit, stood forth and spake so mildly, Christianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeased all: and afterward he and Master Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-school door, where they left him safe, as further, in the story of Master Bradford, is declared. But, shortly after, they were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and, last of all, with fire in Smithfield.

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By reason of this tumult at Paul's Cross, an order was taken by the lords of the council with the mayor and aldermen of London to this effect:

"That they, calling the next day following a common council of the city, should thereby charge every householder to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants, to keep their own parish churches upon the holy days, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace: willing them also to signify to the said assembly the queen's determination, uttered unto them by her Highness the twelfth of August, in the Tower; which was, that albeit her Grace's conscience was stayed in the matters of religion, yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other men's consciences otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she was in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, &c.

"Also it was then ordered, that every alderman, in his ward, should forthwith send for the curates of every parish within their liberties; and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any others to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of Scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers were severally licensed by the queen."

After this sermon at Paul's Cross aforementioned, the next day after it followed that the queen's guard was at the Cross with their weapons to guard the preacher. And when quiet men withdrew themselves from the sermon, order was taken by the mayor, that the ancients of all companies should be present, lest the preacher should be discouraged by his small auditory.

August.—The fifteenth of August, A.D. 1553, was one William Butler committed by the council to the Marshalsea, for uttering certain words against Master Bourn, preacher, for his sermon at Paul's Cross on Sunday last before.

The sixteenth of August, was Humphrey Palden committed to the Compter, for words against the said Bourn's sermon at Paul's Cross.

A letter sent to the sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fisher, parson of Amersham, a preacher.

Another letter to the bishop of Norwich, not to suffer any preacher or other to preach or expound the Scripture openly, without special licence from the queen.

The same day were Master Bradford, Master Vernon, and Master Beacon, preachers, committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower.

The same day, also, was Master John Rogers, preacher, commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at Paul's, without having any conference with any other than those of his own household.

The twenty-second of August, there were two letters directed to Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, for their undelayed repair to the court, and there to attend the council's pleasure.

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The same day, Fisher, parson of Amersham, made his appearance before the council, according to their letter the sixteenth of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his sermon.

The twenty-fourth of August, was one John Melvin, a Scot, and preacher, sent to Newgate in London by the council.

The twenty-sixth of August, there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry and his brethren, for the apprehension of one Symons, of Worcester, preacher, and then vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry; and for the sending of him up to the council, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; with a commission to them to punish all such as had, by means of his preaching, used any talk against the queen's proceedings.

The twenty-ninth of August, Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, made his personal appearance before the council, according to their letters the twenty-second of August.

The thirty-first of August, Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, made his appearance before the council, according to their letters the twenty-second of August.

September.—The first of September, 1553, Master Hooper and Master Coverdale appeared again before the council, whence Master Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and Master Coverdale commanded to attend the lords' pleasure.

The second of September, Master Hugh Saunders, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, was before the council for a sermon, and was commanded to appear again upon Monday next after.

The fourth of September, a letter was directed from the council to Master Hugh Latimer, for his appearance before them.

About the fifth day of September the same year, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer, both by Scriptures and doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others, as hereafter ye shall hear. But whilst they were in hope to come to disputations, the archbishop and others were imprisoned; but Peter Martyr was suffered to return whence he came.

The same day there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry to set Hugh Symons at liberty, if he would recant his sermon; or else to stay him, and to signify so much to the council.

The thirteenth of September, Master Hugh Latimer appeared before the council, according to their letter the fourth of September, and was committed to the Tower close prisoner, having his servant Austin to attend upon him.

The same day the archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the council, was commanded to appear the next day at afternoon before them in the Star-chamber.

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The fourteenth of September, the archbishop of Canterbury, according to their former day's commandment, made his appearance before the lords in the Star-chamber; where they, charging him with treason, and spreading abroad of seditious bills to the disquieting of the state, committed him from thence to the Tower of London, there to remain till further justice and order at the queen's pleasure.

The fifteenth of September, there was a letter sent to Master Horn, dean of Durham, for his appearance before them; and another was sent to him the seventh of October next after, for his speedy appearance.

The sixteenth of September, there were letters sent to the mayors of Dover and Rye, to suffer all French protestants to pass out of this realm, except such whose names should be signified to them by the French ambassador.

October.—The first day of October Queen Mary was crowned at Westminster, and the tenth day of the same month began the parliament with the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, after the popish manner, celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster; to the which mass among the other lords, according to the manner, should come the bishops which yet remained undeposed, which were the archbishop of York, Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, John Harley, bishop of Hereford. Of the bishops, Dr. Taylor and Master Harley, (presenting themselves according to their duty, and taking their place amongst the lords,) after they saw the mass begin, not abiding the sight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company; for the which cause the bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, was, upon the same, commanded to attend; who not long after, at Ankerwyke, by sickness departed. Master Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament and from his bishopric.

Mass being done, the queen, accompanied with the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament-house, there, according to the manner, to enter and begin the consultation: at which consultation or parliament were repealed all statutes made in the time of King Henry the Eighth for præmunire, and statutes made in King Edward the Sixth's time for administration of Common Prayer and Sacrament in the English tongue; and further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this parliament confirmed. In the mean while many men were forward in erecting of altars and masses in churches. And such as would stick to the laws made in King Edward's time, till others should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended; among whom Sir James Hales, a knight of Kent and justice of the Common Pleas, was one; who, notwithstanding he had ventured his life in Queen Mary's cause, in that he would not subscribe to the disinheriting of her by the king's will, yet for that he did, at a quarter sessions, give charge upon the statutes made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, for the supremacy and religion, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, Compter, and Fleet, and so cruelly handled and put in fear, by talk that the warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were in preparing for heretics, (or for what other cause God knoweth,) that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife, and afterward was contented to say as they willed him: whereupon he was discharged. But, after that, he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent: of whom more is to be seen, when you come to his story.

243. A Disputation On Religion Ordered By The Queen.

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewise, after their wonted manner, had a convocation, with a disputation also, appointed by the queen's commandment, at Paul's church in London the same time, which was about the eighteenth of October; in the which convocation, first Master John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon *ad clerum*, the sixteenth of October. After the sermon done, it was assigned by the bishops, that they of the clergy-house, for avoiding confusion of words, should choose them a prolocutor; to the which room and office, by common assent, was named Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and presented to the bishops with an oration of Master Pie, dean of Chichester, and also of Master Wimbisley, archdeacon of London: which Dr. Weston, being chosen and brought unto the bishops, made his gratulatory oration to the house, with the answer again of Bishop Bonner.

After these things thus sped in the convocation-house, they proceeded next to the disputation appointed, as is above said, by the queen's commandment, about the matter of the sacrament; which disputation continued six days: wherein Dr. Weston was chief on the pope's part, who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. In conclusion, such as disputed on the contrary part were driven some to flee, some to deny, and some to die; though to the most men's judgments that heard the disputation, they had the upper hand, as here may appear by the report of the said disputation, the copy whereof we thought fit here to annex as followeth:

The true report of the disputation had and begun in the convocation-house at London the eighteenth of October, A.D. 1553.

"Whereas divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the convocation-house; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the memory of him that was present thereat call bear away, he hath thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof."

The act of the first day.

"First, upon Wednesday, being the eighteenth of October, at afternoon, Master Weston, the prolocutor, certified the house, that it was the queen's pleasure, that the company of the same house, being learned men assembled, should debate of matters of religion, and constitute laws thereof, which her Grace and the parliament would ratify. 'And for that,' said he, 'there is a book of late set forth, called the Catechism, [which he showed forth,] bearing the name of this honourable synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned; being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies; and likewise a book of Common Prayer very abominable,' as it pleased him to term it. 'I thought it therefore best, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the

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same, and also transubstantiation. Wherefore,' said he, 'it shall be lawful, on Friday next ensuing, for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully satisfied therein.'"

The act of the second day.

"The Friday coming, being the twentieth of October, when men had thought they should have entered disputations of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two several bills unto the house; the one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the other concerning the Catechism, that it was not of that house's agreement set forth, and that they did not agree thereunto: requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole house did immediately assent, except six, which were the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Winchester, the archdeacon of Hereford, the archdeacon of Stow, and one other.

"And whilst the rest were about to subscribe these two articles, John Philpot stood up, and spake, first, concerning the articles of the Catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the Catechism, in that it beareth the title of the synod of London last before this; although many of them which then were present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this house had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the king's Majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might be well said to be done in the synod of London, although such as be of this house now, had no notice thereof, before the promulgation. And in this point he thought the setter-forth thereof nothing to have slandered the house, as they, by their subscription, went about to persuade the world, since they had our synodal authority unto them committed, to make such spiritual laws as they thought convenient and necessary.

"And moreover he said, as concerning the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, that it was against reason and order of learning, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should he moved to subscribe before the matter were thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw that allegation might take no place, being as a man astonished at the multitude of so many learned men, as there were of purpose gathered together to maintain old traditions more than the truth of God's holy word, he made this request unto the prolocutor: That whereas there were so many ancient learned men present on that side, as in the realm the like again were not to be found in such number; and that on the other side of them that had not subscribed, were not past five or six, both in age and learning far inferior unto them: therefore, that equality might be had in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would be a mean unto the lords, that some of those that were learned, and setters-forth of the same Catechism, might be brought into the house, to show their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Dr. Ridley and Master Rogers, with two or three more, might be licensed to be present, at this disputation, and to be associated with them.

"This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed unto the bishops, who made this answer: That it was not in them to call such persons unto our house, since some of them were prisoners. But they said, they would be petitioners in this behalf unto the council, and in case any

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were absent that ought to be of the house, they willed them to be taken in unto them if they listed. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman as messenger from the lord great master, signifying unto the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same unto Monday, at one of the clock at afternoon."

The act of the third day.

"Upon Monday, the twenty-third of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and divers other of the court and of the city also, the prolocutor made a protestation, that they of the house had appointed this disputation, not to call the truth into doubts, to the which they had already all subscribed, saving five or six, but that those gainsayers might be resolved of their arguments in the which they stood, 'as it shall appear unto you, not doubting but they will also condescend unto us.'

"Then he demanded of Master Haddon, whether we would reason against the questions proposed, or no. To whom he made answer, that he had certified him before, in writing, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to be assistant with them, would not be granted. Master Elmar likewise was asked, who made the prolocutor the like answer; adding moreover this, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed: and little or nothing it might avail to reason for the truth, since all they were now determined to the contrary.

"After this he demanded of Master Cheney, who, the prolocutor said, allowed the presence with them; but he denied the transubstantiation by the means of certain authorities upon the which he standeth, and desireth to be resolved, (as you shall hear,) whether he will propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation, or no. 'Yea,' quoth he, 'I would gladly my doubts to be resolved, which move me not to believe transubstantiation. The first is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calleth it oftentimes bread, after the consecration. The second is out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements. The third is out of Theodoret, who making mention of the sacramental bread and wine after the consecration, saith, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These be some of my doubts, among many others, wherein I require to be answered.'

"Then the prolocutor assigned Dr. Moreman to answer him, who, to St. Paul, answered him thus: 'The sacrament is called by him bread indeed; but it is thus to be understood: that it is the sacrament of bread; that is, the form of bread.'

"Then Master Cheney inferred and alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh. 'Yea,' quoth Moreman, 'Hesychius calleth it bread, because it was bread, and not because it is so.' And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, that men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr hath done in the place of Theodoret, interpreting ουσια [Greek: ousia], for substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas ουσια [Greek: ousia] is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance; and therefore I answer thus unto Theodoret; That the sacramental bread and wine do not go out

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of their former substance, form, and shape; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape.'

"After this Master Cheney sat him down; and by and by Master Elmar stood up, as one that could not abide to hear so fond an answer to so grave an authority, and reasoned upon the authority of Theodoret alleged before by Master Cheney, and declared, that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was no just or sufficient answer, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. 'For,' said he, 'if ουσια [Greek: ousia] should signify an accident in the place alleged, as it is answered by Master Moreman, then were it a word superfluous set in Theodoret there, where do follow two other words, which sufficiently do expound the accidents of the bread, that is ειδος και σχημα [Greek: eidos kai schema], which signify in English, shape and form.' And so he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that ουσια [Greek: ousia], in Greek, could not be so generally taken in that place, as Moreman for a shift would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other salve for that sore, affirmed still, that ι ουσια [Greek: ousia], which signifieth substance, must needs signify an accidental substance properly. To whose importunity, since he could have no other answer, Elmar, as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

"After this stood up John Philpot, and said, that he could prove, that by the matter that Theodoret entreateth of in the place above alleged, and by the similitude which he maketh to prove his purpose, by no means Master Moreman's interpretation of ουσια [Greek: ousia], might be taken for an accidental substance, as he for a shift would interpret it to be; for the matter which Theodoret entreateth of in that place, is against Eutiches, a heretic, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ, being one person, and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined unto the Divinity, was absorpt, or swallowed up of the same; so that Christ should be no more but of one Divine substance only, by his opinion. Against which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament proveth the contrary against the heretic: that like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread remaining as it was before, not being absorpt by the humanity of Christ, but joined by the Divine operation thereunto; even so in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there be two several substances, that is, his Divinity and humanity, united in one hypostasis or person, which is Christ; the humanity not being absorpt by the conjunction of the Divinity, but remaining in his former substance. 'And this similitude,' quoth Philpot, brought in of Theodoret to confound Eutiches, should prove nothing at all, if the very substance of the sacramental bread did not remain as it did before. But if Dr. Moreman's interpretation might take place for transubstantiation, then should the heretic have thereby a strong argument, by Theodoret's authority so taken, to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself a good Christian man; and he might well say thus unto Theodoret: Like as thou, Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, dost say, that after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is absorpt or transubstantiated into the human body of Christ coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament is now but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before: even so likewise may I affirm, and conclude by thine own similitude, that the humanity ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined unto the Deity, was by the might thereof absorpt and turned into one substance with the Deity; so that now there remaineth but one Divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental

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signs of the Lord's supper, after the consecration, doth remain any more than one substance, according to your belief and construction.'

"In answering to this, Dr. Moreman staggered, whose defect Philpot perceiving, spake on this wise, Well, Master Moreman, if you have no answer at this present ready, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently. against our next meeting here again.'

"With that his saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, telling him that he should not brag there, but that he should be fully answered. Then said Philpot, 'It is the only thing that I desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of all the house at this present, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do, saving Theodoret's authority and similitude upright, as he ought to be taken.' None other answer, then, was made to Philpot's reason, but that he was commanded to silence.

"Then stood up the dean of Rochester, offering himself to reason in the first question against the natural presence, wishing that the Scripture and the ancient doctors, in this point, might be weighed, believed, and followed. And against this natural presence, he thought the saying of Christ in St. Matthew to make sufficiently enough, if men would credit and follow Scripture; who said there of himself, that poor men we should have always with us, but Him we should not have always 'which was spoken,' quoth he, 'concerning the natural presence of Christ's body. Therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught—that Christ is not naturally present on earth in the sacrament of the altar.'

To this was answered by the prolocutor, that we should not have Christ present always to exercise alms-deeds upon him, but upon the poor.

"But the dean prosecuted his argument, and showed it out of St. Augustine further, that the same interpretation of the Scripture alleged, was no sufficient answer; who writeth on this wise, on the same sentence: 'When he said, (saith St. Augustine,) Me shall ye not have always with you; he spake of the presence of his body. For by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, Behold, I am with you until the consummation of the world. But in the flesh, which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in clouts, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, You shall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days; and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. After another manner we have Christ always, by the presence of his majesty; but, after the presence of his flesh, it is rightly said, You shall not verily have me always with you. For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes.'

"To this authority Dr. Watson took upon him to answer, and said, he would answer St. Augustine by St. Augustine. And having a certain book in his hand of notes, he alleged out of the

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seventieth treatise upon St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was heretofore before his passion.

"Against whose answer John Philpot replied, and said, that Master Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St. Augustine, as he would seem to have done; for that in the place above mentioned by master dean of Rochester, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection: in the which mortal body St. Augustine seemeth plainly to affirm, that Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in few lines after the place above alleged, St. Augustine doth more plainly declare by these words, saying, 'Now these two manners of Christ's presence declared, who is, by his majesty, providence, and grace, now present in the world, who before his ascension was present in flesh; and being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent in the same from the world, I think (saith St. Augustine) that there remaineth no other question in this matter.'

"'Now,' quoth Philpot, if St. Augustine acknowledged no more presence of Christ to be now on earth, but only his Divine presence, and touching his humanity, to be in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is, corporally to be present always in the sacrament of the altar invisibly, according to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustine maketh no mention at all in all his works; you shall seem to judge that, which St. Augustine did never comprehend.'

"'Why,' quoth Watson, 'St. Augustine, in the place by me alleged—maketh he no mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension?'

"'It is true,' said Philpot: 'but he saw Christ, as the Scripture telleth, in the heavens, being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father.' Further to this Watson answered not.

"Then the prolocutor went about to furnish up an answer to St. Augustine, saying, that he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily presence, but yet present, for all that, in his body.

"To whom Philpot answered, that the prolocutor did grate much upon this word *secundum* in St. Augustine; which signified, after the manner, or in form: but he doth not answer to *id quod*, which is that thing or substance of Christ, in the which Christ suffered, arose, and ascended into heaven, in the which thing and substance he is in heaven, and not in earth; as St. Augustine, in the place specified, most clearly doth define.

"To this nothing else being answered, the dean of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities for the confirmation thereof; to the which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him make an argument, saying, that master dean had recited many words of doctors, but he made not one argument. Then said the dean, 'The authorities of the doctors by me rehearsed, be sufficient arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my desire is to be answered of you.' But still Moreman cried, 'Make an argument,' to shift off the authority which he could not answer unto.

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"After this the dean made this argument out of the institution of the sacrament: Do this in remembrance of me; and, Thus ye shall show forth the Lord's death until he come.—The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: ergo, the sacrament is not very Christ; for yet he is not come. For these words, until he come,' do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the prolocutor went about to show that these words, 'until he come,' did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of Scripture, where *donec*, 'until,' was used in like sense; but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In conclusion the dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, or not? He answered, 'Yea.' Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewise the sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman answered, 'Yea.' Then he asked, what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagine it to be, or no? which when Moreman had affirmed; then said the dean, 'It is a great absurdity by you granted;' and so he sat down.

"Against this absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, he could prove it by good reason deduced out of the Scripture, that Christ ate not his own natural body at the institution of the sacrament; and the reason is this:

"Receiving of Christ's body hath a promise of remission of sins with it annexed.

"Christ, eating the sacrament, had no promise of remission of sin.

"Ergo, Christ, in the sacrament, did not eat his own body.

"To this reason Moreman answered, denying the former part of the argument, that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed unto it.

"Then Philpot showed this to be the promise in the sacrament: Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins. But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he drave Philpot to John vi., to vouch his saying with these words; The bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

"Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield started up to supply that which was wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argument, saying, 'Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament: for it pertained not to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, This is my body which is given for you; and not for Christ himself.'

"'You have said well for me,' quoth Philpot, 'for that is mine argument. The promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ: ergo, Christ ate not his own body.'

"Then the prolocutor, to shoulder out the matter, said, the argument was nought; for by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed unto baptism, took no effect in Christ. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament: but he took on him baptism, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him; but as our Master, to give the church an

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example to follow him in the ministration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himself; and not to give himself to himself.

"No more was said in this; but afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many; which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that was of an ill memory.

"By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day after, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament."

The act of the fourth day.

"On Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of October, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the disputation, minding first to have made a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. Which thing the prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter; commanding him, also, that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his arguments in English.

"Then said Philpot, 'This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin. And because you, master prolocutor, have said heretofore openly in this house, that I had no learning, I had thought to have showed such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and a short declaration of the questions now in controversy; thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned sort, being present, might take the less offence thereat.'

"But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bade him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace. Then said Philpot, 'You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which, as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will, in one word, declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacraments, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the truth and manifest meaning of the Scriptures: That by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence, imagined by men, I do deny,' quoth Philpot, 'and against this I will reason.'

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"But before he could make an end of that he would have said, he was interrupted of the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument. At whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and thinking to purchase him a remedy therefor, he fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number, whereof some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the lords. But the prolocutor, putting in use a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend thereunto, but still cried, 'Hold your peace, or else make a short argument' 'I am about it,' quoth Philpot, 'if you will let me alone. But first, I must needs ask a question of my respondent (who was Dr. Chedsey) concerning a word or twain of your supposition; that is, of the sacrament of the altar: What he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's supper the sacrament of the altar—partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the cross,—and partly because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law, did prefigure and signify unto us, in signification whereof the old writers sometimes do call the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereunto, the sacrament of the altar? Or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar which is made of lime and stone, over the which the sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at this present in many places? This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion.'

"Then made Dr. Chedsey this answer, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one.

"Then,' quoth Philpot, 'I will speak plain English as master prolocutor willeth me, and make a short resolution thereof: That that sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it.' And this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed to call him thereunto; and likewise he offered to vouch the same before the queen's Grace, and her most honourable council, [or] before the face of six of the best learned men of the house, of the contrary opinion, and refused none. And if I shall not be able,' quoth he, 'to maintain by God's word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many faggots as be in London, before the court gates.' This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

"At this the prolocutor, with divers others, was very much offended, demanding of him, whether he wist what he said, or no? 'Yea,' quoth Philpot, 'I wot well what I say;' desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by God's word he was able to prove. And praised be God,' quoth he, 'that the queen's Grace hath granted us of this house, (as our prolocutor hath informed us,) that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion: and therefore I will speak here my conscience freely, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth; albeit some of you here present mislike the same.'

"Then divers of the house, besides the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfearingly against the sacrament of the mass, and the prolocutor said, he was mad; and threatened him, that he would send him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.

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"Philpot, seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards the heaven, and said, 'O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken and abiden by!' And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

"After this the prolocutor, being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein.

"I will be as brief,' quoth Philpot, 'as I may conveniently be, in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after, I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occasion of my first argument out of Matthew xxviii., of the saying of the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, He is risen, he is not here: and Luke xxiii., the angel asketh them, Why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament.

"I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in John xvi.; I came, saith Christ, from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father: the which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not now in the world.

"But I look here,' quoth he, to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the sacrament. But that answer I prevent myself, that with more expedition I may descend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propose; and will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb; which words St. Cyril, interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech.' And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, saying, I leave the world now and go away to my Father, then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body, to remain in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain, or more parabolical and insensible, than so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, and so descend to the confirmation of all that I have said by ancient writers..

"Then Dr. Chedsey, reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every part thereof on this wise. First, to the saying of the angel, That Christ is not here; and, Why seek ye the living among the dead? he answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead? And to the authority of John xvi., where Christ saith, Now I leave the world and go to my Father, he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven. But that doth not exclude the invisible

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presence of his natural body in the sacrament; for St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elijah and Christ together, and Elijah's cloak unto Christ's flesh: 'Elijah,' quoth he, 'when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisha. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him.' Whereby we may right well gather, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the sacrament of the altar.

"To this Philpot replied, and said, You have not directly answered to the saying of the angel, Christ is risen, and is not here, because you have omitted that which was the chiefest point of all. For,' said he, 'I proceeded further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alleged, sufficient; but by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refuted the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of your chief principles that you alleged, to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.'

"At that the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their side. But I shall make it appear,' quoth Philpot, 'by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose.' And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually; wherewith Philpot, not being content, said, Master prolocutor thinketh that he is in a sophistry school, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth that he is like to be enforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to answer, then he loth what he can, with cavillation and interruption, to drive him from the same.'

"This saying of Philpot was ill taken of the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. 'Hear,' quoth Philpot, 'and afterward judge. For I will do in this, as in all other authorities wherewith you shall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering either unto the same by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no great credit. And concerning the saying of Chrysostom, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose; the one out of Scripture, the other out of Chrysostom himself, in the place here by you alleged. First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confess and believe, that Christ took on him our human nature in the Virgin Mary's womb, and, through his passion in the same, hath united us to his flesh; and thereby are we become one flesh with him: so that Chrysostom might therefore right well say, that Christ, ascending, took his flesh, which he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that he his elect in this world, which are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh; as very aptly St. Paul to the Ephesians, in the fifth chapter, doth testify, saying, We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. And if percase any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the sacrament, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostom another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those

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words which were here now lately read, are these words; that Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, endued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries; that is, sacramentally. And that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And that St. Paul justly doth witness, saying, As many of us as are baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ: and thus you may understand that St. Chrysostom maketh nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.'

"Now in this mean while Master Pie rounded the prolocutor in the ear, to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrewdly shake their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, and that some other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: 'Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce overgone my first argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient writer, (whereof I have for the same purpose many,) being hitherto still letted by your oft interrupting of me.'

"'Well,' quoth the prolocutor, 'you shall speak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace.'

"'You perceive,' quoth Philpot, that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence.' 'If you will not give place,' quoth the prolocutor, 'I will send you to prison.' 'This is not,' quoth Philpot, 'according to your promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they can say; since you will not suffer me, of a dozen arguments, to prosecute one.'

"Then Master Pie took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. Philpot seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: 'A sort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which, by the catholic doctrine of the Scripture, ye are not able to maintain.'

"Then stepped forth Master Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Master Moreman took upon him to answer; against whom Master Elmar objected divers and sundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that ουσια [Greek: ousia] in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by Master Cheney, must needs signify substance, and not accidents: whose reasons and probations, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass over, for that they want their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so encumbered Master Moreman, that he desired a day to overview them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

"Then did the prolocutor call Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming Master Elmar's argument: to whom Dr. Watson took upon him to give answer; who, after long talk, was so confounded, that he was

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not able to answer to the word *mysterium*: but, forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, Master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and showed the same to Master Watson, asking him whether he thought the translation to be true, or that the printer were in any fault. 'There may be a fault in the printer,' quoth Watson, 'for I am not remembered of this word.' Then did Master Haddon take out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he showed forth with his finger the same words; which Master Watson could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, because they were for the most part in Greek, about the bolting of the true signification of ουσια [Greek: ousia].

"Then stept forth Master Pern, and in argument made declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, and confirmed the sayings and authorities alleged by Master Elmar and Master Haddon; to whom the prolocutor answered, saying, I much marvel, Master Pern, that you will say thus; forasmuch as, on Friday last, you subscribed to the contrary.' Which his saying Master Elmar did mislike, saying to the prolocutor, that he was to blame, so to reprehend any man, 'partly for that this house,' quoth he, 'is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly for that you promised yesterday, that, notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind.' And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the prolocutor, giving them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that, all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby."

The act of the fifth day.

"On Friday, the twenty-seventh of October, Dr. Weston the prolocutor did first propound the matter, showing that the convocation hath spent two days in disputation already about one only doctor, who was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was ουσια [Greek: ousia]: yet were they come, the third day, to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put their arguments. So Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose Master Watson, which, with two other more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer.

"Master Haddon demanded this of him, 'Whether any substance of bread or wine did remain after the consecration.' Then Master Watson asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a real presence of Christ's body or no? Master Haddon said, It was not meet nor order-like, that he who was appointed to be respondent, should be opponent; and he whose duty it was to object, should answer.—Yet Master Watson, a long while, would not agree to answer; but, that thing first being granted him, at last an order was set, and Master Haddon had leave to go forward with his argument.

"Then he proved, by Theodoret's words, a substance of bread and wine to remain. For these are his words: 'The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after.' Master Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence.

"Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word ουσια [Greek: ousia]; and Master Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of the doctor. 'For ουσια [Greek: ousia],' quoth he, cometh of the participle ων, [Greek: on] which descendeth of the verb ειμι [Greek: eimi]; and so cometh the noun οβοια,

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which signifieth substance.' Then Master Watson answered, that it had not that signification only: but Master Haddon proved that it must needs so signify in that place.

"Then Haddon asked Watson, When the bread and wine became symbols? Whereunto he answered, 'After the consecration, and not before.' Then gathered Master Haddon this reason out of his author:

"The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

"Bread and wine they were before:

"Therefore bread and wine they are after.

"Then Master Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian; and he desired that he might answer to Master Cheney who stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the real presence.

"Master Cheney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear: protesting furthermore, that he was no obstinate or stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning, (which he acknowledged to be much more than his,) could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christ's spouse.

"Dr. Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet, for his knowledge, to dispute in that place: 'I pray you hear him,' quoth he.

"Then Master Cheney desired such as there were present, to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, *Vincat veritas*: 'Let the verity take place, and have the victory;' and all that were present cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas*.

"Then said Dr. Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. 'Men may better say,' quoth he, '*Vicit veritas*, Truth hath gotten the victory.' Master Cheney said again, if he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.

"Then he began with Master Watson after this sort: 'You said, that Master Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granteth not the natural and real presence; but I say, you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament.'

"Master Watson said, he [Cheney] had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that: so said Weston also, and the rest of the priests; insomuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.

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"Then Master Cheney told them what he meant by his subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted Master Haddon's argument, in proving that ουσια [Greek: ousia] was a substance; using the same reason that Master Haddon did before him. And when he had received the same answer also that was made to Master Haddon, he said, it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author: and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; and, that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the nature and substance further. 'The similitude of Theodoret is this,' quoth he: 'As the tokens of Christ's body and blood, after the invocation of the priests, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance; so the body of Christ, after his ascension, changed its name, and was called immortal, yet had it its former fashion, figure, and circumscription; and, to speak at one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore,' said Master Cheney, 'if, in the former part of the similitude, you deny the same substance to continue, then, in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great heresy; therefore it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of blood and wine after the sanctification.'

"Then was Master Watson enforced to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which be seen, and not the very substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret saith, 'those things which be seen.' For, according to philosophy, the accidents of things be seen, and not the substances.

"Then Master Cheney appealed to the honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying; for if they should so think as they would teach, after their Lordships had ridden forty miles on horseback, (as their business doth sometimes require,) they should not be able to say at night, that they saw their horses all the day, but only the colour of their horses. And, by his reason, Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle to speak: for when he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, 'No, Christ; thou sawest not him, but the colour of him.'

"After this, Watson said, 'What if it were granted that Theodoret was on the other side? Where they had one of that opinion, there were a hundred on the other.'

"Then the prolocutor called for Master Morgan to help, and said, that Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully do. For first, he granted the truth; and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake αινιγματικως [Greek: ainigmatikos]; that is, covertly, and in a mystery; and this was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. Then, afterwards, he seemed to give somewhat to the senses, and to reason: 'but, that Theodoret is of the same mind that they were of, the words following,' quoth he, 'do declare; for that which followeth is a cause of that which went before. And therefore he saith, 'The immortality,' &c., whereby it doth appear, that he meant the Divine nature, and not the human.'

"Then was Morgan taken with misalleging of the text: for the book had not this word 'for;' for the Greek word did rather signify 'truly' and not 'for;' so that it might manifestly appear,

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that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

"Then it was said by Watson again, 'Suppose that Theodoret be with you, who is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet is he but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church?' After this, Master Cheney inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but divers others also, and especially Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, saith thus: 'When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist.' If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body.

"To the which reason both Watson and Morgan answered, that *ex quibus*, 'by the which,' in the sentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

"Master Cheney replied, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies. 'And let it be that Christ's flesh nourished' to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, The bread which the break, &c., with certain other like: whereunto you answered, That bread was not taken there in its proper signification, but for that it had been; no more than the rod of Aaron was taken for the serpent, because it had been a serpent.'

"After this, Master Cheney brought in Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did, of burning of symbols; and he asked them, What was burnt. Master Watson said, we must not inquire nor ask, but if there were any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said Master Cheney, Whereof came those ashes—not of substance? or can any substance arise of accidents?

"Then was Master Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter; who told a fair tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, not able to attain to godly things. And he said, that it was convenient, whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses. And he told a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; 'and that which burned there,' quoth Harpsfield, 'burneth here, and becometh ashes.' But what that was that burnt, he could not tell. But Master Cheney continued still, and forced them with this question, What it was that was burnt? 'It was either,' said he, the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which were too much absurdity to grant.' At length they answered, that it was a miracle; whereat Master Cheney smiled, and said, that he could then say no more.

"Then Dr. Weston asked of the company there, whether those men were sufficiently answered, or no. Certain priests cried, 'Yea,' but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, 'No, No;' which cry was heard and noised almost to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr. Weston, being much moved, answered bitterly, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of them which were of the house. Then asked he of Master Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them other three days? Haddon, Cheney,

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and Elmar said, 'No.' But the archdeacon of Winchester stood up and said, that they should not say, but they should be answered; and though all others did refuse to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another. With his proffer the prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and said, that he should go to Bedlam: to whom the archdeacon soberly made this answer, that he was more worthy to be sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation, without any indifferent equality. Then rose Dr. Weston up, and said:

"All the company have subscribed to our article, saving only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to descant without truth, for no such promise was made) that they should answer us again as long as the order of disputation doth require; and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them so do.'

"Then Master Elmar stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would show good reasons which moved them, that they could not with their consciences subscribe; as they had partly already done, and were able to do more sufficiently: 'Therefore,' quoth he, 'it hath been ill called a disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean to answer, before our arguments,' quoth he, 'which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed. For by answering we should but encumber ourselves, and profit nothing; since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatsoever we shall prove, or dispute to the contrary.'"

The act of the sixth day.

"On Monday following, being the thirtieth of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this answer, That he would willingly so do, if, according to their former determination, they would first answer sufficiently to some of his arguments, as they had promised to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the first being yet decided: and if they would answer fully and sufficiently but to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring. Then the prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them; whereunto Master Morgan was appointed.

"Upon Wednesday last,' quoth Philpot, 'I was enforced to silence before I had prosecuted half mine argument; the sum whereof was this (as was gathered by the just context of the Scripture)—That the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be situate upon earth in the sacrament of the altar, invisible after the imagination of man.' The argument was denied by Morgan: for the proof whereof, Philpot said, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his first argument, if they would have suffered him the other day, as now he trusted they would.

"One self and same nature,' quoth he, 'receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

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"But the body of Christ is a human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself:

"Ergo, it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

"But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent; to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time; be things contrary to the nature of a human body: ergo, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the selfsame body is both in heaven, and also in earth, at one instant, either visibly or invisibly.'

"Morgan denied the major, that is, the first part of the argument; the which Philpot vouched out of Vigilus, an ancient writer. But Morgan cavilled that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the same out of Scripture.

"Philpot said, he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of St. Paul, who saith, that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin: and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of the body, as to be in Paul's church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly and at Lincoln invisibly at one time, (for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures, as Didimus and Basil affirm, that an invisible creature, as an angel, cannot be at one time in divers places,) wherefore he concluded that the body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in heaven; and so consequently not to be contained in the sacrament of the altar.

"To this the prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as Philpot took it, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be.

"Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Christ's conception was prophesied before, by the angel, to be supernatural; but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

"Then Morgan inferred that this saying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpose.

"Well,' quoth Philpot, 'I perceive that you do answer but by cavillation, yet am I not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm my first argument, although you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilus is. St. Peter, in the sermon that he made in Acts iii., making mention of Christ, saith these words, Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things, &c.: which words are spoken of his humanity. If heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended.'

"Then Morgan, laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the bishop of London's chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would, *ex necessitate*, that is, of necessity, force Christ to any place, or no.

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"Philpot said, that he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which sound thus: That Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment,—as he rehearsed out of the chapter before mentioned.

"'Why,' quoth Harpsfield, 'do ye not know that God is God omnipotent?' 'Yes,' said Philpot, 'I know that right well; neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Christ's omnipotency, what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds: but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude, He may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

"Only so much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.

"That Christ's body is both in heaven, and here also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word:

"Ergo, it is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here also really in the sacrament.'

"'Why,' quoth the prolocutor, then you will put Christ in prison in heaven.' To the which Philpot answered, 'Do you reckon heaven to be a prison? God grant us all to come to that prison.'

"After this Harpsfield inferred that this word *oportet* in St. Peter, which signifieth in English 'must,' did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of Scripture it may appear, as in 1 Tim. iii., where Paul saith, A bishop must be the husband of one wife. 'Here,' quoth he, '*oportet* doth not import such a necessity; but that he that never was married, may be a bishop.'

"To this Philpot said again, that the places were not alike which he went about to compare; and that in comparing of the Scriptures we must not consider the naked words, but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for that, in the place by him alleged, St. Paul doth declare of what quality a bishop ought to be. But in the other, St. Peter teacheth us the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. And this comparison of this word *oportet* doth no more answer mine argument, than if I should say of you now being here, *Oportet te hic esase*, You must needs be here; which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here: and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another *oportet* in another sense, as this; *Oportet te esse virum bonum*, You must be a good man; where *oportet* doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus you may see that your answer is not sufficient, and as it were no answer to my argument.'

"Then the prolocutor brought in another *oportet*, to help this matter, (if it might be,) saying, 'What say you to this, *Oportet hæreses esse*: must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word *oportet*?'

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"'Yea, truly,' quoth Philpot, 'it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of Paul, that is, That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.'

"'Why,' quoth the prolocutor, 'the time hath been, that no heresies were.' 'I know no such time,' quoth Philpot; 'for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been, and then began they.'

"'Then said the prolocutor, 'Will you now answer Morgan an argument or two?' 'I will,' quoth Philpot, 'if I may first be answered to my argument any thing according to truth and learning.' 'What!' quoth the prolocutor, 'you will never be answered.'

"'How I am answered,' quoth Philpot, 'let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be learned; and with what cavillations you have dallied with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigilitis you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture, that he saith. Secondly, to the saying of St. Peter in the Acts, ye have answered thus—demanding of me whether I would keep Christ in prison, or no. Let men now judge, if this be a sufficient answer or no.'

"'Then stood Morgan up again, and asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or no?

"'Yes,' quoth he, 'if it be the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would fain that you would declare what the church is.'

"'The church,' quoth Morgan, 'is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world.'

"'That is a diffuse definition,' quoth Philpot, 'for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded and founded on God's word; as St. Paul saith, Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God.'

"'What!' quoth Moreman, 'was the Scripture before the church?' 'Yea,' quoth Philpot.

"'But I will prove nay,' quoth Moreman, 'and I will begin at Christ's time. The church of Christ was before any Scripture written; for Matthew was the first that wrote the gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: ergo, the church was before the Scripture.'

"'To whom Philpot answering, denied his argument; which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot showed that his argument was *elenchus*, or a fallacy, that is, a deceivable argument. For he took the Scripture only to be that which is written by men in letters; whereas in very deed, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths, of good men and of Christ's apostles, by the Spirit of Christ; as the salutation of the angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the word of God, before it was written.

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"At that Moreman cried, 'Fie! fie!' wondering that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written; and affirmed, that he had no knowledge that said so.

"To whom Philpot answered, that concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman.

"At the which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman; meeter to be sent to Bethlehem, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as were there; and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom a great company answered Yea.' Then said Philpot again, that he might think himself happy that was out of that company.

"After this Morgan rose off, and rounded the prolocutor in the ear. And then again the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, 'Lest thou shouldest slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the house as you have done before; so that you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak, but when I command you.' 'Then,' quoth Philpot, 'I had rather be absent altogether.'"

Thus they reasoning to and fro, at length, about the thirteenth of December, Queen Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth her commandment to Bonner, bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation.

During the time of this disputation, the twentieth day of November, the mayor of Coventry sent up unto the lords of the council Baldwin Clarke, John Careless, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallows-day last before: whereupon Careless and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouse, and Clarke and Estelin to the Marshalsea.

The same day there was a letter directed to Sir Christopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehension of John Huntingdon, preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament: who, appearing before the council the third of December next after, was, upon his humble submission and promise to amend as well in doctrine as in living, again suffered to depart.

244. Deposed Bishops Re-appointed, and Appointed Bishops Deposed.

In the days of King Henry, and also King Edward reigning after him, divers noblemen, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower, some charged with treason, as Lord Courtney, and the duke of Norfolk—whose son, Lord Henry, earl of Surrey, had been the same time beheaded, a worthy and ingenuous gentleman, for what cause, or by whom, I have not here to deal: this is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the Lord Seymours, and at last of the duke of Northumberland also—some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, (as Tostal, bishop of Durham,) and others for other things, all which continued there prisoners till Queen Mary's coming-in: unto whom the said queen eftsoons granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities; amongst whom, also, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only freed out of captivity, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Furthermore, to the Lord Courtney she showed such favour, that she made him earl of Devonshire, insomuch that there was a suspicion amongst many, that she would marry him; but that proved otherwise.

The same time Bonner, also, had been prisoner in the Marshalsea; whom likewise Queen Mary delivered, and restored to the bishopric of London again, displacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good bishops more, as is above mentioned: as Cranmer from Canterbury, the archbishop of York likewise, Poynt from Winchester, John Hooper from Worcester, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Ferrar from St. David's, Coverdale from Exeter, Scorry from Chichester, &c., with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly, all such beneficed men, who either were married, or would constantly adhere to their profession. All which were removed from their livings, and others of the contrary sect set in the same, as Cardinal Pole, (who was then sent for,) Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Tubervill, etc.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forasmuch as there was rumour spread of him the same time in London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury, for purging of himself he published abroad a declaration of his truth and constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do: adding moreover, that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would choose, would, in open disputation, sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth before in the time of King Edward, against all persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation obtained, he, with other bishops, was laid fast in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realm; and so went he to Strasburg.

After this, in the month of November, the Archbishop Cranmer, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting his sister Mary, alleging many grave and pithy reasons for her legitimation, was, in Guildhall of London, arraigned and attainted of treason, with the Lady Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons, who, at the entreaty of certain persons, were had again to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which

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notwithstanding, Cranmer, being pardoned of treason, stood only in the action and case of doctrine, which they called heresy, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, they likewise, for their parts, to show themselves no less forward to serve the queens appetite, (as the manner is, of the multitude, commonly to frame themselves after the humour of the prince and time present,) began in their choirs to set up the pageant of St. Katharine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, after all their old solemnity, with their gay gardeviance, and grey amices.

And when the month of December was come, the parliament brake up; but first of all such statutes were repealed, which were made either of præmunire, or touched any alteration of religion and administration of sacraments under King Edward: in the which parliament, also, communication was moved of the queen's marriage with King Philip, the emperor's son.

245. Wyatt's Rebellion

In this mean while Cardinal Pole, being sent for by Queen Mary, was by the emperor requested to stay with him, to the intent (as some think) that his presence in England should not be a let to the marriage which he intended between Philip his son, and Queen Mary. For the making whereof he sent a most ample ambassade, with full power to make up the marriage betwixt them; which took such success, that after they had communed of the matters a few days, they knit up the knot.

The thirteenth of January, 1554, Dr. Crome, for his preaching upon Christmas day without licence, was committed to the Fleet.

The twenty-first of January, Master Thomas Wootton, esquire, was, for matters of religion, committed to the Fleet close prisoner.

This mention of marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evil taken of the people, and of many of the nobility, who, for this and for religion, conspiring among themselves, made a rebellion, whereof Sir Thomas Wyatt, knight, was one of the chief beginners; who, being in Kent, said, (as many else perceived,) that the queen and the council would, by foreign marriage, bring upon this realm most miserable servitude, and establish popish religion. About the twenty-fifth of January news came to London of this stir in Kent, and shortly after of the duke of Suffolk, who was fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, there to gather a power. The queen therefore caused them both, with the Carews of Devonshire, to be proclaimed traitors; and sent into Kent against Wyatt, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who, being about Rochester bridge forsaken of them that went with him, returned safe to London without any more harm done to him, and without bloodshed on either part.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of Suffolk, being fled into Warwickshire, was sent the earl of Huntingdon in post, who, entering the city of Coventry before the duke, disappointed him of his purpose. Wherefore the duke, in great distress, committed himself to the keeping of a servant of his, named Underwood, in Astley Park, who, like a false traitor, betrayed him. And so he was brought up to the Tower of London.

In the mean while Sir Peter Carew, hearing of that was done, fled into France; but the others were taken, and Wyatt came towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, hearing of Wyatt's coming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where she made a vehement oration against Wyatt; the contents (at least the effect) whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

"I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that, which already you see and know; that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage

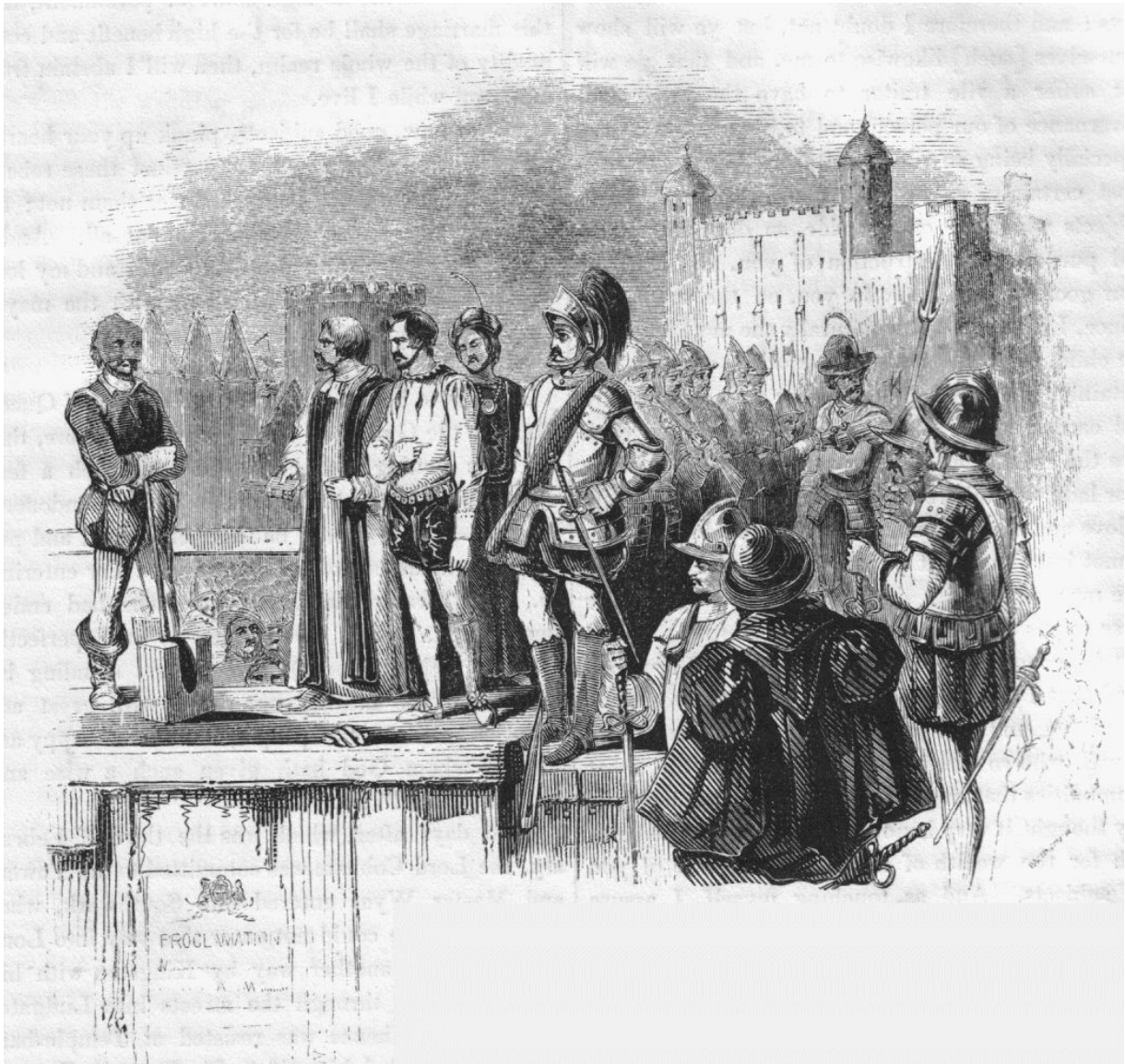
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determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since, we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion; and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our councillors.

"Now, loving subjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm and laws of the same, (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall he, left off,) you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye showed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects; and therefore I doubt not, but ye will show yourselves [such] likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyat is; who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods. And I say to you, on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me; and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

"As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand that I enterprised not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And as touching myself, I assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would choose where I list, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen, I promise you, that if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

"And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence."



Thomas Wyatt on the Scaffold

Here is to be noted, that at the coming of Queen Mary to the Guildhall, it being bruited before, that she was coming with harnessed men, such a fear came among them, that a number of the Londoners, fearing lest they should be there entrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entering in. Furthermore note, that when she had ended her oration, (which she seemed to have perfectly conned without book,) Winchester, standing by her, when the oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people, "Oh how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned prince!" &c.

Two days after, which was the third of February, the Lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and Master Wyatt entered into Southwark, who, forasmuch as he could not enter that way

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into London, returning another way by Kingston with his army, came up through the streets into Ludgate, and returning thence was resisted at Temple-bar, and there yielded himself to Sir Clement Parson, and so was brought by him to the court, and with him the residue of his army (for before, Sir George Harper and almost half of his men ran away from him at Kingston bridge) were also taken, and about a hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to prison, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himself afterward executed at the Tower Hill, and then quartered; whose head, after being set up upon Hay Hill, was thence stolen away, and great search made for the same: of which story ye shall hear more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

246. Lady Jane Grey.

The twelfth day of February was beheaded the Lady Jane, to whom was sent Master Fecknam, alias Howman, from the queen, two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion: the effect of which communication here followeth:

Fecknam.—"Madam, I lament your heavy case; and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind."

Jane.—"You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give Christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he showed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health."

Fecknam.—"I am here come to you at this present, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travail with you much therein."

Jane.—"Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's Highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject: and I hope, likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for."

Fecknam.—"What is then required of a Christian man?"

Jane.—"That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God."

Fecknam.—"What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him?"

Jane.—"Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself."

Fecknam.—"Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not."

Jane.—"Yes verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth."

Fecknam.—"Why? St. Paul saith, If I have all faith without love, it is nothing."

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Jane.—"True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not, or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith."

Fecknam.—"How shall we love our neighbour?"

Jane.—"To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves."

Fecknam.—"Why? then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe."

Jane.—"I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a Christian, in token that he followeth his Master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us."

Fecknam.—"How many sacraments are there?"

Jane.—"Two: the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper."

Fecknam.—"No, there are seven."

Jane.—"By what Scripture find you that?"

Fecknam.—"Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?"

Jane.—"By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper, offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom."

Fecknam.—"Why? what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?"

Jane.—"No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, put me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood, for our sins on the cross."

Fecknam.—"Why, doth not Christ speak these words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say, it is his body?"

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Jane.—"I grant he saith so; and so he saith, I am the vine, I am the door; but he is never the more for that the door or the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, He calleth things that are not, as though they were? God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples."

Fecknam.—"Why, is it not as possible that Christ, by his power, could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other suchlike miracles as he wrought by his power only?"

Jane.—"Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: Where was Christ when he said, Take, eat, this is my body? Was he not at the table, when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? what brake he, but bread? and what gave he, but bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived."

Fecknam.—"You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath; and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit."

Jane.—"No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word; and not God's word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity, or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues; and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid!"

Fecknam." That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it."

Jane.—"Why, shall the church alter God's will and ordinance, for good intent? How did King Saul? The Lord God defend!"

With these and such-like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: "For I am sure," quoth he, "that we two shall never meet."

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Jane.—"True it is," said she, "that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart; for I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case. And I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart."

A later of the Lady Jane, sent unto her father.

"Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woeful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state; yet, my dear father, (if I may without offence rejoice in my own mishaps,) meseems in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent! And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws: yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, (in that being in so royal estate as I was,) mine enforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand; whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woeful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose stedfast faith, (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father,) the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

At what time her father was flourishing in freedom and prosperity in the time of King Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned man, student and graduate of the university of Oxford; who, then, being chaplain to the said duke, and a sincere preacher (as he appeared) of the gospel, according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, shortly after that the state of religion began to alter by Queen Mary, altered also in his profession with the time, and of a protestant became a friend and defender of the pope's proceedings. At whose sudden mutation and inconstant mutability, this Christian lady being not a little aggrieved, and most of all lamenting the dangerous state of his soul, in sliding so away for fear from the way of truth, writeth her mind unto him in a sharp and vehement letter: which, as it appeareth to proceed of an earnest and zealous heart, so would God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health and wealth of his own soul. The copy of the letter is this as followeth.

Another letter of the Lady Jane, to Master Harding, late chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, her father, and then fallen from the truth of God's most holy word.

"So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, That he which layeth hold upon the plough, and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven; and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him; I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the

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lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced paramour of antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; sometime a stout Christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a Christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore past thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? when thou thyself preachest not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and, committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul; and choosest rather to live miserably with shame to the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now show thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou, but dust and ashes? and wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake Him, that called thee from the custom gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge, (I cannot say of grace,) shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou, neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as Paul saith, upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites, (which, for their idolatry, they so oft received,) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other god than him? Dost thou so regard him, that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

"What saith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone borne upon men's shoulders, to cast fear before the heathen? But be not ye afraid of them, saith Jeremy, nor do as other do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped; for, as for those gods, the carpenter framed them and polished them: yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak. He showeth, moreover, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either battle, or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, or any other evil thing.

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These, and such-like words, speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus: Confounded be all they that worship them. They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many Scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship given to him only. And Christ saith, in Luke iv., to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil, which hath prevailed against thee: It is written, saith he, Thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

"These, and such like, do prohibit thee and all Christians to worship any other god than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure?—But thou wilt say, thou doest it for a good intent. O sink of sin! O child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou, then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou, for a good intent, dishonour God, offend thy brother, and endanger thy soul, where-for Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou, for a good intent, pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee, a miserable wretch, in his hundred and fourth Psalm, where he saith thus: When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their dust; but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth. Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel: Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it. And in the same place, Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself and take up his cross, and follow me. What cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name's sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word shear asunder the sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself and embrace Christ. And, like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all, in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not like a white-livered milksop from the standing wherein thy chief Captain Christ hath set thee in array of this life. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

"But thou wilt say, 'I will not break unity.' What? not the unity of Satan and his members? not the unity of darkness, the agreement of antichrist and his adherents? Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such a unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in a unity? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sons in a unity? Were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites, and Jebusites, in a unity? Were not the scribes and Pharisees in a unity? Doth not King David testify, *Convenerunt in unum adversus*

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Dominum? Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators, have their unity. But what unity? Tully saith of amity, *Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos*. But mark, my friend, (yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy,) there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified what he himself saith, *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium, &c.*, but to set one against another, the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother-in-law. Deceive not thyself, therefore, with the glittering and glorious name of Unity; for antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not a unity, but a conspiracy.

"Thou hast heard some threatenings, some cursings, and some admonitions, out of the Scripture, to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard, also, the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life. Saith he not, He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven? And to the same effect writeth Paul: It is impossible, saith he, that they which were one lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should he renewed again by repentance. And again, saith he, If we shall willingly sin, after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of judgment, and fire which shall devour the adversaries. Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readest; and dost thou not quake and tremble?

"Well, if these terrible and thundering threatenings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, [and of] holy martyrs and confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Hearken what he saith: Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. Hear what Isaiah the prophet saith: Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool: but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then, saith he, that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that made the sea to rage, and be still, whose name is the Lord of hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of a hand. And our Saviour Christ saith to his disciples, They shall accuse you, and bring you before princes and rulers, for my name's sake; and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but fear you not, saith he, nor care you what you shall say: for it is the Spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasure for yourselves, saith he, where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

"Let these and such-like consolations, taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to Godward: let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets; of the three children; of Eleazar, that constant father; of the seven of the Maccabees' children; of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other apostles and holy martyrs in the

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beginning of the church, as of good Simeo, archbishop of Solyma, and Zetrophone, with infinite others under Sapor, the king of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all torments devised by the tyrants, for their Saviour's sake. Return, return again into Christ's war, and, as becometh a faithful warrior, put on that armour that St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man. And, above all things, take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.

"Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatened vengeance, for this so great and heinous an offence of apostacy: and comfort yourself, on the other part, with the mercy, blood, and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you, whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicacies of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth: against heaven, by staining the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you: against earth, by offending so many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling-block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart—to wash away, out of the sight of God, the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the publican, Lord be merciful unto me a sinner. Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case, methinks, should be yet so green in your remembrance, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which, setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea, did clean fall away, from him that forsook not them: and, contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted Captain, Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and, last of all, to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

"Be constant, be constant; fear not for any pain:
Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain."

A letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto her sister the Lady Katharine, the night before she suffered.

"I have here sent you, good sister Katharine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It

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shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woeful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so, if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old: and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, and yet presume not and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women; and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your cross: lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from the which, (in God's name,) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days, to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you."

Here followeth a certain effectual prayer, made by the Lady Jane in the time of her trouble.

A prayer of the Lady Jane.

"O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee: and therefore I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that, seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou, that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; who, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I, being too full, should deny thee my God, or being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour.

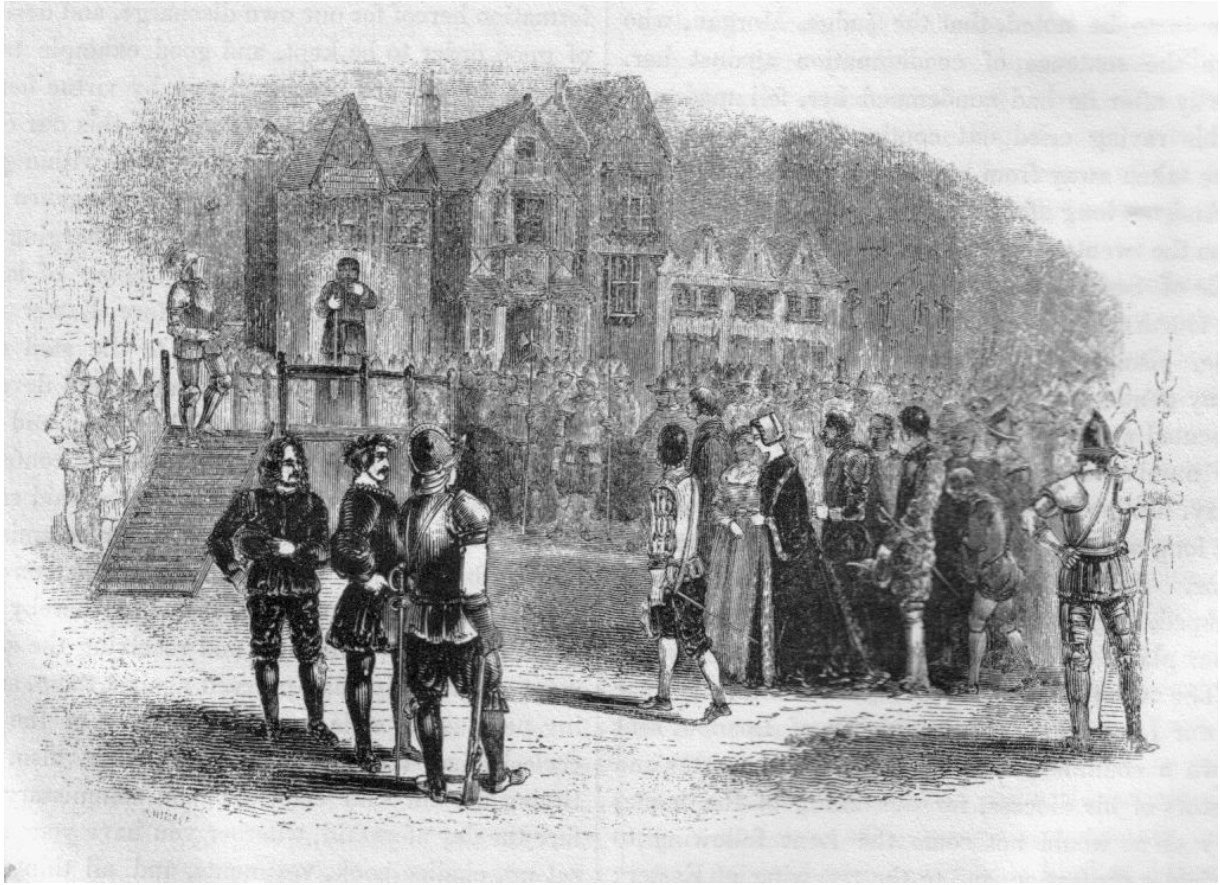
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"O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace, patiently to hear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand, that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore, likewise, seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, (for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross,) out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus. Give me grace, therefore, to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt, deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace: above all things taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word: praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well, all that thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father! for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen."

After these things thus declared, it remaineth now, coming to the end of this virtuous lady, next to infer the manner of her execution, with the words and behaviour of her at the time of her death.

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The words and behaviour of the Lady Jane upon the scaffold.



Lady Jane Grey led to execution

These are the words that the Lady Jane spake upon the scaffold, at the hour of her death. First, when she mounted upon the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's Highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me: but, touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you. good Christian people, this day:" and therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then said she, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world; and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." And then, kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalm?" And he said, "Yea." Then said she the psalm of *Miserere mei Deus* in English, in most devout manner, throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maiden, Mistress Ellen, her gloves

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and handkerchief, and her book to Master Bruges. And then she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it; but she, desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, "I pray you despatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off, before I lay me down?" And the hangman said, "No, madam." Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers-by guiding her thereunto she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord God 1554, the twelfth day of February.

Certain verses, written by the said Lady Jane with a pin.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt:
Sora hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Do never think it strange,
Though now I have misfortune,
For if that fortune change,
The same to thee nay happen.

JANE DUDLEY.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem.

If God do help thee,
Hate shall not hurt thee;
If God do fail thee,
Then shall not labour prevail thee.

Thus, the twelfth day of February, as I said, was beheaded the Lady Jane, and with her, also, the Lord Guildford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons; two innocents in comparison of them that sat upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that, which the others had willingly devised, and, by open proclamation, consented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this Lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the judge, Morgan, who gave the sentence of condemnation against her, shortly after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have Lady Jane taken away from him; and so ended his life.

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And not long after the death of the Lady Jane, upon the twenty-first of the same month, was Henry, duke of Suffolk, also beheaded at the Tower Hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time, also, were condemned for this conspiracy many gentlemen and yeomen, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country. In the number of whom also was the Lord Thomas Gray, brother to the said duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped, as ye shall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

247. Actions to Re-Establish Papism.

The twenty-fourth of the same month, the year of our Lord 1554, Bonner, bishop of London, sent down a commission, directed to all the curates and pastors of his diocese, for the taking of the names of such as would not come the Lent following to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter; the copy of which monition here followeth.

A monition of Bonner, bishop of London, sent down to all and singular curates of his diocese, for the certifying of the names of such as would not come in Lent to confession, and receiving at Easter.

"Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting: Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years ago, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people, being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in the year at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: And forasmuch, also, as we be credibly informed, that sundry evil disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual pleasures and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and contemn the same: We, minding the reformation hereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you, by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye, each and every of you, within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come, before Easter next coming, to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar; and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you the said sacrament, certifying us or our chancellor or commissary thereof, before the sixth day of April next ensuing the date hereof: that so we, knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further, also, certifying us, our said chancellor or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether you have your altars set up, chalice-book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's Majesty: and, if ye so have not, ye then, with the churchwardens, cause the same to be provided for, signifying by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded; and generally, of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there unreverently in

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the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanours; not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

"Given at London the twenty-third of February, in the year of our Lord 1554."

The next month following, which was the month of March, and the fourth day of the said month, there was a letter sent from the queen to Bonner, bishop of London, with certain articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution, containing as here followeth.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother King Edward the Sixth, (whose soul God pardon,) divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, adultery, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency, and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little slander of other Christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm: and remembering our duty to Almighty God to be, to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and increase; and therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be banished and put away, or at leastwise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the upper hand; understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due provision he had and made to reform the same; which earnestly, in very deed, we do mind and intend to the uttermost, all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf: For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matters, as, among other things, be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid: wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as, by our doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we straitly charge and command you and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the third day of March, the first year of our reign."

Articles sent from the queen unto the ordinary, and by him and his officers, by her commandment, to be put in execution in the whole diocese.

"First, that every bishop and his officers, with all others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, used

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within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

"Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter, in any ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extrajudicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, *Regia autoritate fulcitus*.

"Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand, in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late, in few years passed, hath been accustomed and used.

"Item, That every bishop and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime, and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be staved, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay or take hinderance by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

"Item, That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful. books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred amongst the people, and discord among the same. And that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine; and that, doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

"Item, that the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with others, whose women do yet remain alive; and likewise such priests, as (with the consent of their wives or women) openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place; appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice

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whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife; but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the parishioners of every benefice where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve, *alienis vicibus*, in divers parishes, and to allot to the curate, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

"Item, That all and all manner of processions of the church be used; and frequented and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

"Item, That all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the Eighth.

"Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

"Item, That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

"Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before; and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

"Item, That by the bishop of the diocese a uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

"Item, That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children; and, finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass, as hath been accustomed.

"Item, That the said bishop, and all others the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting-forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and

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also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the same."

A like prescript also, with articles, was sent from the said Queen Mary to the lord mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the year abovesaid; which lord mayor, upon the same, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one severally in his ward, containing as followeth:

"On the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straitly charge and command you, that ye (the said aldermen) fail not personally to call before your own person, in such place within your said ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the seventh day of this present month, at seven of the clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly, for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children, and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, [all] and every of them, do, at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter, now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholicly, use and behave themselves like good and faithful Christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws and statutes, and her Highness's most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to the right wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, lately set forth and given by the right reverend father in God the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese: but, also, that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand, to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premises, at their utmost perils; [and] that ye, immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary, at your like peril.

"Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the fifth day of March, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady the queen.

Blackwell.

"And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said city, until this holy time of Easter be past."

Upon the articles above mentioned, and inquisition made upon the same, divers ministers were divorced from their wives. Amongst whom was one John Draper, and Joan Gold his wife, in the diocese of London, troubled and vexed for the same by Bonner, bishop of London, who sent forth a commission, with a process to sequester and separate them; enjoining also penance to the poor woman.

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Besides this John Draper, divers others, also, were divorced the same time against their wills; and some were contented, of their own unconstant accord, to be separated from their wives: as of Chichester one, (who, because he soon recovered again, shall be here nameless,) another named Edmund Alstone, another Alexander Bull; amongst whom also was Dr. Standish, with many others, whose names together, in the end of this story of Queen Mary, we may peradventure, by God's grace, in a general catalogue together comprehend.

About the same year and time, when Dr. Bonner set forth this prescript or monitory, there came from the queen another proclamation, against strangers and foreigners within this realm: the purpose and intent of which proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the same.

A copy of the queen's proclamation for the driving out of the realm strangers and foreigners.

"The queen our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her Highness's dominions in other sundry nations, flying from the obeisance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born, (some for heresy; some for murder, treason, robbery; and some for other horrible crimes,) be resorted into this her Majesty's realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such condign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her said realm, on purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, insomuch as (besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same, being heretics, have preached and taught within her Highness's said realm) it is assuredly known unto her Majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid, divers her Highness's subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her Grace, but also some others of them desist not still to practise with her people eftsoons to rebel: her Majesty therefore, having (as afore is said) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person or persons born out of her Highness's dominions, now commorant or resident within this realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being denizen or merchant known, using the trade of merchandise, or servant to such ambassadors as be liegers here from the princes and states joined in league with her Grace, shall within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm, upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture and confiscation of all their goods and movables; and also to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subjects, straitly also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the queen's Highness's dominions, (except before excepted,) that shall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till her Grace's pleasure or her council's be signified unto them, for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said officers, after the said twenty-four days, apprehend, take, or know of any such, they shall, with all diligence, immediately certify her said council thereof, to the intent order maybe forthwith given for their punishment accordingly."

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In the mean while, upon the proclamation before mentioned, not only the strangers in King Edward's time received into the realm for religion, (among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alasco, uncle to the king of Poland,) but many Englishmen, fled, some to Friesland, some to Cleveland, some to High Germany, where they were diversely scattered into divers companies and congregations, at Wesel, at Frankfort, Embden, Marburg, Transborough, Basil, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; where, by the providence of God, they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour amongst strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home, well near to the number of eight hundred persons, students and others together.

In the said month of March, the Lord Courtney, earl of Devonshire, whom the queen, at her first entering, delivered out of the Tower, and Lady Elizabeth also, the queen's sister, were both in suspicion to have consented to Wyat's conspiracy, and for the same, this March, were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the imprisonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou shalt note here for thy learning, good reader! a politic point of practice in Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being always a capital enemy to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking now, by the occasion of Master Wyat, to pick out some matter against the Lord Courtney, and so in the end to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, devised a pestilent practice of conveyance, as in the story here following may appear.

The story is this. The same day that Sir Thomas Wyat died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the Lord Courtney; who there, before the lieutenant and the sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, besought the Lord Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the Lady Elizabeth and him: and so, being brought from thence unto the scaffold to suffer there, openly (in the hearing of all the people) cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession Dr. Weston, there standing by, cried to the people, saying, "Believe him not, good people! for he confessed otherwise before, unto the council."

After the execution done of Sir Thomas Wyat, which was the eleventh day of April, word was brought immediately unto the lord mayor, Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how Master Wyat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney, and the words also which Dr. Weston spake unto the people; whereunto the lord mayor answering, "Is this true?" quoth he; "said Weston so? In sooth, I never took him otherwise but for a knave." Upon this the lord mayor sitting down to dinner, (who dined the same day at the Bridgehouse,) cometh in Sir Martin Bowes with the recorder, newly come from the parliament house, who, hearing of the mayor and sheriffs this report of Wyat's confession, both upon the scaffold and also in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale, contrary to this, told the same day in the parliament house, which was, that Sir Thomas Wyat should desire the Lord Courtney to confess the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certain prentice, dwelling in St. Laurence Lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plasterer, being one of Queen Mary's servants, amongst other talk made mention how Sir Thomas Wyat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney to be no consenters to his rising. These words being brought to

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Gardiner, (by what means I know not,) incontinent upon the same, Sir Andrew Judd was sent by the said bishop unto the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the said prentice to the Star-chamber, which was accused of these words, that he should say, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which fellow, when he was come to the Star-chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner, letting pass other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculously Almighty God had brought the queen's Majesty to the crown, the whole realm in a manner being against her; and that he had brought this to pass for this singular intent and purpose, that this realm being overwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce again the same unto the true catholic faith. And whereas she took the Lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her so tenderly, and also the Lord Courtney, who had long time been detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands; and, notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most unnaturally and traitorously against her, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as by the confession of Wyat, said he, and the letters sent to and fro, may plainly appear: yet there were some in the city of London which reported, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, "and yet you, my Lord Mayor," quoth he, "have not seen the same punished."

"The party is here," said the lord mayor. "Take him with you," said Gardiner, "and punish him according to his desert;" and said further, "My Lord, take heed to your charge! The city of London is a whirlpool and sink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of this realm."

There stood by, the same time, the Lord Chandos, who, being then lieutenant of the Tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speak, to soothe his tale came in with these words as followeth:

"My Lords," quoth he, "this is a truth that I shall tell you. Being lieutenant of the Tower when Wyat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the Lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confess the truth of himself, as he had done before, and to submit himself unto the queen's Majesty's mercy."

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent that the reader, perceiving the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, and comparing the same with the true testimony of Wyat himself, and with the testimony of the sheriffs, which were present the same time when Sir Thomas Wyat asked the Lord Courtney forgiveness, may the better judge of the whole case and matter for which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were so long in trouble; of which her Grace's trouble, hereafter (God willing) more shall be said in the story of her life. In the mean time to let this matter stay, let us now pass further in our history.

Not long after this, Queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners by occasion of Wyat's conspiracy; partly perceiving most of the city, for religion's sake, not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their displeasure and hinderance summoned a parliament to be holden at Oxford: as it were to gratify that city, where both the university, town, and country, had showed themselves very obedient, and forward, especially, in restoring popish religion. For this purpose great provision was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the country about. But the queen's mind in short space changed, and the same

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parliament was holden at Westminster in April following. Then the queen, beside other things, proposed concerning her marriage to King Philip, and restoring of the pope's supremacy; as touching her marriage, it was agreed upon: but the other request could not as then be obtained.

The same time when this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of bishops, and of the clergy, writing unto Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new style, differing from the old style of King Henry and King Edward, as followeth.

The style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a convocation.

"Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, reverendo in Christo patri Edmundo Londinensi episcopo salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis nos securitatem et defensionem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem et tranquillitatem," &c.

Where note, good reader, concerning the altering and changing the queen's style, the latter part thereof to be left out of her style, which is, "Supreme head of the church of England and Ireland," because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon this parcel of the title was also taken away. Likewise the said Bonner, giving his certificate upon the same, leaves out *auctoritate illustrissimæ, &c., legitime suffultus*: which parcel, also, in the said parliament was repealed and taken away the same time.

The dignity of priests extolled by Bishop Bonner.

In this aforesaid convocation, Bonner, bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, as is said, made a certain exhortation or oration to the clergy, (which was in this convocation, or much about the said time,) wherein he seemeth to show a great piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and superangelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforesaid oration, being collected and gathered by some that stood by; which, as it came to our hands, so I thought to impart it to the reader, both for that the author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly, also, for that the estimation of this blessed order should lose nothing of its pre-eminence, but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above angels and kings, if it be true that Bonner saith.

A piece or fragment of the exhortation in praise of priesthood, made by Bonner, bishop of London, to them of the convocation-house; copied out by them that stood by and heard him.

"Wherefore it is to be known, that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the dignity' sake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi.: Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth, &c., and whatsoever ye shall bind, &c. For a priest, by some means, is like Mary the Virgin, and is showed by three points. As the blessed Virgin, by five words, did conceive Christ, as it is said in Luke i., *Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*, (Be it unto me according to thy word,) so the priest, by five words, doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in the womb; so, immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is substantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even

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so the priest, after the consecration, doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived; so the priest, being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing, therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the selfsame words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests, by some means, passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do; as St. Bernard saith, 'O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.' St. Augustine saith, that angels, in the consecration of the sacred host, do serve him; and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, 'Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar.' Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore," &c.

248. Dr. Ridley Disputes On The Scarament.

It was declared a little before, how Dr. Ridley was had from Framlingham to the Tower; where being in durance, and invited to the lieutenant's table, he had certain talk or conference with Secretary Bourn, Master Fecknam, and others, concerning the controversies in religion; the sum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth.

The sum and effect of the communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourn, with others, at the lieutenant's table in the Tower.

"Master Thomas of Bridges said at his brother Master Lieutenant's board, I pray you, Master Doctors, for my learning, tell me what a heretic is.' Master Secretary Bourn said, 'I will tell you who is a heretic: whoso stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth—he is a heretic.' 'You mean, sir,' said I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith.' 'Yea, that is true,' said he; 'and in this we are soon agreed.' Then said Master Fecknam, (whom they called Master Dean of Paul's,) sitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Augustine who is a heretic: *Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est*, saith St. Augustine. And then he Englished the same. 'Sir,' said I, 'I ween St. Augustine addeth the third number, which is, *vel vanæ gloriæ causa*.' 'You say even true, Master Doctor,' said he. And thus far we did agree all three.

"Master Fecknam began again to say, 'Whoso doth not believe what the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is *hæreticus*; as in the sacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore, to hold the contrary, is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the Virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was a heretic, as Master Doctor there knoweth full well: I do take to witness his own conscience,' said he.

"'Marry sir,' said Master Secretary, 'Master Fecknam hath spoken well. These he great matters, unity, antiquity, and universality. Do you not think so, Master Doctor?' said he to me.

"Here, while I strained courtesy, and pretended no willingness to talk; said one of the commissioners, 'peradventure Master Ridley doth agree with Master Fecknam; and then there needs not much debating of the matter.'

"'Sir,' said I, 'in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters,' said I, ye be, as I understand, the queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace.'

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"There is none here,' said Master Secretary, 'that doth not favour you:' and then every man showed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

"But as I strained to have licence of them in plain words to speak my mind, some thought they granted me it but *vix* or *ægre*. Well, at the last I was content to take it for licensed, and so began to talk.

"To Master Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered, 'Where is a multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that John saith of Christ, I am the door of the sheep, as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain with what spirit he doth speak.' And whereas Master Fecknam spake of so many, affirming without any negation, &c., 'Sir,' said I, 'all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning—then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir,' said I, 'if, in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye, by the same, do and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did mean.'

"Marry,' quoth Master Secretary, 'we should else do you plain injury and wrong.'

"Master Fecknam, perceiving whereunto my talk went, 'Why,' quoth he, 'what circumstances can ye show me, that shall move to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?'

"Sir,' said I, 'even the next sentence that followeth, viz., Do this in my remembrance. And also by what reason ye say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, by the same I may say that it is turned into his mystical body. For as that saith of it, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you: so Paul, which spake by Christ's Spirit, saith, We, being many, are all but one bread and one body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one bread.'

"Here he calleth one bread, one loaf,' said Master Secretary.

"Yea,' said I, 'one loaf, one bread: all is one with me.'

"But what say ye,' quoth Master Secretary, of the universality, antiquity, and unity, that Master Fecknam did speak of?'

"I assure you,' said I, 'I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our Head, Christ, and such a one as Paul speaketh of, saving, One faith, one God, one baptism. And for antiquity, I am also persuaded that to be true which Irenæus saith, 'That which is first is true.' In our religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversy of

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the sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, which wrote before the controversy and the usurping of the see of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood in this truth.'

""I am glad to hear,' said Master Secretary, 'that you do so well esteem the doctors of the church.'

""Now as for universality,' said I, it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be universal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to understand universality for the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age.'

""No, no,' saith Master Secretary, 'these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest.' And here he and I changed many words; and finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

""There was none,' quoth Master Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickliff, and Huss; and now, in our days, Carolostadius and Ecolampadius. Carolostadius saith, 'Christ pointed to his own body, and not to the sacrament, and said, *Hoc est corpus meum*.' And Melancthon writeth to one Miconius (Miconius said I) these or the like words: 'I can find no grounded reason, to cause me to dissent from the belief of our fore-elders.'

""Thus when he had spoken at length, with many other words more; 'Sir,' said I, 'it is certain that others, before these, have written of this matter: not by the way only, and obiter: as do for the most all the old writers, but even *ex professo*; and their whole books entreat of it alone; as Bertram.'

""Bertram,' said the secretary, 'what man was he? and who was he? and how do you know?' &c., with many questions.

""Sir,' quoth I, 'I have read his book. He propoundeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Charlemagne.'

""Marry,' quoth he, mark, for there is a matter. He wrote,' quoth he, 'to Henry, and not 'to Charles;' for no author maketh any such mention of Bertram.'

""Yes,' quoth I, 'Trithemius, in *Catalogo illustrium Scriptorum*, speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time; but he speaketh,' quoth I, 'of them that were of antiquity.' Here, after much talk of Bertram, 'What authors have ye,' quoth Master Secretary, 'to make of the sacrament a figure?'

""Sir,' quoth I, 'ye know, I think, that Tertullian in plain words speaketh thus: 'This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' And Gelasius saith plainly, that 'the substance of bread remaineth.' And Origen saith likewise, 'That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away into the draught.' This when I had Englished, Master Secretary said to me, 'You know very well as any man,' &c. And here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and 'that I was a man of much reading.'

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But this I would not take at his hand. He set one not up so high, but I brought myself as low again: and here was much ado.

"'As for Melancthon,' quoth I, 'whom Master Fecknam spake of, I marvel that ye will allege him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one material substance, and Melancthon, as I ween, saith there are two.'

"'Ye say truth,' quoth Master Secretary; 'Melancthon's opinion is so. But, I pray you, have ye read that the sacrament was in old time so revered, that many were then forbidden to be present at the ministrations thereof—*catechumeni*,' quoth he, 'and many more?'

"'Truth, sir,' quoth I, there were some called *audientes*, some *pœnitentes*, some *catechumeni*, and some *energumeni*, which were commanded to depart.'

"'Now,' quoth he, 'then; and how can ye then make but a figure or a sign of the sacrament, as that book doth, which is set forth in my Lord of Canterbury's name? I wis, ye can tell who made it. Did not ye make it?' And here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of that book; which yet was said, of some there, to contain the most heinous heresy that ever was.'

"'Master Secretary,' quoth I, 'that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again. As for me, I assure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any such-like thing. He passeth me, no less than the learned master his young scholar.'

"'Now, here every man would have his saying, which I pass over, not much material for to tell. 'But, sir,' quoth I, 'methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand, that any man doth so lightly esteem the sacrament, as to make it but a figure; for that but maketh it a bare figure without any more profit; which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plainly.'

"'Yes,' quoth he, 'that they do.'

"'Sir, no,' quoth I, 'of a truth; and as for me, I assure you I make no less of the sacrament than thus: I say, whosoever receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death.'

"'No,' quoth Master Secretary, 'Scripture saith not so.'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense; and St. Augustine saith, in the sound of words also: for Paul saith, The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ? And St. Augustine, 'Eat life, drink life.'

"'Then said Master Pope, 'What can ye make of it, when ye say, 'There is not the real body of Christ,' which I do believe, &c.; and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye say) either life or death, when Christ's body is not there?'

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"Sir,' quoth I, 'when you hear God's word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal—in every preacher's mouth.'

"I pray you tell me,' quoth he, 'how can you answer to this, Which shall be given for you? Was the figure of Christ's body given for us?'

"No, sir,' quoth I, 'but the very body itself, whereof the sacrament is a sacramental figure.'

"How say you then,' quoth he, to Which shall be given for you?"

"Forsooth,' quoth I, 'Tertullian's exposition maketh it plain; for he saith, 'The body is a figure of the body.' Now put to, Which shall be given for you, and it agreeth exceeding well.'

"In faith,' quoth he, 'I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion; for I assure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.'

"I thank you, Master Pope, for your heart and mind; and ye know,' quoth I, 'I were a very fool if I would, in this matter, dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trow) it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain.'

"What say ye,' quoth he, 'to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, 'The bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word, is made flesh?'

"True, sir, so he doth say; and I answer even the same which once, by chance, I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For there I, speaking of the sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, told even the same thing of penitents, hearers, catechumens, that I spake of before: and I bade them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery. And then I said to those that be holy: Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, 'Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh; because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name.' And this place then took I to utter, as the time would then suffer, that the material substance of bread doth remain.

"Master Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter at Paul's Cross) heard all this my talk, as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me not a word.

"You do know well,' quoth Master Secretary, that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred.'

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"Sir,' quoth I, 'there is no one of all the doctors that is holden in all points, but is thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge or to Tertullian's, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament.'

"What,' quoth Master Cholmley, late chief justice, 'doth not Christ plainly say, that it is his very flesh, and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or else we can have no life?' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'if you will hear how St. Augustine expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong box.' And then I began to tell St. Augustine's mind in his book De Doctrina Christiana. 'Yea, yea,' quoth Master Secretary, that is true; St. Augustine doth take it figuratively indeed.'

"Forty years ago,' quoth Master Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.'

"Forty years ago,' quoth I, 'all held that the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universal church.'

"What then?' was Master Fecknam beginning to say, &c.; but Master Secretary took the tale, and said, 'That was but a positive law.'

"A positive law?' quoth I; 'no, sir, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his decree saith, 'The church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodical constitutions, nor by any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter,' &c. And in another place he entreateth, 'Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head.'

"Tush! it was not counted an article,' quoth Master Secretary,' of our faith.'

"Yes,' said I, 'if ye call that an article of our faith, which is believed under pain of damnation. For he saith, We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the bishop of Rome, upon necessity of salvation.'

"And here, when we spake of laws and decrees, Master Roger Cholmley thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him. And then he up and told a long tale, what laws were of kings in England made against the bishop of Rome; and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

"Finally, we departed in peace, and Master Secretary promised in the end, that of their talk there should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my books, he said, they were all once given him: But since I know,' said he, 'who hath them now, write me the names of such as you would have, and I will speak for you the best I can.'"

249. Ridley, Cranmer and Latimer at Oxford.

The tenth of March a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the bodies of Master Doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him unto Oxford.

The twenty-sixth of March, there was a letter directed to Sir Henry Doell, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of Doctor Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council.

How Thomas Cranmer, archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, were sent down to Orford to dispute: with the order and manner, and all other circumstances unto the said disputation, and also to their condemnation, appertaining.



ABOUT the tenth of April, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also sometime of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the university doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these: of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Master Harpsfield, Master Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, &c. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these:

First, Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no?

Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?

Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

Touching the order and manner of all which things there done, with the notes, arguments, and all circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that shall seem necessary to be added: First, Here is to be understood, that upon Saturday, the seventh day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregated together, letters coming down from Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read, with articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of

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which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon, in the said congregation of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this form, proposed by the senior proctor: "May it please you to have an instrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles may be sound and catholic, and consonant with the verity of the right meaning faith; and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices?" Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young, being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Scot, and Master Sedgewick, should go to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seal. Item, Another grace granted to Master Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The aforesaid letters, being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the eleventh day of April) were read in the aforesaid congregation-house, and there sealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the twelfth of the said month) the aforesaid doctors, with the full grace of that university, set forward to Oxford: and coming thither the next day after, (being Friday, the thirteenth of April,) were all lodged at the Cross Inn, with one Wakecline, being some time servant to Bishop Bonner.

Anon after their coming, Dr. Croke presented them with wine for their welcome; and, shortly after, two of the beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine; after whom, next came Master Pie and Fecknam to welcome them. Then, after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and instrument of grace, (which was in Dr. Seton and Dr. Watson's keeping,) they went all to Lincoln college, to Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon, and convocation, to be had the morrow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the university of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the university of Cambridge. The same day the aforesaid prisoners were dissevered, as was said afore; Dr. Ridley to Alderman Irish's house, Master Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the fourteenth of April, at eight of the clock, the aforesaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, repaired to Lincoln college again, and found the prolocutor above in a chapel, with a company of the house singing Requiem mass, and tarried there until the end. Then they, consulting all together in the master's lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the university church called St. Mary's; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to send for their scarlet robes, brought from Cambridge; save that Doctors Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation-house had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths.

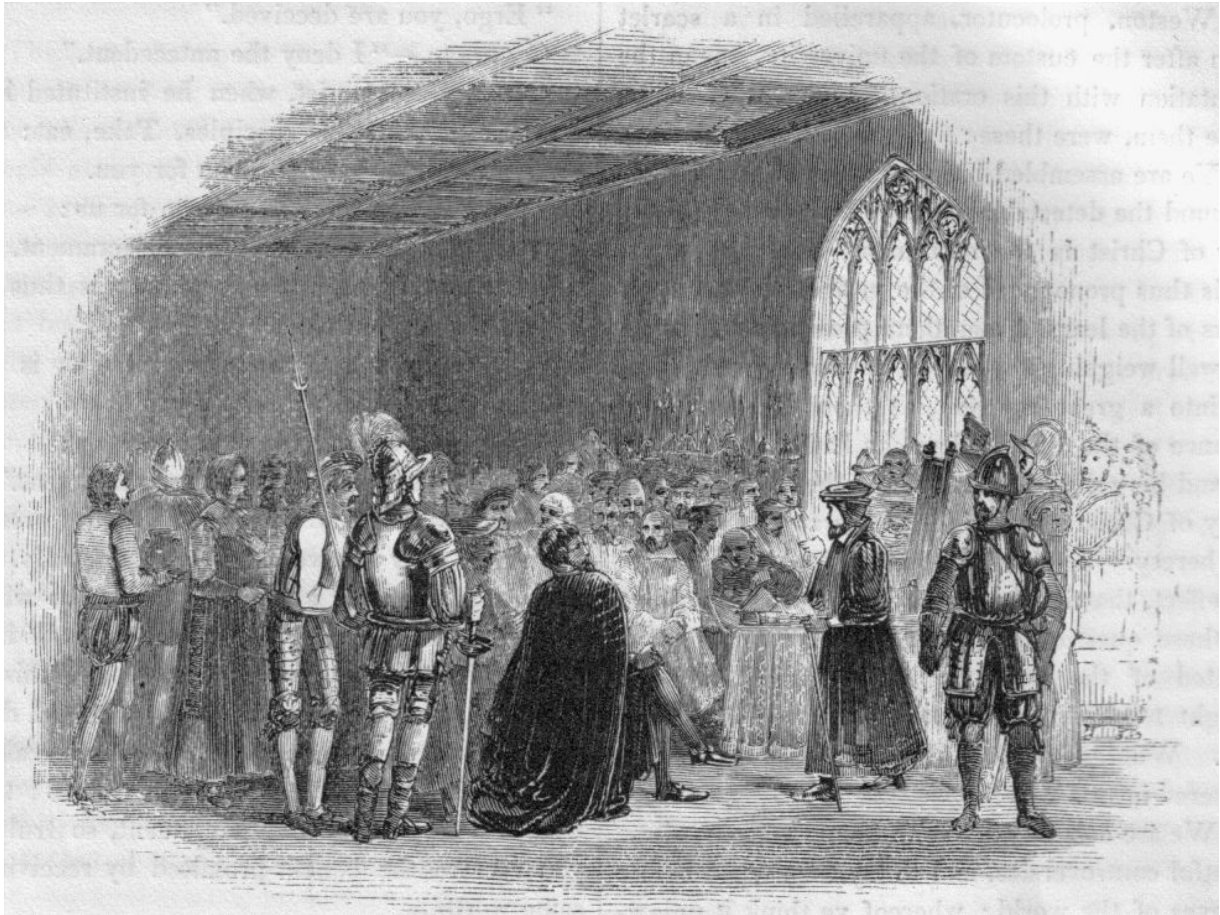
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That done, they came all into the choir, and there held the convocation of the university. They had mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in prick-song, by the choir men of Christ's church. But first, the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent; and caused Master Say, the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, Master Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one Master White for Oxford, should testify of their doing; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation-house at London and Cambridge. And so the vice-chancellor began first; after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the mass time.

The mass being done, they went in procession: First, The choir in their surplices followed the cross; then the first-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadles before them; then the doctors of divinity of both universities intermingled, the divinity and arts' beadles going before them, the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them bachelors of divinity, *Regentes, et non regentes*, in their array; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art; after whom followed a great company of scholars and students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church; and there the choir sung a psalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many others to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Master Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the choir, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons; and first they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, who, within a while, was brought to them with a great number of rusty bill-men.

Thus the reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who notwithstanding, having a stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface or oration in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by King Henry, and had been his councillor and a catholic man, one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past, but, of late years, did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queen's Grace, to send them of the convocation, and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then showed he him, how they of the convocation-house had agreed upon certain articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, showing that he was very glad of a unity, forasmuch as it was "the preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen as of the Christians:" and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romans' commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was very glad to come to a unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.



Cranmer at the Convocation at Oxford

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the prolocutor caused the articles to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canterbury did read them over three or four times; and touching the first article, he asked what they meant by these terms, "true and natural." "Do you not mean," saith he, "a sensible body?" Some answered, "The same that was born of the Virgin;" and so confusedly, some said one thing, some another.

Then the bishop of Canterbury denied it utterly; and when he had looked upon the other two, he said, they were all false, and against God's holy word: and therefore he would not agree, he said, in that unity with them.

This done, the prolocutor, first willing him to write his mind of them that night, said moreover, that he should dispute in them, and caused a copy of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Monday next: and so charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and should have them brought unto him. The archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty; insomuch that some masters of arts were seen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

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Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who, hearing the articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying, they were all false; and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were sharp, witty, and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made when he was bishop of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was asked of one, whether he desired not my lord chancellor that now is, to stick to the mass, and other things? He said, that my Lord would say no such things or words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth: but he required time and books. They said, he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was not reason, that he might not have his own books, and time, also, to look for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night, and so did they command the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in Master Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for so was he suffered by the prolocutor. And after his denial of the articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, that he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back: complaining moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which, he said, he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr. Weston said, that he would make him grant that it had both marrowbones and sinews in the New Testament. To whom Master Latimer said again, "That you will never do, Master Doctor:" and so, forthwith, they put him to silence; so that whereas he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was a very great press and throng of people, and one of the beadles swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry.

After this, bringing home the prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, viz., Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Seton, Glyn, Atkinson, Scot, Watson, and Sedgewick, went to the Cross Inn to supper. And this was on Saturday, being the fourteenth day of April.

On Sunday after, Master Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the doctors of the university in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalene college, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincoln college with the prolocutor, whither Dr. Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the articles, in writing.

On Monday, being the sixteenth of April, Master Say and Master White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And, about eight of the

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clock, the prolocutor, with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor, met together at Exeter college; and so they went into the schools. And when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors were placed, and four (appointed to be *exceptores argumentorum*) sat at a table in the midst, and four notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the answerer's place, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation began to be set to work by the prolocutor with a short *prælude*. Dr. Chedsey began to argue first, and ere he left, the prolocutor divers times, Drs. Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshal, the vice-chancellor, Pie, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and press him with their arguments, so that every man said somewhat, as the prolocutor would suffer, disorderly; sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, so that three hours of the time were spent ere the vice-chancellor of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or four questions subtilly. Here the beadles had provided drink, and offered the answerer; but he refused with thanks. The prolocutor offered him, if he would retire for a brief interval, he should. Thus the disputation continued until almost two of the clock, with this applausion of the audience: *Vicit veritas*. Then were all the arguments, written by the four appointed, delivered into the hand of Master Say, registrar; and as for the prisoner, he was had away by the mayor; and the doctors dined together at the University college.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

250. Disputation of Cranmer at Oxford

The arguments, reasons, and allegations used in this disputation.

On Monday, Dr. Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each one installed himself in his place. Dr. Cranmer, with a rout of rusty bills, was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; where Dr. Weston, prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown after the custom of the university, began the disputation with this oration. His words, as he spake them, were these:

"Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," &c. At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the disputations, he had betrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, desiring licence, answered in this wise.

"We are assembled," saith he, "to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason," saith he, "that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain."

This was the sum and effect of his answer; and, this done, he prepared himself to disputation.

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began in this wise to dispute.

"Reverend Master Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at this present, to dispute upon;

"First, in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.

"Secondly, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"Thirdly, the lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

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"These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now, to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof: I term it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore I thus argue:

"Your opinion differeth from the Scripture: "Ergo, you are deceived."

Cranmer.—"I deny the antecedent."

Chedsey.—"Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, Take, eat: this is my body which shall be given for you.

"But his true body was given for us:

"Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

"The right form of this argument is thus to be framed:

"The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

"But his true body was given for us:

"Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him: but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual sort; for when he said, This is my body, it is all one as if he had said, This is the breaking of my body; this is the shedding of my blood.—As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily."

Chedsey.—"Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament:

"Ergo, your opinion therein is false."

Cranmer.—"I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual."

Chedsey.—"Christ, when he spake these words, This is my body, spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cranmer.—"I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body."

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And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weston, written at large; with answers to every one of their three propositions, which he desired Dr. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promised to do. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

"In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new-fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

"In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word 'really' in very deed and effectually, so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all his true and holy members.

"But if ye understand by this word really 'corporally,' so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical; so, the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and Christian profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning,—Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

"And likewise I answer to the second question; that is, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

"The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense; is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind."

Chedsey.—"By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand,—the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: insomuch as we, communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.

"And first, (to begin with the Scripture,) let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who, also, for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, Jesus taking bread, &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke xxii., And when Jesus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, saith the

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Scripture, standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his body, which was given for many; and that to be his blood, which should be shed for many: whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof."

Cranmer.—"Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance. And, forasmuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore, for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit."

A further explication exhibited by Cranmer.

"Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his maundy—preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, forgive us all our sins, and cancel out the handwriting that was against us—that we, through ungrateful oblivion, should not forget his death, therefore, at the time of his holy supper, did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Christians in bread and wine, according as it is said: Do this in remembrance of me; and, So often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death, till he come. And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, Take, eat; and drink ye all of this. Therefore, whosoever, for man's tradition, denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake: Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men. The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received, be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood-shedding, but also be most certain sacraments for us, and (as a man would say) seals of God's promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our boiling conscience [is] quenched; and finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. We are many, saith St. Paul, one bread, and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup. And Christ saith, Eat ye; this is my body; and, Drink ye.; this is my blood. And, I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: he that eateth me, shall also live for ever.

"Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the eucharist (until they be consumed of the faithful) to be signs, and as seals unto us annexed unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised: They that eat my flesh, and drink my blood, abide in me, and I in them. Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive

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the outward sacrament; neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that Head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, unintelligible, and insensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the form, and shape, and parts of the true natural body of man. Christ spite not these words of any uncertain substance, but of the certain substance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and showed his disciples, when he said, Eat ye; this is my body: and likewise of the cup, when he said, Drink ye; this is my blood: meaning verily of that bread, which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together made by man, and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all sense or life; which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man: of this same bread, (I say,) and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, the old fathers say that Christ spake these words, Eat ye; this is my body. And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very same wine (I say) Christ spake, Drink ye; this is my blood. And so the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, analogical, allegorical; which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of the faithful, yet, notwithstanding, Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood; 'Not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery.' So that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually; and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine: but that, lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith; should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that, being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world; by whose stripes we are made whole; by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ; having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and, through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal. And thereof it is that Christ saith not thus: This is my body; eat ye: but, after he had bidden them eat, then he said, This is my body, which shall be given for you: which is to mean, as though he should say, In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and behold my body crucified for you; that eat and digest in your minds; chew you upon my passion; be fed with my death. This is the true meat; this is the drink that moisteneth, wherewith you—being truly fed and inebriate—shall live for ever. The bread and wine which be set before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore, whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise you by them; which is—myself to be meat for you of eternal life.

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"The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world; but all the sacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheep have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal redemption: And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us: not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times); but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered: Who, offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God: for by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin, but this only sacrifice of Christ. Whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy: for if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? for the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant, that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity: for by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

"And thus you have out of the testimonies of Holy Scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ; which whosoever, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand, (but then too late,) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life, he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself."

Weston.—"Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments."

Chedsey.—"The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body: Matt. xxvi.; Mark sic.; Luke xxii. Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"To your argument I answer, If you understand by the body natural *organicum*, that is, having such proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively. Furthermore, concerning the evangelists thus I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it his body."

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Chedsey.—"The text of the Scripture maketh against you, for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, The same body which shall be given.

"That thing is here contained, that is given for us.

"But the substance of bread is not given for us. "Ergo, The substance of bread is here not contained."

Cranmer.—"I understand not yet what you mean by this word 'contained.' If ye mean 'really,' then I deny your major."

Chedsey.—"The major is the text of Scripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the Scripture: for the Scripture saith, This is my body which is given for you."

Cranmer.—"I grant he said it was his body which should be given, but he said it was not his body which is here contained; but the body, saith he, that shall be given for you. As though he should say, This bread is the breaking of my body; and this cup is the shedding of my blood. What will ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it."

Chedsey.—"If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many. Ergo, here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith; but the substance of the body."

Cranmer.—"You must prove that it is contained: but Christ said not, 'which is contained.' He gave bread, and called that his body. I stick not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of yourself."

Chedsey.—"When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?"

Cranmer.—"He gave bread. The bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually, and the bread there he called his body."

Chedsey.—"This answer is against the Scripture, which saith, that he gave his body."

Cranmer.—"It did signify that which they did eat."

Chedsey.—"They did not eat the body as the Capernaïtes did understand it, but the selfsame body which was given for the sins of the world. Ergo, it was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed."

[In some other copies I find this argument to be made by Chedsey.

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"The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the cross.

"But bread was not given on the cross for us:

"Ergo, Bread is not given in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"I deny the major, which is, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, except you understand it spiritually."—And after, he denied also the argument as utterly nought, as he might well do, the major in the second figure being not universal.]

When Master Chedsey had put forth his argument, and prosecuted the same, and Dr. Cranmer answered as before is showed, Dr. Oglethorpe, one of those doctors which the prolocutor called *censores*, (belike to be arbiters to order the disputations,) said on this wise:

Oglethorpe.—"You come in still with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say, that he gave his body in bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus.*"

Cranmer.—"You should say, *Quale corpus*. I answer to the question: It is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, *Panis en corpus* is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally; for it is a sacrament of his body."

Oglethorpe.—"This word 'body,' being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance.

"But *substantia* is not predicated denominatively.

"Ergo, It is an essential predication; and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body."

Cranmer.—"Substantia may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution."

Oglethorpe.—"It is not a likely thing, that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wise householder hath for his family, in making his will or testament."

Cranmer.—"Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the Holy Scriptures."

Oglethorpe.—"But no householder maketh his testament after that sort."

Cranmer.—"Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments; and specially in this of his supper."

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Oglethorpe.—"No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament; for if he do, he deceiveth them that he cornprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here."

Cranmer.—"Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are."

Oglethorpe.—"The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabbling."

"But they cannot be in quiet, if he do use tropes: "Therefore, I say, he useth no tropes."

Cranmer.—"I deny your minor."

Weston.—"Augustine, in his book entituled De unitate Ecclesiæ, chap. x., hath these words following:

"What a thing is this, I pray you? When the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard, who is ready to go to his grave, no man saith, that he hath made a lie; and he is not accounted his heir, who regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God's wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour,—both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who despiseth, who observeth them not; and so shall come from thence to judge all men?"

"The argument is thus formed:

"Whosoever saith that the testator lieth, is a wicked heir.

"But whosoever saith that Christ spake by figures, saith that he did lie:

"Ergo, Whosoever saith that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heir."

Cranmer.—"I deny the minor: as who say, it is necessary that he that useth to speak by tropes and figures, should lie in so doing."

Oglethorpe.—"Your judgment is disagreeing with all churches."

Cranmer.—"Nay, I disagree with the papistical church."

Oglethorpe.—"This you do, through the ignorance of logic."

Cranmer.—"Nay, this you say, through the ignorance of the doctors."

Weston.—"I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What gave he?"

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Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What brake he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What did he eat?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"He gave bread: therefore he gave not his body.

"He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and in deed and in truth."

Cranmer.—"I deny the argument."

Cole.—"This argument holdeth, *a disparatis*: It is bread: ergo, it is not the body; and it is such an argument or reason as cannot be dissolved."

Cranmer.—"The like argument may be made. He is a rock: ergo, he is not Christ."

Cole.—"It is not alike."

Weston.—"He gave not his body indeed: ergo, it was not his body indeed."

Cranmer.—"He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And, in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body."

Weston.—"Why? then the Scripture is false."

Cranmer.—"Nay, the Scripture is most true."

Weston.—"This saith Chrysostom: Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore, that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh indeed, that is brought to pass by this food which he gave unto us, minding to show his great good will that he hath towards us; and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head; for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also, insinuating, said of his servants, of whom he was desired above measure insomuch that they, showing their great desire toward him, said, Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a greater love toward him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be seen of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered us to fasten our teeth in his flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like lions therefore, as breathing

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fire, let us go from that table, being made terrible to the devil, remembering our Head in our mind, and his charity which he showed unto us. For parents many times give their children to others to be fed, but I do not so, (saith he,) but feed you with mine own flesh, and set myself before you; desiring to make you all jolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give myself to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliver unto you.' Thus much out of Chrysostom. Out of which words I make this argument:

"The same flesh whereby Christ is made our brother and kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten.

"Christ is made our brother and kinsman, by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Ergo, His true, natural, and organical flesh, is given to us to be eaten."

Cranmer.—"I grant the consequence and the consequent."

Weston.—"Therefore we eat it with our mouth."

Cranmer.—"I deny it. We eat it through faith."

Weston.—"He gave us that same flesh to eat whereby he became our brother and kinsman.

"But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten."

Cranmer.—"I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical flesh wherein he suffered; and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that flesh is received spiritually."

Weston.—"He gave us the same flesh which he took of the Virgin.

"But he took not his true flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure.

"Ergo, He gave his true natural flesh, not spiritually."

Cranmer.—"Christ gave to us his own natural flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually."

Weston.—"Chrysostom is against you, where he saith, 'Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou sittest at: for with the same thing we are nourished, which the angels do behold and tremble at; neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heap or mass with him, being together one body of Christ, and one flesh with him. Who shall

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speake the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his praises? What pastor hath ever nourished his sheep with his own members? Many mothers have put forth their infants after their birth to other nurses; which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and conjoineth and uniteth us to himself.' Whereupon I gather this argument:

"Like as mothers nurse their children with milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his body.

"But mothers do not nourish their infants spiritually with their milk:

"Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually, with his blood."

Cranmer.—"He gave us the wine for his blood."

Weston.—"If he gave the wine for his blood, (as you say,) then he gave less than mothers do give.

"But Chrysostom affirmeth, that he gave more than mothers give:

"Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood."

Cranmer.—"You pervert mine answer. He gave wine, yet the blood is considered therein. As for example: when he giveth baptism, we consider not the water, but the Holy Ghost, and remission of sins. We receive with the mouth the sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the sacrament we receive by faith."

Weston.—"When Christ said, Eat ye, whether meant he by the mouth or by faith?"

Cranmer.—"He meant, that we should receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth."

"*Weston.*—"Nay, the body by the mouth.

Cranmer.—"That I deny."

Weston.—"I prove it out of Chrysostom, writing upon the fiftieth Psalm 'She that is a mother, shameth sometime to play the nurse. But Christ, our nurse, doth not so play with us. Therefore, instead of meat, he feedeth us with his own flesh; and instead of drink, he feedeth us with his own blood.' Likewise, upon the 83d Homily, on Matt. xxvi., he saith: 'For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the mean while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself (as I may so call it); and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed.'"

Cranmer.—"I grant, we make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with the mouth, I deny."

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Weston.—"Chrysostom (2 Cur. xiii. Homil. 29) hath these words: 'No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord.'"

Cranmer.—"This I say, that Christ entereth into us both by our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and tear it with our teeth, that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the sacrament is much: and therefore Chrysostom many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise than of Christ himself; as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysostom, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ."

With which word of the "sacrament of the body," &c., Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the sacrament of the body of Christ, save only of the mystical body, which is the church.

Cranmer.—"And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it?"

Cole.—"How gather you that of Chrysostom?"

Cranmer.—"Chrysostom declareth himself thus: O miracle, O the good-will of God towards us, which sitteth above, at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the sacrifice's time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no subtlety or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by.' Thus you hear, Christ is seen here in earth every day; is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure."

Weston.—"What miracle is it, if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body? But hearken what Chrysostom saith: I show forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent: so is, in like manner, the King's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I show thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest; and not only touchest, but eatest, that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other; and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home: wherefore cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness.'

"Upon this, I conclude that the body of Christ is showed us upon the earth."

Cranmer.—"What! upon the earth? No man seeth Christ upon the earth: he is seen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and spirit."

Weston.—"I pray you, what is it that seemeth worthy highest honour on the earth? Is it the sacrament, or else the body of Christ?"

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Cranmer.—"Chrysostom speaketh of the sacrament; and the body of Christ is showed forth in the sacrament."

Weston.—"Ergo, then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer.—"I deny the argument."

Weston.—"That thing is showed forth, and is now on the earth, which is worthy highest honour."

"But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

"Ergo, The body of Christ is now on the earth."

Cranmer.—"I answer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in the sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism."

Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, 'I show forth,' which noteth a substance to be present."

Cranmer.—"That is to be understood sacramentally."

Weston.—"He saith, 'I show forth on earth;' declaring also the place where."

Cranmer.—"That is to be understood figuratively."

Weston.—"He is showed forth, and is now on the earth, &c., as before."

Cranmer.—"Your major and conclusion are all one."

Weston.—"But the major is true: ergo, the conclusion also is true.

"That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of most high honour.

"But no figure is worthy of highest honour.

"Ergo, That which is on the earth, is no figure."

"*Cranmer.*—"I answer, that is true sacramentally.

Here Weston crieth to him, that he should answer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when Cranmer went about to do, such was the noise and crying out in the school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostom, using for *ostenditur in terra*, "he is showed forth on the earth," *est in terra*, "he is on the earth," whereas Chrysostom hath not *est* nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of showing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost *in*

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baptismo ostenditur, i. e. is showed forth in baptism: and oftentimes he did inculcate this word *ostenditur*.

Then the prolocutor, stretching forth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise; calling him unlearned, unskilful, impudent: which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the suffering of such-like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with this rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument; then he bade the notary repeat his words again.

Notary.—"That which is worthy most high honour, here I show forth to thee on earth.

"The body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

"Ergo, He showeth forth the body of Christ here on earth."

Cranmer.—"That is showed forth here on the earth, which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten: but these things be not true of the body."

Cole.—"Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ?"

Cranmer.—"The major out of Chrysostom is true; meaning of the sacraments. For in the sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth."

Weston.—"Show me somewhat in earth worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer.—"I cannot, but in the sacrament only."

Weston.—"Ergo, The sacrament is worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer.—"So it is."

Judges.—"Let it be written."

Cranmer.—"I pray you let my answer be written likewise: I affirm, that the body of Christ is showed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ."

Weston.—"I show it to thee, saith Chrysostom—not to thy faith."

Cranmer.—"He speaketh sacramentally.

Weston.—"Ergo, Chrysostom lieth. For he, speaking of showing, saith, 'I Chrysostom do show.' But he can show nothing sacramentally."

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Chedsey.—"By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour.—The reason is indissoluble."

Cranmer.—"I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath mine answer unto it."

Chedsey.—"Will you affirm, that it is absurd which Chrysostom saith, That the body of Christ is touched?"

"I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ.

"Thomas touched Christ, and said, My Lord, my God.

"Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God."

[This argument, as I received it out of the notary's book, is not formal; but rather he should conclude in the third figure thus:

As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament.]

Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally: Ergo, We touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament.]

Cranmer.—"I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God; neither is it sound doctrine to affirm that God is touched."

Chedsey.—"This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and man, is touched.

"Tertullian saith, 'Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the Christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul substance of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation unless it believe while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh availeth to salvation; by the which flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul so is linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked: yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended; the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God. Whereupon I gather this argument:

"The flesh eateth the body of Christ.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is eaten with the mouth.

"Item, Photius upon these words (1 Cor. xi.) will be guilty of the body and blood, &c.: 'Whereas he saith, Is guilty of the body and blood; this he declareth, that like as Judas betrayed

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him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, who receive his holy body with their impure hands, and, as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the Maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.'

"Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered,) the body of Christ is touched with the hands."

Cranmer.—"You vouch two authors against me upon sundry things. First I must answer Tertullian, and then the other."

Chedsey.—"They tend both to one meaning."

Cranmer.—"Unto Tertullian I answer, (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain,) that he calleth that the flesh, which is the sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly, beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen, and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and, last of all, the supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us. The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ."

Weston.—"Stick to those words of Tertullian, The body eateth, that the soul may be fed."

Chedsey.—"The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith."

Weston.—"Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body."

Chedsey.—"He saith, that not only the soul, but the flesh is also fed."

Cranmer.—"The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament."

Chedsey.—"Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, and another inwardly. Like as in baptism the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another."

Chedsey.—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.

"But the soul is fed by the flesh of Christ:

"Ergo, The body eateth the flesh of Christ."

Cranmer.—"We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christ's body: outwardly we eat the sacrament."

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Chedsey—"I will repeat the argument.

"The flesh eateth Christ's body, that the soul may be fed therewith.

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body.

"Ergo, The flesh eateth the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament is one thing, the matter of the sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the sacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Christ."

Chedsey.—"I prove, that we receive that outwardly, wherewith the soul is fed.

"The soul is fed with the body of Christ:

"Ergo, We eat the body of Christ outwardly.

"The flesh eateth Christ his body:

"Ergo, The soul is fed therewith."

Cranmer.—"The flesh, I say, eateth the sacrament; it eateth not Christ's body. For Tertullian speaketh of the sacrament; and the place hath not 'thereof,' but 'of God.'"

Chedsey.—"What say you to Photius's saying? 'They which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lord's blood, as Judas was.'"

Weston.—"That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your shift, where he saith, 'They cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joineth together.'

"But manducation is the work, or labour: ergo, &c.

"The form of this argument may be thus collected:

"One work or labour joineth body and soul together.

"Manducation is a work, or labour.

"Ergo, One manducation joineth together both body and soul.

"To the major of which argument, thus it may be answered, expounding the saying of Tertullian, *Una opera conjungit, sed non idem operandi modus*. Again, *opera* here, in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions."

Cranmer.—"Your authority, I suppose, is taken out of the book, Of the Resurrection of the Flesh; and the meaning thereof is this: Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the flesh

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shall rise again, because it is joined together in one work with the soul. Through baptism in this world the body is washed, and the soul is washed: the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one. In this work they are joined, and he speaketh of signs."

Weston.—"He speaketh of eating in a sign: ergo, the reward is in a sign."

Cranmer.—"They are coupled in one work, namely, in the sacrament."

Weston.—"There are two works: ergo, there are two rewards.

"If the work be in a figure: ergo, the reward is in a figure."

Cranmer.—"He speaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he saith not, 'whom one work joineth together;' but 'a work:' as in baptism the soul and body are joined in understanding."

Weston.—"The flesh and soul shall have one and the selfsame reward, because they have one work."

Cranmer.—"Because they be joined together in one work."

Tresham.—"Forasmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned and overthrown your assertion and your answers sufficiently, I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in few words, against a certain sequel of your opinion. The sequel is this: that between us and Christ there is no further conjunction, while we receive the eucharist, than a conjunction of the mind, or a spiritual conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ through faith and love. As for the presence of Christ concerning the substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon, in very deed, you leave but a spiritual union and joining together of mind: howbeit you would seem to think otherwise, by your subtle answers. But I will declare, by manifest testimonies of the fathers, that this your sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For, disputing against the Arians, in his eighth book of the Trinity, he saith, that this was their opinion; that the Father and the Son are conjoined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arius himself, when Scripture was alleged against him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholic church hath always believed and ever maintained, That Christ is one with the Father in nature, and not by consent of will only.' To the proof whereof, when the catholics vouched this testimony of John, The Father and I are one; the Arians answered, that *unum sumus* was to be understood by the assent of their wills, and agreement of their minds; not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now-a-days, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hilary, going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *a fortiori*, questioneth with his adversaries after this manner: 'I demand of them now, which will needs have the unity of will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wills. If,' saith he, 'the Word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lord's table the Word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who, being born man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh upon him, that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his

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own flesh unto the nature of eternity, under the sacrament of his flesh, to be communicated unto us?' Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I ask of you this question, How Christ dwelleth now in us?—according to faith, or according to nature?"

Cranmer.—"I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally; for that he hath taken of the Virgin our flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his nature unto us."

Tresham.—"Bucer referreth these words only to the eucharist, saying, 'Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy supper; and, according to the holy fathers,' saith Bucer, 'Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally.' Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual union, (as you suppose,) but also by a corporal and carnal union."

Cranmer.—"I know that Master Bucer was a learned man. But your faith is in good case, which leaneth upon Bucer."

Tresham.—"I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith; but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are carnally united to Christ: whereas you think, we are joined by it only through faith and love."

Cranmer.—"I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed, also, when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the unity of the church; when we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones: and so we are united in the communion, in baptism, and in faith."

Tresham.—"I pray you, what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? For they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I speak now of a more near unity. We are made one with Christ by the communion, in a perfect unity."

Cranmer.—"We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by baptism; and the unity in baptism is perfect."

Tresham.—"We are not made one by baptism in a perfect unity, as Hilary there speaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one; but not likewise by baptism: wherefore you understand not Hilary. You shall hear his words, which are these: 'He had now declared afore the sacrament of his perfect union, saying; As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my flesh, shall also live through me.' And a little after that he writeth thus: 'This truly is the cause of our life; that we have Christ dwelling by his flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such sort as he liveth by his Father.' Wherefore of these words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect unity by means of the sacrament, and that Christ by it is carnally united unto us."

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Cranmer.—"Nay, Hilary in that same place doth teach, that it is done by baptism: and that doctrine is not to be suffered in the church, which teacheth, that we are not joined to Christ by baptism."

Weston.—"Repeat the argument."

Cramner.—"You must first make an argument."

Tresham.—"It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form:

"As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's flesh, live by the same flesh.

"But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love, but naturally.

"Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christ's flesh, by faith and love only, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"We live by Christ, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed,"

Tresham.—"Nay, naturally; I prove it thus: "As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his flesh eaten of us.

"But Christ liveth not by his Father only by faith and love, but naturally.

"Therefore we do not live by eating of Christ's flesh only by faith and love, (as you suppose,) but naturally."

Cranmer.—"The minor is not true."

Tresham.—"This is the opinion of Arius—that Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of mind, and not naturally."

Cranmer.—"I say not so yet, neither do I think so: but I will tell you what I like not in your minor. You say, 'that Christ doth not live by his Father only by faith and love:' but I say, that Christ liveth not at all by his faith."

Weston.—"Mark and consider well this word, 'by faith,' lest any occasion of cavilling be given."

Tresham.—"Let that word, 'by faith,' be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the strength of the argument remaineth in force; for else Hilary doth not confute the Arians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual conjunction. You do only grant a union. As for a carnal or natural union of the substance of flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better mind, and show you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteousness."

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Weston.—"We came hither to dispute, and not to pray."

Tresham.—"Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?"

Weston.—"It is not lawful yet—But proceed."

Tresham.—"Again, I reason thus: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his flesh.

"But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in unity of will, but naturally:

"Ergo, We do not live when we eat the flesh of Christ, only by faith and unity of will, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"This is my faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture; Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed naturally, and that not only in the sacrament of the eucharist, but also in baptism. For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ."

Weston.—"Answer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof. For this argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved."

Cranmer.—"This is the argument:

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh, being eaten of us.

"But Christ liveth by his Father not only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

"But the major is false; namely, that by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father."

Weston.—"Hilary saith, 'after the same manner,' upon these words, He that eateth my flesh shall live by me. Ergo, Christ liveth by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh. Here you see, that Hilary saith, 'after the same manner.'"

Cranmer.—"After the same manner,' doth not signify alike in all things, but indeed and eternally: for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father than we live by Christ."

Weston.—"He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

"Ergo, We live by Christ naturally and eternally."

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Cranmer.—"We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature; as Christ hath eternal life of his Father, so have we of him."

Weston.—"I stick to this word 'naturally.'"

Cranmer.—"I mean it, touching the truth of nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father than we live by Christ."

Weston.—"Hilary, in his eighth book de Trinitate, denieth it, when he saith, He liveth therefore by his Father; and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh."

Cranmer.—"We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ: for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, so shall we have of him."

Weston.—"Answer unto the parts of the argument."

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner shall we live by his flesh.

"But Christ doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating of his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"I grant, as I said, we live by Christ naturally: but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in unity of will only."

Weston.—"Because it seemeth a marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith: 'These things are recited of us to this end, because the heretics, feigning a unity of will only between the Father and the Son, did use the example of our unity with God; as though we, being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, only by obedience and will of religion, had no propriety of the natural communion by the sacrament of the body and blood.'

"But answer to the argument,—Christ liveth by his Father naturally and eternally: therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer.—"Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us not only by will, but also by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our nature of the Virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it unto himself in unity of person, and did communicate unto that our nature, the nature of his eternity, that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting life of the Father; even so he gave the same nature to his flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we should be also partakers of the nature of everlasting life."

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Weston.—"Hilary, where he saith, 'Christ communicated to us his nature,' meaneth that not by his nativity, but by the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"He hath communicated to us his flesh by his nativity."

Weston.—"We have communicated to him our flesh when he was born."

Cranmer.—"Nay, he communicated to us his flesh, when he was born, and that I will show you out of Cyril upon this place, Et homo factus est."

Weston.—"Ergo, Christ being born, gave us his flesh."

Cranmer.—"In his nativity he made us partakers of his flesh."

Weston.—"Write, sirs."

Cranmer.—"Yea, write."

Chedsey.—"This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsify it in your book, because you could not draw it to confirm your purpose: 'If Christ hath taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we receive under the true mystery the flesh of his body, by means whereof we shall be one, (for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us,) how shall that be called the unity of will, when the natural property, brought to pass by the sacrament, is the sacrament of unity. We must not speak in the sense of man, or of the world, in matters concerning God: neither must we perversely wrest any strange or wicked sense out of the wholesome meaning of the Holy Scripture, through impudent and violent contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural and true being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the verity of his flesh and blood, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the testimony of the Lord, and also by our faith, it is verily flesh, and verily blood.'—Here you have falsified Hilary, for you have set *vero sub mysterio*, for *vere sub mysterio*, 'we receive truly under a mystery.' Hilary thrice reporteth *vere sub mysterio*, and you interpret it twice *vere sub mysterio*, but, the third time, you have *vero* for *vere*."

Cranmer.—"Assuredly I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had *sub vero mysterio*, i. e. under a true mystery; although touching the sense it differeth little. God, I call to witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had leisure and lust to hear false citations, I could recite unto you six hundred."

Weston.—"Here shall be showed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris."

Cranmer.—"I suppose that Dr. Smith's book hath *vero*."

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Weston.—"Here is Dr. Smith: let him answer for himself.—Master Smith, Master Doctor, what say you for yourself? Speak, if you know it."

Here Dr. Smith, either for the truth in his book alleged, or else astonished with Dr. Weston's hasty calling, staid to answer; for he only put off his cap, and kept silence.

Weston.—"But your own book, printed by Wolf, your own printer, hath *vero*."

Cranmer.—"That book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this controversy. I am sure the Book of Decrees hath *vero*."

Cole.—"Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you."

Cranmer.—"Touching the sense of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another is but a small matter."

Weston.—"No? Yes; *pastor*, as you know, signifieth a bishop, and *pistor* signifileth a baker. But *pastor* shall be *pistor*, a bishop shall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if *vere* and *vero* do nothing change the sense."

Cranmer.—"Let it be so, that in *pistor* and *pastor* one letter maketh some difference: yet let *pistor* be either a maker or baker of bread, ye see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense."

Young.—"This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, 'Against them that deny principles, we must not dispute.' Therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?"

Cranmer.—"There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body."

Young.—"Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?"

Cranmer.—"They ought."

Young.—"Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?"

Cranmer.—"Yea, he is most true, and truth itself."

Young.—"Fourthly, whether Christ, at his supper, minded to do that which he spake, or no?"

Cranmer.—"In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples."

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Young.—"Answer according to the truth, Whether did Christ that as God and man, which he spake, when he said, This is my body?"

Cranmer.—"This is a sophistical cavillation: go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these questions. You seek subtileness: leave your crafty fetches."

Young.—"I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing or no?"

Cranmer.—"He did institute the sacrament."

Young.—"But answer, whether did he work any thing?"

Cranmer.—"He did work in instituting the sacrament."

Young.—"Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech.

"But a figure worketh nothing:

"Ergo, It is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory."

Cranmer.—"I understood your sophistry before. You, by working, understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting."

Young.—"Woe be to them that make Christ a deceiver! Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the selfsame thing?"

Cranmer.—"He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect."

Young.—"A figurative speech is no working thing.

"But the speech of Christ is working:

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer.—"It worketh by instituting, not by converting."

Young.—"The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not that sacrament?"

Cranmer.—"It is; for the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'is one, and the thing of the sacrament another.'"

Weston.—"Stick to this argument.

"It is a figurative speech.

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"Ergo, It worketh nothing."

Young.—"But the speech of Christ is a working thing.

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer.—"Oh how many crafts are in this argument! they are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech."

Weston.—"If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"A figurative speech worketh not."

Weston.—"A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing.

"But the speech of Christ in the supper (as you grant) wrought somewhat.

"Ergo, The speech of Christ in the supper was not figurative."

Cranmer.—"I answer, these are mere sophisms. The speech doth not work, but Christ, by the speech, doth work the sacrament. I look for Scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations."

Young.—"Are not these words of Scripture, This is my body? The word of Christ is of strength; and by the Lord's words the heavens were made. He said, This is my body: ergo, he made it."

Cranmer.—"He made the sacrament; and I deny your argument."

Young.—"If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, This is my body. You say, contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Christ; and fall from the faith."

Cranmer.—"You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a strange sense."

Young.—"Ambrose saith: 'Thou hast read of the works of all the world, that he spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the word of Christ, which made of nothing that which was not, change those things that are into that they were not? for it is no less matter to give new things, than to change natures. But what use we arguments? let us use his own examples, and let us confirm the verity of the mystery by example of his incarnation. Did the use of nature go before, when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If you seek the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman joined to a man. It is manifest therefore, that contrary to the order of nature, a virgin did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the Virgin. What seekest thou here the order of nature in the body of Christ, when, against the order of nature, the Lord Jesus was conceived of a virgin? It was the true flesh of Christ that was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truly the sacrament of him. The Lord Jesus

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himself crieth, This is my body. Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is named another kind: but, after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified. He calleth it his blood. Before consecration it is called another thing: after consecration it is called blood. And thou sayest, Amen; that is, It is true. That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confess: that the word soundeth, let the heart perceive.'

"The same Ambrose, in his fourth book of Sacraments, chap. iv., saith thus 'This bread is bread before the words of the sacraments: when the consecration cometh to it, of bread it is made the flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this, therefore. How can that which is bread, by consecration be the body of Christ? by what words then is the consecration made, and by whose words? By the words of our Lord Jesus. For touching all other things that are said, praise is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the rest. When it cometh that the reverend sacrament must be made, then the priest useth not his own words, but the words of Christ: therefore the word of Christ maketh this sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made. The Lord commanded, and heaven was made: the Lord commanded, and the earth was made: the Lord commanded, and the seas were made: the Lord commanded, and all creatures were made. Post thou not see then how strong in working the word of Christ is? If therefore so great strength be in the Lord's word, that those things should begin to be, which were not before, how much the rather is it of strength to work, that these things which were, should be changed into another thing?' Ambrose saith, that the words are of strength to work."

Weston.—"You omit those words which follow, which make the sense of Ambrose plain: read them."

Young.—"Heaven was not, the sea was not, the earth was not: but hear him that said, He spake the word, and they were made; be commanded, and they were created. Therefore, to answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration: but after the consecration I say to thee, that now it is the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the sacraments."

Young.—"How doth he work?"

Cranmer.—"By his power, as he doth in baptism."

Young.—"Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth: acknowledge the truth; give place to the truth."

Cranmer.—"O glorious words! You are too full of words."

Young.—"Nay, O glorious truth!—You make no change at all."

Cranmer.—"Not so, but I make a great change; as, in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of the bondsman of the devil, is made the Son of God? So it is also in the sacrament of the supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour."

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Young.—"If he work in the sacraments, he worketh in this sacrament."

Cranmer.—"God worketh in his faithful, not in the sacraments."

Weston.—"In the supper the words are directed to the bread; in baptism, to the Spirit. He said not, the water is the Spirit, but of the bread he said, This is my body."

Cranmer.—"He called the Spirit a dove, when the Spirit descended in likeness of a dove."

Weston.—"He doth not call the Spirit a dove; but he saith, that he descended as a dove. He was seen in the likeness of a dove. As in baptism the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the supper the words are directed unto the bread."

Cranmer.—"Nay it is written, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending. He calleth that which descended, the Holy Spirit. And Augustine calleth the dove, the Spirit. Hear what Augustine saith in John i., 'What meant he by the dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? forsooth, to teach who sent him.'"

Young.—"He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a dove: the Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambrose saith: 'You see what a working power the word of Christ hath. Therefore, if there be so great power in the Lord's word, that those things which were not, begin to be, how much more of strength is it, to work that those things that were, should be changed into another thing?' And in the fifth chapter, 'Before it is consecrated, it is bread: but, when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ.' But, hear what he saith more: 'Take ye, eat ye; this is my body. Before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water: when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood of Christ which redeemed the people.' What can be more plain?"

Cranmer.—"Nay, what can be less to the purpose? The words are of strength to work in this sacrament, as they are in baptism."

Pie.—"The words of Christ, as Ambrose saith, are of strength to work. What do they work?—Ambrose saith, 'They make the blood which redeemed the people.'

"Ergo, The natural blood is made."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver."

Pie.—"There is made the blood which redeemed the people."

Cranmer.—"The blood is made; that is, the sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. *Fit*, it is made; that is to say, *ostenditur*, 'it is showed forth there.' And Ambrose saith, we receive in a similitude: 'As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'"

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Weston.—"He saith, 'in a similitude,' because it is ministered under another likeness. And this is the argument:

"There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

"But the natural blood redeemed the people:

"Ergo, There is the natural blood of Christ.

"You answer, that words make it blood to them that receive it; not that blood is in the cup, but because it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how falsely you would avoid the fathers, hear what Ambrose saith in the sixth book and first chapter. Peradventure thou wilt say, How be they true? I, who see the similitude, do not see the truth of the blood. First of all I told thee of the word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the disciples could not abide the words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter said, Thou hast the words of eternal life; whither should I go from thee? Lest therefore more should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of blood, and yet the grace of redemption should remain: therefore, in a similitude thou receivest the sacrament, but indeed thou obtainest the grace and power of his nature."

Cranmer.—"These words of themselves are plain enough. [And he read this place again, 'Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude.'] But what is that he saith, Thou receivest for a similitude? I think he understandeth the sacrament to be the similitude of his blood."

Chedsey.—"That you may understand that truth dissenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you say of that similitude, hear what Ambrose saith, in his fourth book of Sacraments: 'If the heavenly word did work in other things, doth it not work in the heavenly sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christ; and that wine and water is put into that cup, but, by consecration of the heavenly word, it is made blood. But thou wilt say peradventure, that the likeness of blood is not seen. But it hath a similitude. For as thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood; so that there is no horror of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the body of Christ.'"

Cranmer.—"He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things; for he useth the signs for the things signified: and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the thing signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret himself, when he saith, 'For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and souls.'"

Chedsey.—"A type? He calleth not the blood of Christ a type or sign: but the blood of bulls and goats in that respect was a type or sign."

Cranmer.—"This is new learning; you shall never read this among the fathers."

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Chedsey.—"But Ambrose saith so."

Cranmer.—"He calleth the bread and the cup a type or sign of the blood of Christ, and of his benefit."

Weston.—"Ambrose understandeth it for a type of his benefit; that is, of redemption: not of the blood of Christ, but of his passion. The cup is the type or sign of his death, seeing it is his blood."

Cranmer.—"He saith most plainly, that the cup is a type of Christ's blood."

Chedsey.—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament."

"But Christ is really and truly incarnate:

"Ergo, The body of Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"I deny the major."

Chedsey.—"I prove the major out of Justin, in his second Apology, *Ὁν τροπον δια λογου θεου σαρκοποιηθεις Ιησους Χριστος, ο σωτηρ ημων, και σαρκα και αιμα υπερ σοτηριας ημων εχεν, ουτω και την δι ευχης λογου του παρ αυτου ευχαριστηθισαν τροφην, εξ ης αιμα και σαρκες κατα μεταβολην τρεφονται ημων, εκεινου του σαρκοποιηθεντος Ιησου και αιμα εδιδαχθημεν ειναι.*[Greek: *On tropon dia ogou theou sarkopoietheis Iesous Christos, o soter emon, kai sarka kai aima yper soterias emon echen, oyte kai ten di euches logou tou par ayτου eucharistepheisan trophen, ex es aima kai sarkes kata metabolen trephontai emon, ekeinou tou sarkoroiethentos Iesou kai aima edidachthemēn einai*]"

Cranmer.—"This place hath been falsified by Marcus Constantius. Justin meant nothing else but that the bread which nourishes us is called the body of Christ."

Chedsey.—"To the argument. As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, &c. *ut supra.*"

Cranmer.—"I deny your major."

Chedsey.—"The words of Justin are thus to be interpreted word for word: As by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh, had both flesh and blood for our salvation: so we are taught, that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, instituted of him, whereby our blood and flesh are nourished by communion, is the flesh and blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh," &c.

Cranmer.—"You have translated it well; but I deny your major. This is the sense of Justin: that the bread is called the body of Christ; and yet of that sanctified meat our bodies are nourished."

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Chedsey.—"Nay, he saith, that of that sanctified meat both our bodies and souls are nourished."

Cranmer.—"He saith not so; but he saith that it nourisheth our flesh and blood: and how can that nourish the soul, that nourisheth the flesh and blood."

Cole.—"It feedeth the body by the soul."

Cranmer.—"Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the soul and spirit be called the meat of the body?"

Weston.—"Hear then what Irenæus saith: 'This, the same cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken, hath joined to it the word of God, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is increased and consisteth.'

"The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and blood of Christ:

"Ergo, Our body is nourished by the body and blood of Christ."

Cranmer.—"I deny your argument. He calleth it the flesh and blood, for the sacrament of the body and blood; as Tertullian also saith: Our flesh is nourished with symbolical or sacramental bread; but our soul is nourished with the body of Christ."

Weston.—"Look what he saith more: 'How do they say, that the flesh cannot receive the gift of God that is eternal life, which is nourished with the blood and body of Christ?' That is in the fifth book, two leaves from the beginning."

Cranmer.—"The body is nourished both with the sacrament, and with the body of Christ; with the sacrament to a temporal life; with the body of Christ to eternal life."

Chedsey.—"I cannot but be sorry when I see such a manifest lie in your writings. For whereas you translate Justin on this fashion; that the bread, water, and wine, are not so to be taken in this sacrament, as common meats and drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are meats chosen out peculiarly for this; namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks eucharistia, that is, thanksgiving—they are called moreover the blood and body of Christ (so have you translated it)—the words of Justin are thus: 'We are taught that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, by the which our flesh and blood is nourished by communion, is the body and blood of the same Jesus who was made flesh.'"

Cranmer.—"I did not translate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: and I go nothing from his meaning."

Harpfield.—"You remember, touching Justin, to whom this apology was written; namely, to a heathen man. The heathen thought that the Christians came to the church to worship bread: Justin answereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, &c., as is said afore.

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Weigh the place well; it is right worthy to be noted: 'Our flesh is nourished according to mutation.'"

Cranmer.—"We ought not to consider the bare bread, but whosoever cometh to the sacrament eateth the true body of Christ."

Weston.—"You have corrupted Emissene; for instead of to be filled with meat,' you have set 'to be filled with spiritual meats.'"

Cranmer.—"I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the Decrees."

Weston.—"You have corrupted another place of Emissene; for you have omitted these words, Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats: look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God; marvel at his honour; worthily touch him.'"

Cranmer.—"This book hath not that."

Weston.—"Also you have falsified this place by evil translating, 'Honour the body of thy God.' You have translated it, 'Honour him which is thy God.' Whereas Emissene hath not honour him,' but 'honour the body of thy God.'"

Cranmer.—"I have so translated him, and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause; else it should not have been without danger, if I had translated it thus: 'Honour the body of thy God;' because of certain that (according to the error of the Anthropomorphites) dreamed that God had a body."

Weston.—"Nay, you most of all have brought the people into that error, who so long have taught that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for a heretic, because I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppose you in the very articles of your faith.

"Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

"But God the Father hath no right hand: "Ergo, Where is Christ now?"

Cranmer.—"I am not so ignorant a novice in the articles of my faith, but that I understand that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signify to be equal in the glory of the Father."

Weston.—"Now then take this argument.

"Wheresoever God's authority is, there is Christ's body.

"But God's authority is in every place:

"Ergo, What letteth the body of Christ to be in every place.—Moreover you have also corrupted Duns."

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Cranmer.—"That is a great offence, I promise you."

Weston.—"For you have omitted as it appeareth whereas his words are these, If you demand why the church did choose this so hard an understanding of this article, whereas the words of Scripture may be salved after an easy and true understanding (as appeareth) of this article," &c.

Cranmer.—"It is not so."

Weston.—"Also you have set forth a catechism in the name of the synod of London, and yet there be fifty, who, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism."

Cranmer.—"I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation."

Weston.—"Moreover, you have in Duns translated 'in the Church of Rome,' for 'the catholic church.'"

Cranmer.—"Yea; but he meant the Romish church."

Weston.—"Moreover you have depraved St. Thomas, namely, where he hath these words: 'Inasmuch as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: but in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed, than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord said, in Luke's Gospel, of the widow which offered two mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore, although this oblation of the quantity of itself will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.' You have thus turned it: 'That the sacrifice of the priest hath power of satisfaction,' &c. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word, of the priest;' whereas, in the translation of all the New Testament, you have not set it but where Christ was put to death. And again, where St. Thomas hath 'for all pain,' your book omitteth many things there. Thus you see, brethren, the truth stedfast and invincible. You see, also, the craft and deceit of heretics. The truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, The truth overcometh.'"

This disordered disputation, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Which being finished, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of Master Say, the prisoner was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University college.

251. Disputation of Ridley at Oxford



HE next day following, which was the twelfth of April, was brought forth Dr. Ridley to dispute; against whom was set Dr. Smith to be principal opponent. Touching which Dr. Smith, forasmuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgment in religion, who so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and also by his own letter sent a little before in King Edward's days to the archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain preface before his own arguments, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read I beseech thee his epistle and judge.

The true copy of a certain Epistle of Dr. Richard Smith to Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, declaring his affection to the setting forth of God's sincere word.

"Most honourable, I commend me unto your Lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your Grace in January last and the tenth day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your Grace over the sea; and desiring your good Lordship, of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all the wrong I did towards your Grace, and to obtain in writing the king's Majesty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and, within half a year (at the uttermost) afterward, write *De Sacerdotum Connubiis, &c.*, a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. *Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tuum demum libentur amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam [ita persuadeat] ut ea citra conscientiae lésionem agnoscam, doceamque.* I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm is dishonour to the king's Highness and realm, and because I must needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an answer to your Grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of commonplaces against all the doctrine set forth by the king's Majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your Grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for God's sake; and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

"Ex urbe divi Andreae. 14. Feb.

Rich. Smitheus."

And thus much touching the forenamed Dr. Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against Bishop Ridley, who was brought now, the next day after the archbishop, to answer in the divinity school. Against whom also, besides Dr. Smith, disputed Dr. Weston, Dr.

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Tresham, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, and Dr. Cole, Master Ward, Master Harpsfield, Dr. Watson, Master Pie, Master Harding, Master Curton, Master Fecknam: to all them he answered very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was blasphemy. And some said, he drove off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose; and so they would not suffer him to say his mind. Dr. Smith could get nothing at his hand; insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He showed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The disputation beginneth.

Weston the prolocutor.—"Good Christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust; and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church, to permit the truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's Majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

Dr. Smith.—"This day, right learned Master Doctor, three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit;

"First, Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, &c.

"Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

"Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, &c.

"Touching the which questions, although you have publicly and apertly professed your own judgment and opinion on Saturday last; yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will essay again to demand your sentence in the first question—whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer."

(The Preface or Protestation of Dr. Ridley before his Disputation.)

"I received of you the other day, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's Majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

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"Now, whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God, (and that how soon, he knoweth,) and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your Worships, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit, plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers.

"These things I do the rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

"But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that, which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or Christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books: therefore here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me, concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers."

Weston.—"Reverend Master Doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, you shall have them; and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of yourself with further deliberation, it shall, I say, be lawful for you, until Sunday next, to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is, that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing."

Ridley.—"There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published: I beseech you for God's sake let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption; not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter."

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Weston.—"Among this whole company, it shall be permitted you to take two for your part."

Ridley.—"I will choose two, if there are any here with whom I were acquainted."

Weston.—"Here are two that Master Cranmer had yesterday. Take them if it please you."

Ridley.—"I am content with them; I trust they are honest men."

The first proposition.

"In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really present under the forms of bread and wine."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the Church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness."

(The explication.)

Ridley.—"How far the diversity and newness of the phrase, in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the Holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

"First, there is a double sense in these words 'by virtue of God's word,' for it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

"Again, there is a doubt of these words, 'of the priest,' whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

"It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchizedek. For as far as I know, the Holy Scripture doth allow no more."

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Weston.—"Let this be sufficient."

Ridley.—"If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter."

Weston.—"These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vain."

Ridley.—"I cannot start far from you: I am captive and bound."

Weston.—"Fall to it, my masters."

Smith.—"That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present."

Ridley.—"Let me alone, I pray you; for I have not much to say behind."

Weston.—"Go forward."

Ridley.—"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word 'really,' whether it be taken as the logicians term it *transcendenter*; that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared,) or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth.

"There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, 'under the forms of bread and wine,' whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shows of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses. Now the error and falseness of the proposition after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed of the Word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paul; and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."

Weston.—"We lose time."

Ridley.—"You shall have time enough."

Weston.—"Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."

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Ridley.—"I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave, and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation."

Weston.—"Go to; say on."

(The confirmation of the aforesaid answer.)

Ridley.—"There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

"But this doctrine of the first proposition is such: "Ergo, It ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

"The major or first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus: "This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the Word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

"But such a presence disagreeeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities:

"Ergo, The second part is true.

"The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus:—"

Weston.—"Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you to your arguments."

Smith.—"I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith; the contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in John vi. there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Ridley.—"It is against reason, that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly; being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words."

Weston.—"Let him read on."

Ridley.—"First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the Holy Scripture.

"Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

"Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper.

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"Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine.

"Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles without necessity and authority of God's word.

"Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretics who erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their heresies thereby.

"Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true.

(The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the parts thereof.)

"This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, thus:—I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you. Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken. The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the time of mourning. But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice. I will come again and take you to myself. If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcass is, thither the eagles will resort.

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place, saith St. Augustine) he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.'

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If, therefore, he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and, as one of the fathers saith, A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.'

"It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that whomers and murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless mice, rats, and dogs also, may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of John vi.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of man's flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him."

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Pie.—"He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Ridley.—"I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands."

Weston.—"All is quiet. Go to your arguments, Master Doctor."

Ridley.—"I have not many things more to say."

Weston.—"You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument."

Ridley.—"It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject; and, instead thereof, they place Christ's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed there, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Others affirm, the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good. But another sort hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles! Truly, and most truly, I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St. Paul prophesied, Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth. This gross presence hath brought forth that fond fantasy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity.

"It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, who said that Christ had but a phantastical body; and to Eutiches, who wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

"Finally, it falsifeth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilius, a martyr and grave writer, saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emissene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could show the same, if I might have the use of mine own books; which I will take on me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintaineth, (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantastical, and, beside the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists,) that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived.

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And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare, what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

"I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

"I say and confess, the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient and the faithful fathers.

"I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I bold with Cyprian.

"I say also with St. Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life; with Emissene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh, and benediction which giveth life, in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life; as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

"I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and the virtue of his very nature; the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostom; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body, with Augustine.

"Finally, with Bertram (who was the last of all these) I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely, (as he writeth,) because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ."

The second proposition.

"After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance than the substance of God and man."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of

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the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore, to the answer of the first proposition."

(The first argument for the confirmation of this answer.)

"It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

"But the substance of the bread is another manner of substance than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man:

"Therefore, the conclusion is false.

"The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

(The second argument.)

"That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

"But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread.

"Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede: whose places I will take upon me to show most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

"Bread is the body of Christ:

"Ergo, it is bread."

(The third argument.)

"As the bread of the Lord's table is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body.

"But it is not Christ's mystical body by transubstantiation:

"Ergo, It is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

"The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you, speaking there of his natural body; even so Paul, moved with the same Spirit of truth, said, We, though we be many, yet are we all one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread."

(The fourth argument.)

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"We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

"But the wine is not transubstantiate into his blood:

"Ergo, Neither is that bread, therefore, transubstantiate into his body.

"The first part of this argument is manifest; and the second part is proved out of the authority of God's word, in Matthew and Mark, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostom on Matt. xx.: as Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup."

(The fifth argument.)

"The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

"But the words spoken upon the cup have not virtue to transubstantiate:

"Ergo, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread have no such virtue.

"The second part of the argument is proved; because they would then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup, into the new testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same."

(The sixth argument.)

"The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the Holy Scripture touching the sacrament.

"But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper:

"Ergo, A figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, This is my body.

"The circumstances of the Scripture: Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we, being many, are all one bread and one body, &c.

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"The analogy of the sacraments is necessary: for if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lord's supper is taken three manner of ways:

"The first consisteth in nourishing; as ye shall read in Rabanus, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenæus, and, most plainly, in Isidore out of Bertram.

"The second in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

"The third is a similitude of unlike things, where, like as the bread is turned into one body; so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

"The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hilary, and, most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation: but of all other most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, (to Cæsarius the monk,) Augustine, (against Adamantus,) Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom Rabanus, Damascene, and Bertram.

"Here, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, but that I have also, for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatise, whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can, with good conscience, speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak."

The third proposition.

"In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiabile and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first: and moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and

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ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ."

(The explication.)

"Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the Holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

"There is ambiguity also in the name of mass: what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed, as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither catechists nor penitents to be sent away.

"Again, touching these words, 'the lively sacrifice of the church,' there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice, (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper,) or properly and without any figure: after the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

"Moreover, in these words 'as well as,' it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage; as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge—being apt indeed in neither of them both.

"There is also a doubt in the word 'propitiable,' whether it signify here, that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

"Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ's flesh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shows of bread and wine; which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily!Passings, to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas, by the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sin."

(Arguments confirming his answer.)

"No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

"All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ:

"Ergo, No other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

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"The second part of my argument is thus proved.

"No honour in God's church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as Aaron.

"It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin:

"Ergo, No man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.

"But only Christ is called to that honour:

"Ergo, No other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident; for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchizedek there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who hath a priesthood that cannot pass to any other."

(Another argument.)

"That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is, wherefore it is done.

"To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all:

"Ergo, To do the same in the mass it is in vain."

(Another argument.)

"After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

"But Christ coming a high bishop, &c., found and obtained for us eternal redemption:

"Ergo, There needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead."

(Another argument.)

"All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

"In the mass there is no shedding of blood:

"Ergo, In the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice."

(Another argument.)

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"In the mass the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same: yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.

"But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the apostle saith, Not that he might offer up himself oftentimes (for then must he have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world). Now where Christ is not offered there is no propitiatory sacrifice:

"Ergo, In the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice: For Christ appeared once, in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment: even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him, shall he appear again without sin unto salvation."

(Another argument.)

"Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

"But in the New Testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever:

"Ergo, In the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifices."

(Sentences of the Scripture, alleged by Ridley, tending to the same end and purpose; out of which also may be gathered other manifest arguments for more confirmation thereof.)

"By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And in the same place, But this man, after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified; and, By himself hath he purged our sins."

"I beseech you to mark these words 'by himself,' the which, well weighed, will without doubt cease all controversy. The apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him, that treadeth under his feet the blood of the testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision."

"He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh."

"Mark, I beseech you; he saith not, in the mystery of his body, but in the body of his flesh."

"If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.

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"I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts: the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a showing-forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all. The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which St. Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emissene, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord; that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and showing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

"These are the things, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three aforesaid propositions, being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of books: wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the Church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is, at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God; to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory. Amen."

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced, I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the arguments and answers between Dr. Smith and him.

(Dr. Smith beginneth to oppose.)

Smith.—"You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Meseemed you did, in your supposition, abuse the testimonies of Scripture

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concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament; as though this were a strong argument to enforce your matter withal.

"Christ did ascend into heaven: ergo, he is not in the sacrament.

"Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

"Christ's ascension is no let to his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places."

Ridley.—"You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but upon his ascension and his abiding there also."

Smith.—"Christ's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Ridley.—"Of Christ's real presence, there may be a double understanding. If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also. But, if you mean a real presence, according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes the ascension and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that presence. Wherefore Christ's body, after that sort, is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace, I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it."

Weston.—"I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt: for whensoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin."

Ridley.—"Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with his presence."

Smith.—"Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom: ergo, his ascension and abiding in heaven, is no let to his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"Master Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not so straitly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure: for when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himself. Howbeit I do affirm, that it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time."

Smith.—"Mark, I pray you, my masters that be here, diligently, what he answereth: First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father, is a let to the real presence of his body in the sacrament; and then, afterward, he flieth from it again."

Ridley.—"I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school."

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Smith.—"Ergo, It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he will himself."

Ridley.—"Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed."

Smith.—"Ergo, He, ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will."

Smith.—"Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive: therefore I will join again with you in that short argument:

"Christ, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"If the notaries should so record your argument as you have framed it, you, peradventure, would be ashamed of it hereafter."

Smith.—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I grant the antecedent; but I deny the consequence."

Smith.—"Do you grant the antecedent?"

Ridley.—"Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much: because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true; and I will frame the argument for you.

"He was seen on earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Smith.—"Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth."

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Ridley.—"Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father."

Smith.—"Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?"

Ridley.—"Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also in earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the Holy Scriptures, as Austin saith: 'The body of Christ is in heaven; but his truth is dispersed in every place.' Now if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal presence, then his perpetual abiding there, stoppeth or letteth that the same corporal presence of him cannot be in the sacrament."

Smith.—"In Acts iii. we read, that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the consummation of the world."

Weston.—"I perceive you are conme here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you that Christ, in very deed, is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body: ergo," &c.:—

Ridley.—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston.—"I prove it by two witnesses: First by Chrysostom: Do we not offer every day: we do so indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was once offered in the holy place? This sacrifice is a pattern of that: the selfsame we always offer; not now as offering one lamb to-day, and another to-morrow, but always one and the same lamb. Wherefore here is but one sacrifice; for else by this means, seeing there be many sacrifices in many places, he there many Christs. Not so, but one Christ in all places, both perfect here, and perfect there, one only body.' Now thus I argue:

"We offer one thing at all times.

"There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete.

"Ergo, By Chrysostom, there is one both in heaven and earth."

Ridley.—"I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me."

Weston.—"One Christ is in all places; here full and there full."

Ridley.—"One Christ is in all places; but not one body in all places."

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Weston.—"One body, saith Chrysostom."

Ridley.—"But not after the manner of bodily substance he is in all places, nor by circumscription of place. For 'here' and 'there,' in Chrysostom, do assign no place; as Augustine saith, 'The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.'"

Weston.—"You cannot so escape. He saith not the verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there."

Ridley.—"One sacrifice is in all places, because of the unity of him whom the sacrifice doth signify: not that the sacrifices be all one and the same."

Weston.—"Ergo, By your saying it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ. But Chrysostom saith, 'One body and one Christ is there;' and not one sacrifice."

Ridley.—"I say, that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ are there; Christ by his Spirit, grace, and verity; the sacrifice by signification. Thus I grant with Chrysostom, that there is one host or sacrifice, and not many. And this our host is called one, by reason of the unity of that one, which one only all our hosts do represent. That only host was never other but that which was once offered on the altar of the cross, of which host all our hosts are but sacramental examples.

"And whereas you allege out of Chrysostom, that Christ is offered in many places at once, (both here full Christ, and there full Christ,) I grant it to be true; that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places; but not after the corporal substance of our flesh which he took, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril speaketh. Concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostom here speaketh, he himself doth clearly show what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, 'We always do the selfsame, howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.'"

Weston.—"The second witness is Bernard, in a sermon that he made of the supper of the Lord, who saith: How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we, silly worms, creeping on the face of the earth; that we, I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who, both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father; and who also, in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, art present, one and the selfsame, in many and divers places?"

Ridley.—"These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same aforesaid place by you alleged: but yet he followed in an age, when the doctrine of the holy supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a mystery, in a sacrament, under a veil or cover; but hereafter shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time here now he saith, that the verity of Christ is every where: the verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places."

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Weston.—"What do you call verity? He saith not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ."

Ridley.—"The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ: after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him."

Weston.—"Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words in divers places;' and yet I am not satisfied."

Smith.—"Christ was really seen and corporally on the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father: ergo, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"If by perpetual sitting you mean the residence of his body in heaven, your reason containeth manifest contradiction."

Smith.—"These two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Father's right hand, and also to be seen here really in earth after his ascension. First, you will give me, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father: for so it is written, Heaven must needs receive him, unto the time of the restoring of all, &c. Secondly, he was also seen of Paul here corporally on earth. Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction."

Ridley.—"What letteth but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will? and yet, notwithstanding, you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this controversy, as I said, is amongst all the ancient doctors and writers. And that Christ hath been here seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful."

Smith.—"I will prove that he would appear in earth. He so would, and also did appear here in earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Ridley.—"He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally sitting in heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heaven."

Smith.—"Christ hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time: ergo, you are deceived in denying that."

Ridley.—"I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly."

Smith.—"He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven."

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"But his vision was a corporal vision:

"Ergo, He was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven."

Ridley.—"He was seen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt: and of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove, that he was in heaven at the same time when he was corporally on earth."

Smith.—"I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the resurrection of Christ."

Ridley.—"I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like strength: for whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again."

Smith.—"Paul saw him as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm."

Ridley.—"You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you should have proved."

Smith.—"You make delays for the nonce."

Ridley.—"Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you."

Tresham.—"He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard: ergo, he was corporally on the earth; or else how could he be heard?"

Ridley.—"He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven."

Smith.—"As others saw him, so Paul saw him.

"Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth."

Ridley.—"I grant he was seen visibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in earth."

Smith.—"He was seen of him as of others. "But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth:

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"Ergo, He was seen of Paul on earth."

Ridley.—"Your controversy is about being on earth. If 'to be' be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover I say, that Christ was seen of men in earth after his ascension, it is certain: for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he, being in heaven, did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was rapt into the third heaven, I know that some contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain."

Smith.—"We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify, that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension. Peter, overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city because of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, 'Master, whither walk you?' Christ answered, 'I am come again to be crucified.' Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the selfsame story. St. Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven. With what face, therefore, dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?"

Ridley.—"I said before, that the doctors in that matter did vary."

Smith.—"Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?"

Ridley.—"I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me."

Smith.—"Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain."

Ridley.—"The story of Linus is not of so great authority; although I am not ignorant that Eusebius so writeth also, in the Story of the Church. And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical Scriptures. Albeit if, at any time, he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters (as some do untruly report of us); but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his Divine pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father, may, I grant, be taken for the stability of Christ's kingdom, and his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven."

Smith.—"Now, whereas you boast that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will show here that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers: I

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will bring in Chrysostom for this point. 'Eliseus received the mantle, as a right great inheritance: for it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beside. And the same was a double Elias: he was both Elias above, and Elias beneath. I know well you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be, every one of you, as he is. What will you then say, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are endued with these holy mysteries do receive much more than that? Elias indeed left his mantle to his scholar: but the Son of God ascending did leave here his flesh unto us. Elias left it, putting off the same: but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him."

Ridley.—"I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a divers manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, after the true and corporal substance of his body and flesh: again, he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For, the 'bread,' which we break, is the communication of the body of Christ: and generally, Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you."

Smith.—"Chrysostom saith: 'O miracle, O good will of God! He that sitteth above, at the sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men.' Or else as others have translated it, thus: 'O miracle, O the gentleness of God! he that sitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.'"

Ridley.—"He that sitteth there, is there present in mystery, and by grace; and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholesomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received: but by the sacramental signification he is holden of all men."

Seton.—"Where is then the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only?"

Ridley.—"Yes, there is a miracle, good sir: Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul? He that understandeth not that miracle, he understandeth not the force of that mystery. God grant we may every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same."

Smith.—"Chrysostom calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men.—Not that he is handled with the hands of men—only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth."

Harpsfield.—"The former place of Chrysostom is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of prophecy, to his scholar?"

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Ridley.—"Yes, surely; it is a great matter."

Harpsfield.—"Did not Elias then leave great grace?"

Ridley.—"He did so."

Harpsfield.—"But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his flesh."

Ridley.—"I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, albeit he be said to have left his double spirit with him: for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ, ascending up, here left with us, is the only salvation and life of all them who shall be saved: which life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostom, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh."

Harpsfield.—"But Christ performed a greater matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him: Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also."

Ridley.—"True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace; then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did insert or graft us into his flesh."

Harpsfield.—"If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question: If Chrysostom would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident, could he have used than these?"

Ridley.—"These things be not of so great force as they bear a great show outwardly. He might also have used grosser words if he had listed to have uttered his mind so grossly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of sacraments sacramentally."

Harpsfield.—"The comparison lieth in this: That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ."

Ridley.—"I grant it was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak: Christ both left his flesh and took it with him."

Harpsfield.—"Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Christ both left behind him, and also took with him: except you will say the comparison here made to be nothing."

Ridley.—"He took up his flesh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his flesh in earth."

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Weston.—"You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh; and why do you not understand it in the second place also, for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is."

Ridley.—"These be taunts and reproaches, not beseeching, as I think, the modesty of this school."

Weston.—"Elias left his cloak to his disciple: but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh; and yet, ascending, he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason:

"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him:

"Ergo, He is present here with us."

Here Dr. Weston, crying to the people, said unto them, "Master Doctor answereth it after this fashion: 'He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind.' Assuredly the answer is too unlearned."

Ridley.—"I am glad you speak in English. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answers: He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us."

Weston.—"Ye judges, what think you of this answer?"

Judges.—"It is ridiculous, and a very fond answer."

Ridley.—"Well, I take your words patiently, for Christ's cause."

Weston here citeth a place: "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

Ridley.—"Master Doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received. And indeed all the prophets were sprinkled with the same blood, but yet spiritually, I say, and by grace. And whatsoever they be that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation."

Weston.—"Here I bring Bernard unto you again: 'Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the selfsame Christ in many and divers places.'"

Ridley.—"The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places: for God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Austin saith, is every where with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge and giant-like, a

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body would you then make Christ's body to be, which should reach even from north to south, from west to east."

Weston.—"Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned."

Ward.—"Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Master Doctor's argument, by which you, being brought into the briers, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you."

Ridley.—"Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism."

Weston.—"Yes, you made me subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff."

Ridley.—"I compelled no man to subscribe."

Ward.—"Yes, by the rood, you are the very author of that heresy."

Ridley.—"I put forth no catechism."

Cole.—"Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?"

Ridley.—"I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it: so I consented to the book. I was not the author of it."

Judges.—"The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole convocation-house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it."

Ridley.—"I think surely, that he would not say so."

Ward.—"The catechism hath this clause: 'If visibly and on the earth.'"

Ridley.—"I answer, that those articles were set out, I both witting and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Master Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterward. Now, as for the place which you allege out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience."

Ward.—"Christ is the power and the virtue of his Father: ergo, he was not of so little strength that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself."

Ridley.—"I grant."

Ward.—"Christ was the wisdom of the Father: ergo, that he spake, he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand; neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another."

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Ridley.—"All this I grant."

Ward.—"Christ was likewise the very truth: ergo, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others."

Weston.—"Hilary on Psal. cxviii. hath these weds: All God's words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity; that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper."

Ward.—"He is the truth of the Father: ergo, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially, I mean, when he spake at his latter end, and made his testament."

Ridley.—"Christ is the very truth of the Father; and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far-fetched compass of words. If that these words of Christ, 'This is my body,' which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true."

Ward.—"He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?"

Ridley.—"Bread: his body."

Ward.—"What brake he?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Ward.—"What gave he?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Ward.—"Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?"

Ridley.—"I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread."

Ward.—"I will prove the contrary by Scriptures.

"He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

"But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body:

"Ergo, He gave not material bread, but his own body."

Ridley.—"I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread: and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and that it was also his body; because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying

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and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered."

Harfsfield.—"What is he that so saith, 'By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?'"

Ridley.—"I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore the said Theophylact, writing upon these words, This is my body, showeth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar."

Oglethorpe.—"That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you: for he saith in that place, that Christ said not, 'This is the figure of my body, but my body.' 'For,' saith he, 'by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.'"

Ridley. "It is not a figure; that is to say, It is not only a figure of his body."

Weston.—"Where have you that word 'only?'"

Ridley.—"It is not in that place, but he hath it in another; and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors more."

Here Weston, repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said, "He saith, it is not a figure, and you say, it is a figure. And the same Theophylact saith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh.

"That which Christ gave, we do give.

"But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body.

"Ergo, We give no figure, but his body."

Ridley.—"I grant," quoth he, "the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ; but not by transubstantiation, but by a sacramental conversion or turning. 'It is transformed,' saith Theophylact, in the same place, by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ.' He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh. And whereas he saith, 'It is not a figure of the body,' we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add 'only,' that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Christ is present in his mysteries; neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the Divine mysteries."

Weston.—"You put in 'only,' and that is one lie. And I tell you further, Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, It is no figure, but his flesh.'

Ridley.—"To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author."

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Larding.—"No other doctor maketh more against you. For the word in Greek is μεταρτοιχειουται[Greek:metastoi-cheioutai]; which is in Latin *trans-elementatur*, that is, turned from one element into another. And showing the cause why it is in form of bread, he saith, 'Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.'"

Ridley.—"That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, ημεις μεταρτοιχειουμεθα[Greek: emeis metastoicheioumetha] that is, 'We are trans-elemented, or transformed and changed, into the body of Christ:' and so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ."

Ward.—"Learned Master Doctor, thus you expound the place, This is my body, that is, a figure of my body."

Ridley.—"Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole."

Ward.—"My sheep hear my voice, and follow me.

"But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, This is my body, without a figure:

"Ergo, The voice of Christ here hath no figure."

Ridley.—"The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance."

Ward.—"But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech."

Ridley.—"Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches."

Ward.—"Justin Martyr, in his second Apology, hath thus: 'Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communi sumimus; imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum, quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejusdem incarnati carnem et sanguinem esse sumus edocti.'"

"This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Englished; 'For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we be taught the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.'

"Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it: 'Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and

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therefore be called Eucharistia, and be called the body and blood of Christ: and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies."

Ridley.—"O good Master Doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used."

Ward here repeated the place again out of Justin, 'We are taught,' &c., as above.

Ridley.—"O what upright dealing is this! I have the selfsame place of Justin here copied out. You know yourself, which are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place; and that without any just cause."

Ward.—"I stand still upon mine argument. What say you?"

Ridley.—"If you will, that I should answer to Justin, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all."

Weston.—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten:

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar:

"Ergo, There is the very true flesh of Christ."

Ridley.—"If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him: for he is the very and true meat of the soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, My flesh is meat indeed," &c.

Ward.—"I have desired with my hearty desire to eat this paschal with you. What paschal, I pray you, desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have Tertullian against Marcion: He, therefore, protesting a great desire to eat his paschal, (his own paschal I say, for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own,) taking bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body. What say you? Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb, or by that which afterward he gave in his supper?"

Ridley.—"I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterward of the eucharist."

Ward.—"Nay then Tertullian is against you, who saith:

'He desired to eat his passover.

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'But the Judaical passover was not his, but strange from Christ:

'Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical passover.'"

Ridley.—"The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own: insomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper."

Ward.—"What answer you then to Tertullian, who saith, He desired to eat his own passover, and not the Jewish passover, which stood upon words without flesh?"

Ridley.—"Tertullian may here dally in sense analogical. I know that Cyprian hath these words: 'He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ's.'"

Ward.—"Augustine on Psalm xcvi., writing upon these words, Worship his footstool, &c.: 'I ask,' saith he, what is the footstool of his feet; and the Scripture telleth me, The earth is the footstool of my feet. And so, in searching thereof, I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here in the earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped. For he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh of earth, and because of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked; and also he gave the same flesh to us, to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we sin not in worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same.'

"He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, &c.

"But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, This is my body:

"Ergo, In the eucharist he gave us his flesh."

Ridley.—"You do allege the place of Augustine upon Psalm xcvi., where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked; inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the moss."

Smith.—"What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?"

Ridley."I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body; for indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh."

(Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said, "Ye say Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body.")

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Ridley.—"I say not so: I say, he gave his own body verily; but he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication."

After this, Dr. Glyn began to reason, who (notwithstanding Master Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface Master Ridley, therefore, did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Dr. Glyn's mind was to serve the turn: for afterward he came to the house wherein Master Ridley was kept, and, as far as Master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorpe he desired him to pardon his words. The which Master Ridley did even from the very heart; and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that, all offences put apart, they, being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

Glyn.—"I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and fathers: I will go to work with you after another sort:—Christ hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments."

Ridley.—"This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter-away of the Scripture, and of the doctors. As touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his church in earth; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace."

Glyn.—"Then I ask this question; whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous?"

Ridley. "The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole; but, peradventure, in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance."

Glyn.—"That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

"But the church hath never been idolatrous:

"Ergo, It hath alway judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist."

Ridley.—"And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament: like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament; but yet sacramentally and spiritually, (according to his grace,) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction, giving life. Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper

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to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often showed, and by a sacramental signification; but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh."

Glyn.—"Augustine against Faustus [saith,] 'Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus.' Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers; and Erasmus, in an epistle to the brethren of Low Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Augustine and Cyprian."

Ridley.—"We do handle the signs reverently; but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament."

Glyn.—"What is the symbol or sacrament?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Glyn.—"Ergo, We worship bread."

Ridley.—"There is a deceit in this word *adoramus*. We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits: but we understand his benefits to be greatest in the sacrament."

Glyn.—"So I may fall down before the bench here, and worship Christ; and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ."

Ridley.—"We adore and worship Christ in theeucharist. And if you mean the external sacrament; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament."

Glyn.—"So was the faith of the primitive church."

Ridley.—"Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church."

Glyn.—"Think you that Christ hath now his church?"

Ridley.—"I do so."

Glyn.—"But all the church adareth Christ verily and really in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"You know yourself, that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation; as appeareth in the council of Florence."

Cole.—"That is false: for in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation; although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do."

Ridley.—"Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the article was propounded unto then."

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Cole.—"It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do."

Curtop.—"Reverend sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostom. The place is this:

"That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ:

"But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ:

"Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup."

Ridley.—"It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, after which it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament.—Again I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us; so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ: but that sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body. Even so likewise the cup is called the blood also, which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity; namely, for our spiritual nourishment: like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration."

Curtop.—"The sacrament of the blood is not the blood."

Ridley.—"The sacrament of the blood is the blood; and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament."

(Here Weston repeateth Curtop's argument in English.)

Weston.—"That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

"But there came out very blood:

"Ergo, There is very blood in the chalice."

Ridley.—"The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a sacrament."

Weston.—"That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice."

Ridley.—"It is true; but by grace, and in a sacrament."

(Here the people hissed at him.)

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Ridley.—"O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to God's judgment."

Watson.—"Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disputation: and therefore first I ask this question: When Christ said in John vi., He that eateth my flesh, &c., doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?"

Ridley.—"I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual manducation: for without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably; for whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation."

Watson.—"I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament."

Watson.—"Is it instituted of God?"

Ridley.—"It is instituted of God."

Watson.—"Where?"

Ridley.—"In the supper."

Watson.—"With what words is it made a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same."

Watson.—"It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive."

Ridley.—"True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament; but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament."

Watson.—"What is a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine: but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace."

Watson.—"Ergo, grace is given to the receivers."

Ridley.—"The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace; and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head."

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Watson.—"But there is difference between the mystical body and natural body."

Ridley.—"There is, I grant you, a difference; but the head of them both is one."

Watson.—"The eucharist is a sacrament of the New Testament:

"Ergo, It hath a promise of grace.

"But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine:

"Ergo, Bread and wine be not the sacraments of the New Testament."

Ridley.—"I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ? And like as he that eateth and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament."

Watson.—"If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine.

"But that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood.

"Ergo, The substance of bread and wine remaineth not."

Ridley.—"The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith."

Watson.—"Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it: but bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto them:

"Ergo, The bread and wine are not sacraments."

Ridley.—"True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word 'hath:' for the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given: not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water."

Watson.—"This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ; and not to the bread and wine:

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"Ergo, The sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ."

Ridley.—"There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood."

Watson.—"Every sacrament of the New Testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it."

Ridley.—"This sacrament hath a promise of grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument; not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine."

Watson.—"But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine."

Ridley.—"That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify."

Watson.—"Where is that promise made?"

Ridley.—"The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? And we being many are one bread, one body of Christ."

Watson.—"What doth he mean by bread in that place?"

Ridley.—"The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Christ."

Watson.—"Hearken what Chrysostom saith upon that place: 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ's body?' Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting; for likewise as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we, by the same bread, are conjoined and united to him."

Ridley.—"Let Chrysostom have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me, to name it true bread."

Watson.—"All,' saith Chrysostom, 'which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call,' saith he, 'this communicating? We are all the selfsame body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The body of Christ: for many are but one body.' Chrysostom doth interpret this place against you: 'All we be one bread and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ.'"

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Ridley.—"All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration, or quickening."

Watson.—"Of what manner of bread speaketh he?"

Ridley.—"Of the bread of the Lord's table."

Watson.—"Is not that bread one?"

Ridley.—"It is one of the church being one; because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord."

Watson.—"See how absurdly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?"

Ridley.—"All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate."

Watson.—"A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all Christian men?"

Ridley.—"I do distribute this word 'all;' for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts: all, I say, which were in one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table."

Watson.—"What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?"

Fecknam.—"But Cyprian saith, 'Bread which no multitude doth consume:' which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ."

Ridley.—"Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread."

Fecknam.—"Nay, rather he did there entreat of the sacrament in that tractation De Cœna Domini, writing upon the supper of the Lord."

Ridley.—"Truth it is, and I grant he entreateth there of the sacrament: but, also, he doth admix something therewithal of the spiritual manducation."

Smith.—"When the Lord saith, 'This is my body,' he useth no tropical speech:

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley.—"I deny your antecedent."

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Smith.—"I bring here Augustine expounding these words, He was carried in his own hands: How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he saith, 'This is my body:' for he carried that same body in his own hands, &c. Augustine here did not see how this place, after the letter, could be understood of David; because no man can carry himself in his own hands. Therefore,' saith he, 'this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter.' For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body.'"

Ridley.—"I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Austin could not find, after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Austin goeth here from others in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Austin be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet, to grant to you this exposition of Austin, I say yet, notwithstanding, it maketh nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples."

Smith.—"Ergo, It is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands."

Ridley.—"He was borne literally, and after that letter which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*"

"I grant that St. Austin saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, and that it is found of Christ. But this word *ad literam*, literally, you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Augustine's meaning is this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal David, the son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands; but of that spiritual David, that overthrew Goliath the devil, (that is, of Christ our Saviour, the Son of the Virgin,) it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And note, that St. Austin hath these words, *quodam modo*, after a certain manner; which manifestly declare, how the doctor's meaning is to be taken."

Smith.—"When then was he borne in his own hands; and after what letter?"

Ridley.—"He was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he said, 'This is my body.'"

Smith.—"Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body. But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his hands:

"Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his body."

Ridley.—"If Austin could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ."

Smith.—"But he did bear himself in his own hands."

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"Ergo, He did not bear a figure only."

Ridley.—"He did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Austin afterward addeth, *quodam modo*, that is, sacramentally."

Smith.—"You understand not what Austin meant when he said, *quodam modo*; for he meant, that he did bear his very true body in that supper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread.

"Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth."

Dr. Weston repeated this place again in English: which done, then Dr. Tresham began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to Master Ridley) with great zeal; and desired that he might be in the stead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said Bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and reverence: but afterward he smelled a fox under a sheep's clothing.

Tresham.—"God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, Which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wise man saith, Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother: but you dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye set nought by her."

Ridley.—"These by-words do pollute your school."

Tresham.—"If there were an Arian which had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the Scriptures and fathers."

Weston.—"Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you."

Tresham.—"I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, the which council, representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiate into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a heretic."

Ridley.—"Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred."

One of the scribes.—"What! will you deny then the authority of that council, for the multitude of those priors?"

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Ridley.—"No, sir, not so much for that cause, as for that, especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the Third, a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ."

Tresham.—"What! do you not receive the council of Lateran?" Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, "Write, write."

Ridley.—"No, sir, I receive not that council; write, and write again."

Tresham.—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ; ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar."

Ridley.—"Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further; as St. Augustine saith. But good men do eat the very true body, both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace."

Tresham.—"I prove the contrary, by St. Augustine: 'Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner,' &c. And a little after, 'Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body.'"

Ridley.—"It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body: and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austin hath distinguished these things well in another place, where he saith, 'The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.'"

Weston.—"Paul saith, the body, and you say, the sacrament of the body."

Ridley.—"Paul meaneth so indeed."

Watson.—"You understand it evil concerning the sign: for the fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven."

Ridley.—"They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you:" and so here he cited the place."

Weston.—"I bring Theophylact, which saith, that Judas did taste the body of the Lord. 'The Lord did show the cruelty of Judas, who, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord's flesh,' &c."

Ridley.—"This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors: 'He tasted the flesh of the Lord insensibly;' that is, the sacrament of the Lord's flesh."

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Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, that the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him."

Ridley.—"That is, because they defile the Lord's body: for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but good men eat both the sacrament, and the matter of the sacrament."

Watson.—"You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be these: 'Let us not look a-low by the ground, upon the bread and the drink set before us, but, lifting up our mind, let us faithfully believe, there upon that holy table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests.'"

Ridley.—"That council was collected out of ancient fathers; and is to me a great authority; for it with, 'that bread is set upon the altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven.' The words of the council make for me."

Watson.—"With a mind exalted: that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them. 'The Lamb of God lieth on the table,' saith the council."

Ridley.—"The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body: and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power; not corporally."

Watson.—"But the Lamb of God lieth on the table."

Ridley.—"It is a figurative speech; for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven."

Watson.—"But he lieth there, the Greek word is *κεῖται*[Greek:keitai]."

Ridley.—"He lieth there; that is, he is there present: not corporally, but he lieth there by his operation."

Watson.—"He lieth; but his operation lieth not."

Ridley.—"You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord: for we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge: but all things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table; but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal substance of his flesh taken of the Virgin Mary. And indeed the same canon doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is set on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those things which are set before us; as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? 'But rather,' saith the canon, 'lifting up our minds into heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, sitting or lying upon the table.' 'For a lifted-up faith,' saith he, 'seeth him which sitteth on the

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right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body set by grace on the Lord's table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so; as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table."

Smith.—"I bring another place out of the council of Nice: 'None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ: none of the reverend elders said, the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure.'

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley.—"This canon is not in the council of Nice; for I have read over this council many times."

Then came in another, whom Master Ridley knew not, and said: "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament; that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body."

Ridley.—"I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hitherto I confess it was left free for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread."

Here cried out Dr. Cole, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Master Ridley said that could not be.

Here started up another unknown to Master Ridley, but thought to be one of the scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation; but the council left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church; to whom Master Ridley answered again, saying, that he said the truth.

Pie.—"What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?"

Ridley.—"I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood."

Pie.—"But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice."

Ridley.—"It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice; and he doth not lie, who saith Christ to be offered."

Weston.—"I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysostom, and I will teach, not only a figure, and a sign or grace only, but the very same body, which was here conversant on the earth, to be in the eucharist."

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"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist which the wise men did worship in the manger.

"But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual:

"Ergo, The real body of Christ is in the eucharist.

"Again, the same Chrysostom saith, 'We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest.'"

Ridley.—"We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery; and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St. Augustine, not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things: for that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith. And the Divine Majesty, as saith Cyprian, doth never absent itself from the Divine mysteries; but this assistance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal substance of the flesh: even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly ministered."

Weston.—"That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest."

Ridley.—"I grant the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body."

(Weston repeated again his argument out of Chrysostom in English.)

Ridley.—"I say that the author meant it spiritually."

(Weston here, dissolving the disputations, had these words: "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note, (and he began, and they followed,) 'Verity hath the victory,' 'Verity hath the victory.'"

252. Disputation of Latimer at Oxford



AFTER these disputations of Bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out Master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the eighteenth day of April; which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before: but it was most in English. For Master Latimer, the answerer, alleged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him Master Smith of Oriel college; Dr. Cartwright, Master Harpsfield, and divers others, had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped not hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Master Latimer was not suffered to read what he had (as he said) painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

(The preface of Weston unto the disputation following.)

Weston.—"Men and brethren! we are come together this day, (by the help of God,) to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish you that you answer in short and few words."

Latimer.—"I pray you, good Master Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue."

Weston.—"Take your ease, father."

Latimer.—"I thank you, sir, I am well; let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute; and afterwards do your pleasure with me."

The protestation of Master Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Dr. Weston.

"The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:

"The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine: in like manner his blood.

"The second is, that after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

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"The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitious, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

"Concerning the first conclusion, methinketh it is set forth with certain new-found terms that be obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril—I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abided in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence; that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence: which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many, concerning their corporal presence, I, for my part, take it but for a papistical invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

"Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no stay or ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for any lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

"The third conclusion (as I do understand it) seemeth subtly to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of Paul, where he saith, That Christ, his own self, hath made purgation of our sins. And afterward, That he might, saith he, be a merciful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins. So that the expiation or taking away of our sins, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself: and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers, By what authority do ye this, and who gave you this authority?—Where? when?—A man cannot, saith the Baptist, take any thing except it be given him from above: much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, If any man sin, saith St. John, we have, saith he,—(not a master or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass; but we have, saith he,) an advocate, Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

"What meaneth Paul, when he saith, They that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar? and so addeth, So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel.—Whereas he should have said, The Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing; that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is

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changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood; and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all Christian men are sacrificing priests.

"The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. Feed, saith Peter, as much as ye may, the flock of Christ: nay, rather, let us sacrifice as much as we may, for the flock of Christ. If so be the matter he as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which, at this day, is in such a price and estimation that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly, catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called a heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? except, perchance, they think a man feedeth the flock, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

"Thus, lo! I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. Oh, sir! you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption; but now, that I may speak the truth, (by your leave,) I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long.

"Surely it cannot be but a heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass; the which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor; but, sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your mastership what I mean." The first, is 'the popish consecration,' which hath been called a god's body-making. The second, is 'transubstantiation.' The third, is the 'Missal oblation.' The fourth, 'adoration.'

"These chief and principal portions, parts, and points, belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call 'the marrow-bones of the mass;' which indeed you, by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words in some of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else, indeed, plain out of the Scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded; although in disputation I now could nothing do to persuade the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a show of my former study, in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

"I have heard much talk of Master Doctor Weston to and fro in my time: but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queen's Majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, the great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counsel against the Lord; and also that this world hath been, and yet is, a tottering

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world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation; namely, in the Lord. For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have; for they so procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

"There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle St. Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ; but, pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from such men, saith the apostle St. Paul to Timothy.

"It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the epistles of Petilian 'Whosoever,' saith he, 'teacheth any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed.' Oh! beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basil have not such like words: 'Whatsoever,' saith he, 'is beside the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is sin.' Oh therefore take heed of this sin!

"There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watchword: Let no man, saith he, deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.—'But what mean you,' saith one, 'by this talk so far from the matter?' Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God!—you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment. And you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come; for you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein! I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm; but, in these things, I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen!"

Weston.—"Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?"

Latimer.—"No, good master; I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility."

Weston.—"Ye said, upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones thereof, in your book: but *we* will find a mass in that book."

Latimer.—"No, good Master Doctor, ye cannot."

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Weston.—"What find you then there?"

Latimer.—"Forsooth, a communion I find there."

Weston.—"Which communion?—the first or the last?"

Latimer.—"I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord; but I like the last very well."

Weston.—"Then the first was naught, belike."

Latimer.—"I do not well remember wherein they differ."

Weston.—"Then cake-bread and loaf-bread are all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the supper before, and therefore the Scripture saith, after they had supped: For ye know that St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper; and ye know no man can be drunken at our communion."

Latimer.—"The first was called 'The Jewish supper,' when they did eat the paschal lamb together; the other was called 'The Lord's supper.'"

Weston.—"That is false; for Chrysostom denieth that. And St. Ambrose, on I Cor. x., saith, that 'the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord.' And Gregory Nazianzen saith the same: 'Again he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples in the dining chamber, after the supper, and one day before his passion. But we keep it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection. And that first supper was called *αγάπη* [Greek: agape]: can you tell what that is?"

Latimer.—"I understand no Greek: yet I think it meaneth charity."

Weston.—"Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why, then, must the priest be hanged on the morrow.—And where find you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to turn my book: I find it in 1 Cor. xi. I trow these be his words: *probet autem seipsum homo*, &c.—I pray you, good master, what gender is *homo*?"

Weston.—"Marry, the common gender."

Cole.—"It is in the Greek, ο ανθρωπος [o anthropos]."

Harfsfield.—"It is ανης [anes], that is, vir."

Latimer.—"It is in my book of Erasmus's translation, *probet seipsum homo*."

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Fecknam.—"It is *probet seipsum* indeed, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Latimer.—"What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, he said, Who touched me? I know that some man touched me."

Weston.—"I will be at host with you anon.—cWhen Christ was at his supper, none were with him but his apostles only: ergo, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

Latimer.—"In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

Weston.—"So through the whole heretically translated Bible ye never make mention of priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a priest or minister (a minstrel, I may call him well enough) should do it of necessity?"

Latimer.—"A minister is a more fit name for that office; for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice."

Weston.—"Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by Scripture. Master Opponent, fall to it."

Smith.—"Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you: to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked sort. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?"

Latimer.—"I trust I have obtained of Master Prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to Master Prolocutor."

Smith.—"Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the acts."

Latimer.—"Disputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone clean, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison."

Weston.—"How long have ye been in prison?"

Latimer.—"These three quarters of this year."

Weston.—"And I was in prison six years."

Latimer.—"The more pity, sir."

Weston.—"How long have you been of this opinion?"

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Latimer.—"It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion."

Weston.—"The time hath been, when you said mass full devoutly."

Latimer.—"Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it."

Weston.—"Where learned you this new-fangleness?"

Latimer.—"I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years: and my Lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter."

Tresham.—"There are in that book six hundred errors."

Weston.—"You were once a Lutheran."

Latimer.—"No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Zurichers once did write a book against Luther, and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them answer."

Weston.—"Luther, in his book *De privata Missa*, said, that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appear, that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it."

Latimer.—"I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith."

Weston.—"Do you believe this, as you have written?"

Latimer.—"Yea, sir."

Weston.—"Then have you no faith."

Latimer.—"Then would I be sorry, sir."

Tresham.—"It is written, Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you. Which when the Capernaïtes, and many of Christ's disciples, heard, they said, This is a hard saying, &c. Now that the troth may the better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or the spiritual eating of the same?"

Latimer.—"I answer as Augustine understandeth: that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh."

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Tresham.—"Of what flesh meant Christ? his true flesh, or no?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally."

Tresham.—"Of what flesh mean the Capernaïtes?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh also; but to be taken with the mouth."

Tresham.—"They, as ye confess, did mean his true flesh to be taken with the mouth. And Christ also, as I shall prove, did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth. Ergo, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body."

Latimer.—"I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit; mind, and heart."

Tresham.—"I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas custom is a right good mistress and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake: Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer that Christ did understand his words, here cited of me out of John vi., of the eating with the mouth."

Latimer.—"He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind."

Tresham.—"But my reason doth conclude, that Christ spake concerning his flesh to be received with the corporal mouth: for otherwise (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had not been offensive to the Capernaïtes and his disciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do feign, it had been an easy matter for him to have said, You shall not eat my flesh with your mouth, but the sacrament of my flesh; that is to say, ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing itself, but the figure of the thing; and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Christ meant the selfsame thing that the Capernaïtes did, I mean concerning the thing itself to be received with the mouth; videlicet, that his true flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for 'the body of Christ,' 'the sacrament of the body of Christ,' and hereby do suppose that we obtain but a spiritual union, or union of the mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the fathers: for they affirm by plain and express words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And these be the words of Hilary: Therefore, if Christ did truly take the flesh of our body upon him, and the same man be Christ indeed, which was born of Mary; then we also do receive under a mystery the flesh of his body indeed, and thereby shall become one; because-the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a natural propriety by the sacrament is a perfect sacrament of unity?' Thus far hath Hilary. Lo! here you

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see how manifestly these words confound your assertion. To be short, I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before King Henry the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side; videlicet, This is my body; whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth; the word of Scripture hath the selfsame thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before, when you taught it?"

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to speak?"

Tresham.—"Speak Latin, I pray you; for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough."

Latimer.—"I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Master Prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the doctors, had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readiness, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, 'If the doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.'"

Smith.—"I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a syllogism.

"Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ's flesh, such, yea greater, is the unity of Christ with the Father.

"But the unity of Christ's flesh with ours, is true and substantial:

"Ergo, The unity of Christ with the Father, is true and substantial."

Latimer.—"I understand you not."

Scion.—"I know your learning well enough, and how subtle ye be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, De Cœna Domini. 'The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of blood. The New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of blood: but where doth it command the drinking of blood?'"

Latimer.—"In these words, Drink ye all of this."

Seton.—"Then we taste true blood."

Latimer.—"We do taste true blood, but spiritually; and this is enough."

Seton.—"Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid, to drink blood."

Latimer.—"It is true as touching the matter; but not as touching the manner of the thing."

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Seton.—"Then there is no difference between the drinking of blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old: for they also drank spiritually."

Latimer.—"And we drink spiritually, also; but a more precious blood."

Weston.—"Augustine, upon the 45th Psalm, saith, 'Drink boldly the blood which ye have poured out.'—Ergo, it is blood."

Latimer.—"I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: for the same St. Augustine saith, 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.'"

Weston.—"Nay, 'To believe, is not to drink or eat.' You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God."

Latimer.—"Is not 'to eat,' in your learning put for 'to believe?'"

Weston.—"I remember my lord chancellor demanded Master Hooper of these questions, whether 'to eat,' were 'to believe;' and 'an altar,' were Christ, in all the Scripture, &c.: and he answered, 'Yea.' Then said my lord chancellor, 'Why then, We have an altar of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much to say, We have a Christ in whom we may not believe.'"

Tresham.—"Believe, and thou hast eaten,' is spoken of the spiritual eating."

Latimer.—"It is true, I do allow your saying; I take it so also."

Weston.—"We are commanded to drink blood in the new law.—Ergo, it is very blood."

Latimer.—"We drink blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in sacramental wine. We drink blood sacramentally: he gave us his blood to drink spiritually: he went about to show, that as certain as we drink wine, so certainly we drink his blood spiritually."

Weston.—"Do not you seem to be a papist, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that 'sacramentally,' in God's book?"

Latimer.—"It is necessarily gathered upon Scripture."

Weston.—"The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of blood, but the New doth command

Latimer.—"It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof."

Weston.—"Hear, ye people, this is the argument:—

"That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

"To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New:

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"Ergo, It is very blood that we drink in the New."

Latimer.—"It is commanded spiritually to be drunk. I grant it is blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually."

Pie.—"It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law."

Latimer.—"The substance of blood is drunk; but not in one manner."

Pie.—"It doth not require the same manner of drinking."

Latimer.—"It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say."

[Here Weston cited the place of Chrysostom, of Judas's treason: "O the madness of Judas He made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to sell Christ, and Christ offered him his blood, which he sold."]

Latimer.—"I grant he offered to Judas his blood, which he sold, but in a sacrament."

Weston.—"Because ye can defend your doctors no better, ye shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind shall dispute with you.—Master Cartwright, I pray you dispute."

Cartwright.—"Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish and desire God, that you may also repent with me."

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused Master Doctor here to recant? It is 'the pain of the law,' which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; the which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolve it."

Cartwright.—"That is not my cause; but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors.

"If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time.

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err:

"Ergo, It is the true body of Christ."

Latimer.—"The popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation. But the Romish church

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begat the error of transubstantiation. My Lord of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him."

Cartwright.—"Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament: and St. Augustine also, upon Psalm xcviij., upon this place, *Adorate scabellum pedum, &c.*, granteth that it is to be worshipped."

Latimer.—"We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we do worship him in the sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be used."

Smith.—"Do you think that Cyril was of the ancient church:"

Latimer.—"I do think so."

Smith.—"He saith, 'That Christ dwelleth in us corporally.' These be Cyril's words of the mystical benediction."

Latimer.—"That 'corporally' hath another understanding than you do grossly take it."

[Here Smith repeateth these words of Cyril, "By the communicating of the body of Christ, Christ dwelleth in us corporally."]

Latimer.—"The solution of this, is in my Lord of Canterbury's book."

Smith.—"Cyril was no papist, and yet these be his words, 'Christ dwelleth in us corporally:' but you say, be dwelleth in us spiritually."

Latimer.—"I say, both; that he dwelleth in us both corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning: spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of Canterbury's book."

Weston.—"Because your learning is let out to farm, and shut up in my Lord of Canterbury's book, I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambrose, where he saith, 'We see the chief priest coming unto us, and offering blood,' &c. Likewise both Augustine on Psalm xxxviii., and Chrysostom, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, say, *Non solum homines, &c.*"

Latimer.—"I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance; and these testimonies are more than I can bear away."

Weston.—"Then you must leave some behind you, for lack of carriage."

Latimer.—"But for Chrysostom, he hath many figurative speeches, and emphatical locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited: but he saith not, 'For the quick and the dead:' He taketh the celebration for the sacrifice."

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Weston.—"You shall hear Chrysostom again, upon Acts ix., 'What say you? The host in the hands of the priest,' &c.:—He doth not call it a cup of wine."

Latimer.—"Ye have mine answer there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, a propitiatory sacrifice."

Weston. You shall hear it to be so: and I bring another place of Chrysostom out of the same treatise, 'It was not rashly instituted by the apostles,' &c."

Latimer.—"He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himself."

Weston.—"here, in another place of Chrysostom to the people of Antioch, and also to the Philippians, he saith, 'There should be a memory and sacrifice for the dead.'"

Latimer.—"I do say, that the holy communion beareth the name of a sacrifice, because it is a sacrifice memorative."

Weston.—"How say you to the sacrifice of the dead?"

Latimer.—"I say, that it needeth not, and it booteth not."

Weston.—"Augustine, in his Enchiridion, saith, 'We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them:'—where he proveth the verity of Christ's body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said mass for his mother."

Latimer.—"But that mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word."

Weston.—"In the same place he proveth a propitiatory sacrifice, and that upon an altar; and no oyster-board."

Latimer.—"It is the Lord's table, and no oyster-board. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I believe them when they say well."

Cole.—"Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say, you are of the old fathers' faith where they say well; and yet ye are not."

Latimer.—"I am of their faith when they say well. I refer myself to my Lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein."

Smith.—"Then are not you of Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith."

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Latimer.—"I have said, when they say well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their faith. And further Augustine requireth not to be believed."

Weston.—"Origen, homily thirteen upon Leviticus—"

Latimer.—"I have but one word to say: 'the sacramental bread' is called a propitiation, because it is a sacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?"

Weston.—"My vocation is at this time to dispute; otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is to offer."

Latimer.—"Where have you that authority given you to offer?"

Weston.—"Hoc facite, Do this: for *facite* in that place, is taken for *offerte*, that is, offer."

Latimer.—"Is *facere* nothing but 'to sacrifice?' Why, then, no man must receive the sacrament but priests only: for there may none other offer but priests.—Ergo, there may none receive but priests."

Weston.—"Your argument is to be denied."

Latimer.—"Did Christ then offer himself at his supper?"

Pie.—"Yea, he offered himself for the whole world."

Latimer.—"Then if this word 'do ye,' signify 'sacrifice ye,' it followeth, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to sacrifice: and where find you that, I pray you?"

Weston.—"Forty year ago, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Latimer.—"The more cause we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world."

Weston.—"The light? nay, light and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often your communions and altars; and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church."

Latimer.—"These things pertain nothing to me; I must not answer for other men's deeds, but only for mine own."

Weston.—"Well, Master Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm: a sort of fling-brains and light-heads, which were never constant in any one thing;

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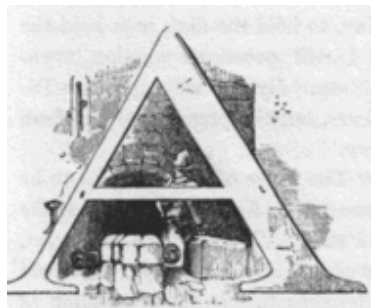
as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches. A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful. The more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, 'We make every year and every month a faith.' A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion-book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Zurichers, or the Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain-glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we see all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffer's hold. The queen's Grace is merciful, if ye will turn."

Latimer.—"You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

Weston.—"Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers."

Here all good readers may see, how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen.—And give, that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, *non sine suo Theseo*, that is, not without his tippling cup standing at his elbow all the time of his disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. Ridley, disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the opponent, *Urge hoc, urge hoc; nam hoc facie pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof.

253. Disputation of Harpsfield at Oxford



AND thus hast thou, loving reader, the whole action and stage of this doctorly disputation showed forth unto thee, against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou mayest behold the disordered usage of the university-men, the unmannerly manner of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the censure of the judges, the railing language of the oblocutor, with his blast of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor, the moderator, and also judge himself. And what marvel then, if the courage of this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, to do and say what him listed, would say for himself, *Vicit veritas*, although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true conclusion almost, in all that disputation.

It followeth furthermore, after disputation of these three days being ended, that Master Harpsfield, the next day after, which was the 19th of April, should dispute for his form, to be made doctor: to the which disputation the archbishop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to utter an argument or two in defence of his cause; as in sequel hereof may appear.

Disputation of Master Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, answering for his form, to be made doctor.

Harpsfield.—"I am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to entreat of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures; and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to show the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood: for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own heads and senses, but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, which hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to their posterity. But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as, Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me, &c. The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn souls. And that saying of St. Paul, All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works. Howbeit *doth* the law of the Jews convert their souls? *are* they by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

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"The heretics, also, have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus, that the poets speak of; who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the Scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, saith, 'He that doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, shall not have God to his Father.' Therefore it is true divinity, to be wise with the church, where Christ saith, Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.

"If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the Capernaïtes, neither would they have forsaken him. The flesh profited, nothing to them that do so take it. For the Capernaïtes did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spiced high things; not that they should have him as flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with the Spirit under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies."

These things which I have recited briefly, Master Harpsfield did, with many more words, set out: and hereupon Dr. Weston disputed against him.

Weston.—"Christ's real body is not in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Harpsfield.—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston.—"John xvi. I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c. Upon this I will make this argument.

"Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

"But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the world:

"Ergo, Christ is verily gone."

Harpsfield.—"He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here."

Weston.—"St. Augustine saith, that these words, I will be with you even to the end of the world, are accomplished, 'according to his majesty:' but 'by the presence of his flesh he is not here.' The church hath him not in flesh, but by belief."

Harpsfield.—"We must diligently weigh, that there are two natures in Christ: the Divine nature, and human nature. The Divine nature is of such sort, that it cannot choose but be in all places. The human nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So, where that the doctors do entreat of his presence by majesty, they do commend the majesty of the Divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural presence here in the sacrament."

Weston.—"He saith further, Ye shall not have me always with you, is to be understood in the flesh."

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Harfsfield.—"The presence of the flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such sort as a man may give him any thing: after that sort he is not present."

Weston.—"But what say you to this of Augustine, 'He is not here?'"

Harfsfield.—"I do answer out of St. Augustine upon John, Tract. 25, upon these words, I go to the Father, ye shall not see me; that is, 'such as I am now.' Therefore I do deny the manner of his presence."

Weston.—"I will overthrow St. Augustine with St. Augustine; who saith this also, How may a man hold Christ? Send thy faith, and thou holdest him.'—So he showeth, that by sending our faith, we do hold Christ."

Harfsfield.—"Indeed no man holdeth Christ, unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the sacrament. There, St. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us."

Weston.—"Nay, he speaketh there, how the fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time; saying, 'Your fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: do you hold him in your heart?' What words can be more plain? Further he saith, 'He is gone, and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us.' 'He is here in majesty, and gone touching the flesh.'"

Harfsfield.—"I do understand Augustine thus: that Christ is here in his flesh, to them that receive him worthily: to such as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge St. Augustine meaneth so. We have him, and have not: we have him in receiving of him worthily, otherwise not."

Weston.—"Nay, to hold the flesh is to hold the outward letter. I will prosecute another argument. Cyril doth say, 'By the majesty of his Divinity he is ever here, but the presence of his flesh hath he taken away.'"

Harfsfield.—"The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood: the most true flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril; thus said Augustine: and because this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the body to be in heaven,) they do not make against the presence in the sacrament.

"So unless ye can plainly show that the fathers do directly say, he is not in the sacrament, you make nothing against me: for I have showed why the fathers so spake. They did teach the great difference between the Divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before said."

Weston.—"I will then prove, that he is not in the sacrament, Vigilius against the heretic Eutiches, upon these words, 'Me ye have not always,' saith, 'The Son of God, as touching his

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humanity, is gone from us; by his Divinity he remaineth with us.' And the same Vigilius, in his fourth book, saith, 'He that is in the heaven, is not in the earth;' speaking of Christ."

Harfsfield.—"I will show you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutiches did believe, that the Divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigilius said, that the human nature was taken up and ascended; which could not so have done, unless he had a body. This he said not, to take away the presence in the sacrament: for what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament."

Weston. "Cyril saith, 'Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.'"

Harfsfield.—"By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking thence our help: for as touching his conversation, he is not so in the sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us, that he is not there to feed us; for after that sort he is there."

Weston.—"You have satisfied me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument.

"Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here.

"But when he did live bodily on earth, the same natural body was out of heaven:

"Ergo, Now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not in the earth."

Harfsfield.—"I deny the major."

Weston.—"Fulgentius saith, 'As to the substance of his humanity, he was absent from heaven when he came down from heaven.' These are Fulgentius's words touching his human substance: He was absent from heaven, when he descended from heaven; and touching the same substance, now he is in heaven he is not on the earth: but concerning the Divine nature, he never forsook, either heaven or earth.'"

After these words, not waiting Harpsfield's answer, he offered Master Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise:

Cranmer.—"I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the catholic church as judge thereof, you are much deceived; specially for that under the name of the church, you appoint such judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. I wonder likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and conferring of places; seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which

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you yourself have already alleged. And as touching your opinion of these questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And, to say the truth, the schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do riot agree therein among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to show my judgment also, I must desire you first to answer me to a few questions which I shall demand of you; which being done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin tongue, which, through long disuse, is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now, all other things set apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the truth. My first question is this: How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

Then answered a doctor, "He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance."

Harpsfield.—"He is there in such sort and manner, as he may be eaten."

Cranmer.—"My next question is, Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such-like properties?"

Harpsfield.—"Are these your questions?" said Master Harpsfield. "I may likewise ask you, 'When Christ passed through the Virgin's womb, *an ruperit necne?*'"

When they had thus awhile contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to answer: some thought one way, some another; and thus Master Doctors could not agree. Then Master Cranmer said thus:

Cranmer.—"You put off questions with questions, and not with answers, I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, 'Whether he have those properties which he had on the earth?'"

Tresham.—"No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body."

Smith.—"Stay you, Master Tresham: I will answer you, Master Doctor, with the words of Damascene, 'The bread is transformed,' &c.:—but if thou wilt inquire how, 'The manner is impossible.'"

Then two or three others added their answers to this question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another.

Cranmer.—"Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it."

Harpsfield.—"These are vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them."

Weston.—"Hear me a while: Lanfranc, some time bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto Berengarius upon such-like questions, 'They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked.'"

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Cranmer.—"If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it."

Harfsfield He is there as pleaseth him to be there."

Cranmer.—"I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired, for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body."

When again he was answered of divers at one time, some denying it to be a *quantum*, some saying it to be *quantitativum*; some affirming it to have *modum quanti*, some denying it; some one thing, some another;—up starts Dr. Weston, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, "It is a body, having quantity; but not according to the manner of quantity."

Whereunto Master Ward, a great sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence.—How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself either, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, that far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended: indeed he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of *quantum* and *quantitativum*. This that follows was, as it is thought, the effect; yet others think not. Howbeit we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake them.

Ward.—"We must consider," saith he, "that there are two positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which containeth. Christ is in the sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotle's Predicaments, called Situs. I remember I did entreat these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the philosophical disputations in the public schools. This position is *sine modo quantitativo*, as by an ensample: you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the sacrament *quantum, sine modo quantitativo*."

These words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into the heavens with Duns's ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom Master Cranmer said:

Cranmer.—"Then thus do I make my argument.

"In heaven his body hath quantity, in earth it hath none, by your saying:

"Ergo, He hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other in earth."

Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and so put off the antecedent: but thus said Master Harpsfield:

Harfsfield.—"I deny your argument;" [though some would not have had him say so.]

Cranmer.—"The argument is good. It standeth upon contradictories, which is the most sure hold."

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Harfsfield.—"I deny that there are contradictions."

Weston.—"I confirm the same: for one body may have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; and the same body was passible and impassible; one body may have wounds and not wounds."

Cranmer.—"This cannot be at one time."

Weston.—"The ensample of the potter doth prove that which I say; who of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith."

Cranmer.—"But I say again, that it is so; but at divers times: as one piece of meat to be raw and sodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heaven at one time, and should have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; which cannot be but by such argument as I have showed you."

Weston.—"But I say, Christ's body was passible and not passible at one instant."

Seton.—"You may ask as well other questions—how be is in heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?"

Cranmer.—"You yourself, by putting a natural presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore, next, I do ask this question: Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the sacrament?"

Harfsfield.—"Yea, they do so, even as the sun doth shine upon king's palaces, and on dung-heaps."

Cranmer.—"Then do I inquire, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?"

Harfsfield.—"These are curious questions, unmeet to be asked."

Cranmer.—"I have taken them out of your schools and schoolmen, which you yourselves do most use: and there, also, do I learn to ask, how far he goeth into the body."

Harfsfield.—"We know that the body of Christ is received to nourish the whole man, both body and soul: *eousque progreditur corpus quousque species.*"

Cranmer.—"How long doth he abide in the body?"

Seton.—"St. Augustine saith, 'Our flesh goeth into his flesh.' But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us, to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed."

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Here Master Tresham and one Master London answered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the body.

Harpsfield.—"You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; saying always that we should fetch the truth out of the Scripture: and now you yourself bring questions out of the schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us."

Cranmer.—"I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine: and yet I know right well, that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body? &c.: the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument.

"They which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them.

"But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:

"Ergo, The wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood."

Harpsfield.—"I will answer unto you as St. Augustine saith, not that howsoever a man doth eat, he eateth the body, but he that eateth after a certain manner."

Cranmer.—"I cannot tell what manner ye appoint; but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in John vi."

Harpsfield.—"In John vi. some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly."

Cranmer.—"Whatsoever he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men."

Harpsfield.—"If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so: and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant."

Cranmer.—"Now to the argument: He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Doth not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat that the good do?"

Tresham.—"You must add, 'He that eateth worthily.'"

Cranmer.—"I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of."

Weston.—"Augustine ad Fratres in Eremo, sermon 28, There is a certain manner of eating: Augustine speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily."

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Harpsfield.—"All things in John vi. are not to be referred to the sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is not entreaty made of the supper of the Lord, before they come unto *Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est,*" &c.

Cranmer.—"There is entreating of manna, both before and after."

Harpsfield.—"I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of poison in it, which must be thus bitten away:—That manna and this sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not its efficacy of itself, but of God."

Cranmer.—"But they that did take manna worthily, had fruit thereby: and so, by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both; and so there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason."

Harpsfield.—"When it is said, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of manna."

[If Master Harpsfield do mean of bodily life, they which eat the sacrament do die, as well as they which did eat the manna. If he mean of spiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat manna, nor all saved that do eat the sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the sacrament bringeth salvation: but only the spiritual believing upon Christ's bodily passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the effect is spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this chapter; so is the cause of that effect spiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our spiritual believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.]

Cranmer.—"They, then, which do eat either of them worthily, do live."

Harpsfield.—"They do live which do eat manna worthily; not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The others which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same."

Cranmer.—"Christ did not entreat of the cause, but the effect which followed: he doth not speak of the cause, whereof the effect proceedeth."

Harpsfield.—"I do say, the effects are diverse—life, and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof."

Cranmer.—"Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use both in manna and in the sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily, Christ spake absolutely of manna, and of the supper; so that, after that absolute speaking of the supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood. Further, Augustine, upon these words, *Qui manducat,* &c., saith, There are no such respects in common meats, as in the Lord's body. For who that eateth other meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever.' But you know wicked men do not so.—Ergo, Wicked men do not receive."

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Harfsfield.—"St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ's flesh, &c., after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner."

Cranmer.—"Only they which participate Christ, be of the mystical body.

"But the evil men are not of the mystical body.

"Ergo, They do not participate Christ."

Weston.—"Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Master Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren."

At this saying all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then Master Weston did oppose the respondent on this wise:

Weston.—"Tertullian doth call the sacrament, 'the sign and figure of the Lord.' St. Augustine ad Dardanum saith, 'The Lord did not stick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

"Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the Scriptures, saying: 'If the Scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example: To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech.'"

Harfsfield.—"Tertullian did write in that place against Marcion, a heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said, he had only a fantastical body. He went about to show, that we had Christ both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say that Christ was truly in the sacrament: for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he showed him, that it was the figure of Christ: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

"To the text of Augustine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names; for it may be called a figure in this declaration: That body which is in the sacrament, is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven.

"To the third: that which is brought by Augustine, for example, about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood; as tending to a general manner of eating: so 'To eat the flesh and drink the blood,' may be a figurative speech to exclude 'The eating of man's flesh.' The which is, when we eat man's flesh, cut in morsels, as we eat common meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the sacrament."

Weston.—"I understand your short and learned answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second question, which is of transubstantiation.

"The Scripture calleth it bread:

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"Ergo, it is bread."

Harfsfield.—"In the name of bread all is signified which we do eat."

Weston.—"Theodoret, an ancient writer, in his first dialogue, saith, that Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body."

Harfsfield.—"He doth there speak *de symbolo*, which is, 'The outward form of the sacrament.' He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own nature."

[Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his answer Augustine.]

Weston.—"Theodoret also, in his second dialogue of those kinds of bread and wine, saith, 'They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own substance.'"

Harfsfield.—"They are understood to be of the same substance wherein they are turned."

Weston.—"But what say you to this? They remain in their former substance."

Harfsfield.—"The outward signs do tarry."

"*Weston.*—"But what is meant here by this word *symbolum*?"

Harfsfield.—"The outward form or shape only of the nature."

Weston.—"Then you cannot call them a substance."

Harfsfield.—"Yes, sir, every thing hath a certain substance in his kind."

Weston.—"That is true; but accidents are not substances in their kind."

Harfsfield.—"They are substance in their own kind."

[Of this they contended much.]

Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, 'Like as before it is consecrated, it is bread: so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lord's body; whereas the nature doth remain.'"

Harfsfield.—"Where read you this place, I pray you?"

Weston.—"Here, in Peter Martyr I find it; I have his book in my hand."

Harfsfield.—"The author shall be of more credit, before that I make so much of him, as to frame an answer unto it."

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Weston.—"Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius saith, that the nature of bread and wine do tarry."

Harfsfield.—"What is that Gelasius?"

Weston.—"A bishop of Rome."

Harfsfield.—"Then he allowed the mass?"

Weston.—"Yea, and oftentimes said it: and purgatory he also allowed, and so prayer for the dead, relics, and invocation to saints."

Harfsfield.—"Belike, then, he meant nothing against transubstantiation."

Weston.—"It doth appear so indeed. But Origen saith, that the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy, and is eaten of worms."

Harfsfield.—"Tush, tush! this place appertaineth unto holy bread."

Weston.—"What! doth it appertain to holy bread?"

Harfsfield.—"Yea, unto holy bread."

Weston.—"By what means can you show how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the sacrament?"

Harfsfield.—"By the Scripture I prove that, which saith, This is my body."

Weston.—"It doth rejoyce all us not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only stay of our religion: by the which means you have proved yourself meet to be authorized further towards the practising of the Scripture."

"And here I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly consent with you: and have, for disputation's sake only, brought these arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this disputation, saying, Sacred theology is against it."

254. Concerning these Disputations

Certain observations or censures given to the reader, upon the disputations of the bishops and doctors above mentioned; declaring what judgment is to be given, as well touching the arguments of the adversaries, and also to the answers of the martyrs.



HUS ye have heard, in these aforesaid disputations about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answers and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor triumphing before the victory with *Vicit veritas*; who rather in my mind should have exclaimed *Vicit potestas*: as it happeneth always *ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For else if *potestas* had not helped the prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria*. But so it is, where judgments be partial and parties addicted, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple: but, contrariwise, all partiality set apart, if censure should be given upon these disputations with upright and indifferent judgment, weighing with the arguments on the one side, the answers on the other, we shall see victory there falsely bragged, where no victory was.

If in these disputations it had so been, that the distinction of the answers had been wiped away or removed by the opposers; or if the arguments, of the opponents' side, had been so strong that they could not be dissolved of the answerer, then would I confess victory gotten. But seeing now all the arguments, brought against the bishops, to be taken away by a plain distinction of Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally: and this distinction so to stand in force, that the contrary arguments were not able to infringe the same, we must say, *Vicit non veritas, sed potestas*, that is, He conquered not by truth, but by force.

And, for the reader's sake, to make the matter more largely and evidently to appear, concerning the distinction made of the bishops in this disputation, (whereby they did both repeat the arguments objected, and manfully maintain the verity,) here have we, as in a brief sum or table, expressed, as well their arguments, as the distinctions and answers of the other part to the same.

In these disputations the controversy is of the body of Christ, either to be present with us, or to be eaten of us, or to be united to us; which presence, eating, and uniting of him to us, standeth three manner of ways, Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally. And these three things must be considered after three divers respects; for the lack of the knowledge and consideration whereof, the papists, who take upon them most to maintain this matter, are much deceived and deceive many; of whom I cannot marvel enough, that they, being so full of distinctions in all their other questions, in this one matter neither will make distinction themselves, nor abide it in others. For who seeth not that the presence of Christ's body is one, to the faith and spirit of man—which is spiritual; and another to the body of man—which is bodily.

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Besides these two, there is also another presence differing from them both, which is "sacramental." Of things diverse and differing in themselves we must speak diversely, except we will confound things together which nature hath distincted asunder. Now they of the catholic part, as they call themselves, (other men call them papists,) whether for rudeness they cannot, or for wilfulness they will not see, speaking of the real presence of Christ, think there is no other presence of Christ real but in the sacrament; being deceived therein two manner of ways. First, that they consider not the nature of a sacrament; which is, not to exhibit the thing in deed which it doth represent, but to represent effectually one thing by another: for that is the property of a sacrament, to bear a similitude of one thing by another thing; of the which two things the one is represented, the other in deed exhibited. Secondly, that they consider not the operation of faith, which, penetrating up to heaven, there apprehendeth the real body of Christ, no less, yea, and more effectually, than if he were here bodily present to the eye.

To these two, the third error also of these men may be added: in that they seem either not to weigh the operation of Christ's passion enough, or else, not to feel the heavy torment of sin and miserable hunger of man's soul; which, if they did feel, they would easily perceive what a necessary and opportune nourishment to man's conscience, were the body of Christ on the cross broken, and his blood shed.

Wherefore these are to be distincted after their right terms. For that which is sacramental, by and by is not real; and, like as the real presence of Christ's body is to be distincted from the spiritual presence, so is it to be said of the eating, and also of the co-uniting or conjunction, betwixt his body and us: for as there is a real eating, so there is a spiritual eating, and also a sacramental eating.

Now the papists, whensoever they speak or read of the eating of Christ's body, conceive no other eating of him but only of that in the sacrament, and no otherwise; which is false and the cause of great error, in that they see not, neither do consider, how Christ is eaten, not only with the symbols or sacrament, but also without the sacrament: which eating standeth inwardly by faith, and pertaineth to the spirit of man, in apprehending or digesting with the stomach of faith those things which, by the outward sacrament, are represented. And of the spiritual eating of Christ speaketh the sixth chapter of St. John.

Besides this spiritual eating there is also a sacramental manducation of Christ's body, under, and with, the elements of bread and wine; that is, when both the mouth and spirit of man receive both the bread and the body together, in divers and sundry respects, bread substantially, the body sacramentally. The spirit receiveth the body only and not the bread.

The like distinction also is to be made of the uniting or conjunction betwixt Christ and us, which is both real, spiritual, and sacramental.

Further, here is to be noted, that to this sacramentally uniting, eating, and presence of Christ, in or under the sacrament, belong two things, Mutation and Operation, which the doctors much speak of. This "Mutation" is double, substantial and accidental.

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Mutation is called *substantial*, when one substance is changed into another, as water into wine, the rod of Aaron into a serpent, &c.; and this mutation, which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the Lord's supper.

The other mutation, which is *accidental*, (whereof the doctors entreat,) standeth in three points: that is, where the use, the name, and the honour of the sacramental elements be changed. In use: as, when the use of common bread is changed to a mystical and heavenly use, the name of bread and wine is changed to the name of the body and blood of Christ; the honour, from a not reverent, to a reverent receiving of the same, &c.

About "Operation" the Romish clergy make much ado; thinking there is no other operation but only transubstantiation. And this operation they ascribe to the five words of the priest: saying, that Christ, in calling a thing, maketh the thing so to be.

We affirm also that the words of Christ do work, but not as they do say; to wit, they work effectually in the material bread and wine: not in altering or trans-elementing the substance there, as Harding saith above, but in sanctifying the aforesaid creatures to be a sacrament, which cannot be but only by the virtue of the word and of the Holy Ghost, as St. Augustine saith; for else no priest or creature hath any such power to make a sacrament.

Of these aforesaid distinctions here followeth a brief Table to make the contents hereof more plain.

A Table declaring divers and sundry respects how the holy real body of Christ our Saviour, both in the sacrament and beside the sacrament, is present, eaten, and united to us.

The body of Christ is, really, spiritually, and sacramentally, *present, eaten, and united.*

FIRST.

The body of Christ is *really present.*

So was the body of Christ once present here on earth with us, and shall be again at the day of his coming. Otherwise it is not here really present, but only to our faith, really, that is to say truly, apprehending his body in heaven, and here feeding upon the same in earth. And thus is he present only to good men, whether with the symbols or without the symbols.

The body of Christ is *really eaten.*

Really, not with our bodily mouth, but with the mouth of faith; apprehending the real body of Christ, who suffered for us, and worketh to us nourishment of life and grace, &c.

The body of Christ is *really united.*

Really and corporally the body of Christ is united to us, by his incarnation, and the partaking of our flesh.

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SECONDLY.

The body of Christ is *spiritually present*.

Spiritually we say his body to be present, when either the body of Christ is present to our spirit and faith; or when the virtue of his body is present and redoundeth to our bodies and spirits by grace. And this differeth from the other real presence above, in this: that the one hath respect to the body apprehended, the other to the thing that doth apprehend.

The body of Christ is *spiritually eaten*.

Spiritually we eat the body and blood of Christ, not with mouth and teeth, but with faith only, whensoever we believe on the passion of Christ, being the true bread of life and the only food of man's soul. And thus is he eaten, but only of good men, as well besides the sacrament as with the sacrament; and of this eating speaketh the sixth chapter of John. And so was he eaten in the time also of the old law.

The body of Christ is *spiritually united*.

Spiritually he is united unto us, when the properties of his holy body, as his innocence, power, glorification, eternity, beatitude, &c., are united to our bodies and spirits, which cometh by our faith in him, according to his words in John xvii. 23, I in them, and thou in me, &c. And this uniting, standing by grace, cometh as well besides the sacrament, as with the sacrament; only to the godly.

THIRDLY.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally present*.

Sacramentally his body is present, by representation of another thing which beareth a similitude or a memorial of his body; and his sacramental presence, pertaining to the outward mouth of the receiver, is common as well to the good as to the evil. And this sacramental presence ought not to be alone, but to be joined with the spiritual presence, &c.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally eaten*.

Sacramentally we eat with our bodily mouth the mysteries of bread and wine, not being the real body indeed, but representing the real body indeed; *id est, Non panem Dominum, sed panem Domini*; that is, not the Lord as bread, but the bread of the Lord. And this eating, if it be not joined with the other two above, profiteth nothing; and, so, is eaten only of the evil. If it be adjoined, then is it eaten of the good, and them it profiteth.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally united*.

The sacrament, as it is not the real body itself of the Lord, so it causeth not itself any real conjunction betwixt Christ's real body and ours, but representeth the same; declaring that as the material bread, digested in our bodies, is united to the same, so the body of Christ, being received by faith, changeth our spirits and bodies to the nature of him.

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To the sacramental presence, and eating of Christ, pertain two things chiefly to be considered: *Mutation* and *Operation*.

MUTATION.

First, Mutation *substantial*.

Whereby one substance is changed into another: as, water into wine; the rod of Aaron into a serpent, &c. And this "mutation," which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the sacrament; for, then, accidents of bread should also be changed, as the accidents of Aaron's rod were changed, with the substance, into a serpent.

Secondly, Mutation *accidental*.

Of this "mutation" speak the doctors, meaning not of the change of substance but of accidents, which standeth in three things, in the *use*, in *name*, and in *honour*.

First, *In use*.

As when the use of common bread is changed into a mystical and heavenly use.

Secondly, *In name*.

When the name of bread and wine passeth away, and is changed into the name of the body and blood of the Lord, and, so, is the name changed.

Thirdly, *In honour*.

As when the bread and wine which before were received not with honour, are now received with honour and reverence: not that we honour the bread and wine, but the things represented in them, as, in a king's letter and seal, we honour the king and not the seal.

OPERATION.

First, Operation *in* the sacraments.

The operation of the word in the sacraments is this: to change, not the substance of the sacrament, but that the substance thereof remaining may be made the body of Christ, that is, the sacrament of the body of Christ. And this operation cannot come but by the Holy Ghost. Whereof Augustine saith: *Panis non sanctificatur in sacramentum tam magnum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei*.

Secondly, Operation *of* the sacraments.

The operation of the sacraments is thought by the papists to give grace, which, in very deed, give not grace of their own work; but only serve as instruments and means of that grace

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and life which cometh from God. So Peter calleth it the word of life; and St. Paul calleth the gospel of Christ, the power of God unto salvation. Not that they themselves give life and salvation, but that they are certain means and instruments of that life and salvation which cometh to us from God.

To the spiritual presence and manducation of Christ, principally belongeth the sixth chapter of St. John; albeit two sorts of bread are there specified, namely, *bodily or sacramental*, and *spiritual* bread.

First, Bodily or sacramental, of the *Old Testament*; and also of the *New Testament*.

The bodily or sacramental bread of the *Old Testament* signifying Christ to come, as manna, the rock, &c.; and the bodily or sacramental bread of the *New Testament* signifying Christ being already come, as the holy eucharist.

Secondly, Spiritual bread.

Spiritual bread, which is Christ himself, born for us, and given for the life of the world. John vi. My flesh is meat indeed, &c.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, in this aforesaid table set forth unto thee the diverse respects how the real body of the Saviour is eaten in the sacrament, and out of the sacrament, &c. By which table, if thou mark it well, thou mayest answer easily to the most part of the arguments which the papists bring. And now these things being premised, let us see and examine the arguments of the aforesaid doctors, here in brief sum repeated again, and, afterwards, annex the resolution of the same.

A Table of the principal arguments brought against Doctor Cranmer.

I. *Chedsey*.—"That thing which was given for us, is here contained; from the words of Christ. "The substance of bread was not given for us: Ergo, the substance of bread is not contained in the sacrament."

II. *Oglethorpe*.—"This word *body*, being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance.

"But one substance is not predicated, or affirmed, denominatively, upon another: Ergo, it is an essential predication, and, so, it is his true body, and not a figure of his body."

III. *Oglethorpe*.—"Christ hath no less care for his espouse than a father for his household. "No father maketh his will with tropes for deceiving his household: Ergo, Christ used no tropes in making his Will or Testament."

IV. *Weston*.—"A good heir will not say that the testator did lie.

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"Whoso saith, that the testator 'spoke by figures,' saith that the testator did lie: Ergo, he that saith that Christ our testator spake by figures is no good heir."

V. *Cole*.—"If it be bread it cannot be the body; *a disparitis*.

"But Christ saith it is his body: Ergo, it cannot be bread."

VI. *Weston*.—"The same flesh is given us to be eaten, by which he is made our brother and kinsman.

"By his true, natural, and organical flesh, he is made our brother and kinsman: Ergo, he gave us his true and organical flesh to eat."

VII. *Weston*.—"He gave us the same flesh, which he took of the Virgin.

"He took his flesh of the Virgin not spiritually: Ergo, he gave his true flesh, and not [his flesh] spiritually."

VIII. *Weston*.—"As mothers nourish their children with their milk, so Christ nourished us with his body.

"Mothers nourish not their infants spiritually with their milk: Ergo, Christ nourisheth us not spiritually with his body."

IX. *Weston*.—"If Christ gave wine for his blood, then he gave less than mothers to their infants. "Chrysostom saith, 'Christ gave more to us than mothers to their infants:' Ergo, he gave not wine for his blood."

X. *Weston*.—"That thing which is worthy the highest honour, is showed forth in earth.

"Christ's body is worthy the highest honour: Ergo, Christ's body is showed forth in earth."

XI. *Chedsey*.—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.

"The soul is fed by the body of Christ: Ergo, the body eateth the body of Christ."

XII. *Chedsey*.—"The flesh eateth Christ's body that the soul may be fed therewith.

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body: Ergo, the flesh eateth the body of Christ."

XIII. *Tresham*.—"As Christ liveth by his Father, so we live by his flesh eaten of us.

"Christ liveth by his Father naturally, not by unity of will: Ergo, we live by eating Christ's flesh naturally, not by faith only and will."

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XIV. *Young*.—"A figurative speech is no working thing; Christ's speech is a working thing: Ergo, Christ's speech is not figurative in this sacrament."

XV. *Pie*.—"The words of Christ work that, there, which redeemed the people.

"The natural blood of Christ redeemed the people: Ergo, the words of Christ make, there, the natural blood of Christ."

XVI. *Chedsey*.—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament.

"But Christ is truly and really incarnate: Ergo, Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

XVII. *Weston*.—"The substance of our flesh could not be increased thereby, except it were the true body and blood of Christ.

"But the substance of our body is increased thereby, which we receive in the sacrament: Ergo, it is the true body and blood, which we receive in the sacrament."

A Table of the principal arguments objected against Dr. Ridley.

XXIII. *Smith*.—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth: Ergo, notwithstanding his ascension, and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on earth.

"Or thus; Christ's ascension into heaven letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, seen on the earth: Ergo, his ascension letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, in the sacrament."

XIX. *Weston*.—"We offer one thing at all times. There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete: Ergo, by Chrysostom, there is one body both in heaven and earth."

XX. *Smith*.—"He was seen of Paul as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven, [1 Cor. xv.]

"But his vision was a corporal vision: Ergo, he was seen corporally on earth, after his ascension."

XXI. *Tresham*.—"He was seen after such sort that he might be heard: Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard."

XXII. *Smith*.—"He was seen so of him as of others.

"But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visible to them on earth: Ergo, he was seen of Paul on earth."

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XXIII. *Weston*.—"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him: Ergo, he is present here with us."

XXIV. *Ward*.—"He delivered that which he bade them take.

"But he bade them not take material bread, but his own body: Ergo, he gave not material bread, but his own body."

XXV. *Weston*.—"That which Christ gave we do give.

"But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body: Ergo, we give no figure, but his body."

XXVI. *Ward*.—"My sheep hear my voice and follow me.

"But all the sheep of Christ hear this voice, This is my body, without a figure: Ergo, the voice of Christ, here, hath no figure."

XXVII. *Ward*.—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten.

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper and in the sacrament of the altar: Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ."

XXVIII. *Ward*.—"He desired to eat his passover.

"But the Judaical passover was not his: Ergo, he meant not of the Judaical passover."

XXIX. *Ward*.—"He gave us his flesh to be eaten, which he took of the earth, in which, also, he here walked, &c.

"But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, This is my body: Ergo, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh."

XXX. *Curtop*.—"That which is in the cup is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

"But his true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ: Ergo, his true and pure blood is in the cup."

XXXI. *Watson*.—"Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it.

"But bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto it: Ergo, the bread and wine are not sacraments."

XXXII. *Smith*.—"Every man may bear, in his own hands, a figure of his body.

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"But Augustine denied that David could carry himself in his hands: Ergo, Augustine speaketh of no figure of his body."

XXXIII. *Tresham*.—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ: Ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar."

XXXIV. *Weston*.—"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist, which the wise men did worship in the manger."

"But that was his natural real body, not spiritual: Ergo, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist."

Arguments objected against Master Latimer.

Seton's arguments, formed by Weston.—"You say, That which was forbidden in the Old Testament is commanded in the New."

"To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament and commanded in the New: Ergo, by your own saying, it is the very blood that we drink in the New."

Cartwright.—"If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time."

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err: Ergo, it is the true body of Christ."

The argument of Doctor Cranmer objecting against Harpsfield.

Doctor Cranmer.—"Christ's body, in heaven, hath quantity."

"The papists say, Christ's body in earth hath no quantity: Ergo, by the papists Christ hath two bodies, one in heaven, another in earth."

Doctor Cranmer.—"They that do eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and be in them. The wicked do not remain in him, nor lie in them: Ergo, the wicked eat not his flesh, nor drink his blood."

Here follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments above mentioned, by number and order of the same; and first to the arguments objected against Doctor Cranmer.

I. First, to answer to Chedsey's first argument: Cranmer denieth the argument, and may well so do, for the form thereof is faulty; which, being in the first figure, hath his minor negative. Again, he answereth to the major by a distinction, being two ways: How the body may be contained Really,—and so it is false; Sacramentally,—and so it is true.

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II. One substance or *disparatum* cannot be affirmed of another properly; but figuratively it may: and therefore we say this is a figurative locution: Bread is the body of Christ (meaning bread to be a figure of the body).

III. The minor is false; for, though equivocation of one word sometimes, peradventure, may deceive, yet the whole sense or locution, being tropical, doth not deceive, but rather serveth for beautifying of the oration, and for the better help of the hearers. And if the trope be not perceived of all, the fault is not in the trope, but in their ignorance.

IV. The authority of St. Augustine, *De unitate Ecclesiæ*, proveth the major, which we also do allow. For who knoweth not that a man, at his death, will commonly speak the truth? But we deny the minor, That he which speaketh by figure or trope doth lie: that St. Augustine yet hath not proved, nor Dr. Weston either. Christ, after his supper, being more near his death, saith, Let this cup pass from me; calling his passion "the cup," by a metaphor; yet he lied not.

V. Cole saith, "This argument cannot be dissolved." But Cranmer's answer cannot be infringed; for, if one *disparatum* cannot be affirmed of another by any way than by that rule, "Christ is not the rock;" "Bread cannot be the body" (being disparate one from the other) I grant, speaking properly; but figuratively, or sacramentally, it may.

VI. and VII. Cranmer answereth to the major by a distinction: "The same body is given which was born of the Virgin, but not after the same manner." Of the Virgin, his body was born really: in the sacrament, it is eaten sacramentally and figuratively.

VIII. The nourishment of mothers and of Christ agree in this, wherein they are compared: that is, that they both do nourish their children with their own bodies, but not after one way of nourishing. The mother feedeth her infant by putting her milk into his mouth and body, really; Christ likewise feedeth us with his body broken for us; not in putting his flesh, broken, into our bodies, but in offering the passion of his body to our faith, spiritually; and, in the bread, sacramentally.

IX. The major is false: Christ giveth not only wine for his blood, but giveth both wine and his blood. Wine as a holy sacrament of his blood, to be taken with mouth, wherein, not the wine, but his blood, is to be considered; and also, besides the wine, he giveth his blood to be received with faith, and these two be more than mothers give to their infants.

X. In this argument is a point of false packing; for where Chrysostom hath, *Ostenditur in terra*, the prolocutor thrusteth in *est in terra*. And so is the argument answered—the body of Christ is showed here on earth in a sacrament, and the same body, so showed, is worthy highest honour.

XI. and XII. This argument is to be denied for lack of form, except Chedsey would thus form it: "The soul of man is fed, there, with what the body eateth; The soul of man is fed with Christ's body, and not with sacraments: ergo, the body of man eateth the body of Christ, and not the sacrament," &c.—First, the major is false as it standeth. And here note the deceit of Chedsey in putting in "therewith," which Tertullian hath not: his words be these, "The flesh feeds on the

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body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be nourished by God."—Here Chedsey, for "by God," hath "by it;" which corrupteth the meaning of Tertullian, who saith "by God:" meaning that the soul is fed spiritually, and the body sacramentally. Secondly, to the minor: if the soul be not fed with the sacraments, how is it true then that the papists say the sacraments give grace?

XIII. The major is false and to be denied: for the similitude of Christ's living by his Father, and our living by eating the body of Christ, is not like. For if Christ live, naturally, by his Father, so do not we eat the body of Christ naturally in the sacrament, nor live naturally by eating the same; but naturally we live by Christ, in that he took our natural body—not that we eat his natural body.

XIV. To the minor it is answered by a distinction: "For the speech of Christ worketh two manner of ways, by making, and by instituting." The speech of Christ, at the supper, worketh, not by making any new substance or by changing the old, but by instituting a sacrament by the power of the word and of the Holy Spirit; of which instituting St. Augustine speaketh: "The bread is not consecrated to so great a sacrament, unless by the unseen work of the Spirit of God."

XV. To the major, being grounded upon the words of Ambrose, the archbishop answereth, That there is the same blood which redeemed the people, but not after the same manner; for, on the cross, the blood of Christ was there, simply and really: at the supper and in the cup, it is sacramentally and by a similitude. As Ambrose saith himself in another place, "As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood."

XVI. As concerning this argument here is to be noted, that the archbishop found fault with Chedsey for false translating of Justin, *Cibum ilium consecratum per sermonem*: whereas the Greek text of Justin hath not ἱερουθεισαν ἡρνωσων, but ευχαριστηθεισαν; that is *non consecratum*, meat not consecrated; but meat only over which thanks be given. Then to the argument; If Christ be so truly in the sacrament, as he was truly incarnate of the Virgin, then can there be no transubstantiation; for, as the Word was made flesh, not by changing the substance of the Word into the substance of flesh, so is not the substance of bread changed into the body.

XVII. To the XVIIth, the major, as it standeth, is not to be granted: "The substance of our flesh may be nourished and increased with that which is received, though it be not the true and real body of Christ; for the bread, being a sacrament of Christ's real body, may feed the body of man, and so doth the real body of Christ properly feed the soul and not the body; as Tertullian saith, 'The body is nourished by the symbolical bread, the soul by the body of Christ.'"

Next follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments objected against Dr. Ridley; wherein the less labour shall need to be taken, because he, being more practised in the schools, hath sufficiently and fully answered the same before.

XVIII. Argument: This argument doth not hold; and that for three causes, as Dr. Ridley in his answers seemeth to infer. First, that the presence of Christ may be upon earth according to any thing which belongs to the body of Christ, and not according to his real or corporal substance; and so he granteth his ascension not to let his presence to be in the sacrament.

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Secondly, if Christ, after his ascension, was seen here in earth, as to Paul, Stephen, and Peter, &c., yet, whether he appeared from heaven to them on earth, or whether their eyes from earth were rapt up to him in heaven, it is doubtful; and of things doubtful no certain judgment can be given. Thirdly, though he had so manifested himself at certain times to be seen as pleased him, yet by that is proved that he *was*, and not that he *is* present here now in earth; and therefore, as this, his abiding in heaven, is no let but that he may be in the sacrament if he list, so this his appearing sometimes on the earth, is no proof that he list now to be in the sacrament when he may.

XIX. To the antecedent: "One Christ is complete at all times, and in all places;" but Chrysostom saith not, that one body of Christ is in all places.

XX. and XXI. It may be that Christ might appear to Paul, not he coming down from heaven—but that the eyes of Paul, rising up to heaven, there might apprehend him. Again it may be, that the power and glory of Christ might appear to Paul, and yet the body of Christ remain still in heaven; but, if his body was then really present on earth, yet his body was not at one time both in heaven and earth together. But what should we say then to the pix? If the body of Christ be so often on the altar and so long in the pix as they make him, then, by this reason, Christ's body is either seldom, or never, lightly, in heaven.

XXII. He answereth to the minor by a distinction: If the being or appearing of Christ here on the earth be referred as to a place, so he denieth that Paul or others did see him corporally being here on earth; but if it be referred as to the verity of his person, so he granteth it may be. And yet, as is said, whether he descended down, or their spirits ascended up, it is doubtful: certes, to whomsoever he appeared, yet his appearing was in the air above, and not on the earth.

XXIII. The force of this argument is grounded upon Chrysostom, "Christ both left his flesh to us, and ascended having it with him." To the which it is thus answered: That Christ both took his flesh and left the same with us; but not after the same manner: for he took up his flesh really, and left the same behind sacramentally. And therein he did more than Elias, for he, as he left his mantle behind him really, so he took the same with him no manner of way.

XXIV. This argument of Master Ward, as the terms stand, is neither a right figure nor mode. Again, there is a *fallax a dicto secundum quid ad id quod simpliciter*: and therefore the minor is well denied. For Christ, in giving them his body to eat, did not give his body *simpliciter* to be eaten, but after a certain manner, that is, sacramentally his body, and materially his bread; and so both bread and his body, in sundry respects.

XXV. The minor of this argument standeth upon Theophylact, "He did not not say it is a figure of my flesh, but it is my body;" which author, as he is not to be numbered among the most ancient, so neither among the most sound of writers. He was about that time, when this controversy about transubstantiation began first to grow, and when the contention was between the Greek church and the Latin about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, &c. But, to let authority stand: this place upon St. Mark is answered by another place of the said author upon St. John, cap. vi.: *Attende quod panis in mysteriis non est tantum figuratio quædam carnis Domini, sed ipsa caro Domini, &c.*; meaning that here, which he speaketh above: That the sacrament is not

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only a figure, (that is, no bare and void figure,) but a reverend sacrament of the body, and, after a manner, the body itself, of Christ.

XXVI. The minor hereof is untrue, if it stand universally for all the true sheep of Christ.

XXVII. The major of this argument, taken out of Justin, maybe taken two ways: for the giving of the body of Christ, may be understood either really, and so the major is false; or spiritually, and so the minor faileth: for he gave his flesh, not only in the supper, but also on the cross.

XXVIII. The major is false: The Judaical passover is not strange from Christ, for that he is the Lord of all.

XXIX. The minor is denied: for he gave his flesh to be eaten, both in the eucharist and also otherwise; as is before declared: In the eucharist, sacramentally to be eaten; on the cross, and also in the world, spiritually.

XXX. To the major he answereth: The true blood, and the same blood which issued out of his side, is in the cup; but not after the same manner. From his side it streamed, really and substantially. In the cup it is sacramentally, that is, by way and condition of representation, so by him ordained. The question is not of being, for that is granted on both parties, but of the manner of being, which now in heaven is really; in the receivers is spiritually; in the eucharist is sacramentally.

XXXI. The minor is thus to be understood: Bread and wine, as it is common bread and common wine, have no promise; but, as they be sanctified into a sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, they have promise of grace annexed; but so annexed, that not they themselves have or give the grace, but they are only as instruments whereby the grace cometh, not for their sake, but for that thing which they represent.

XXXII. This argument of Dr. Smith lacketh its right shape and form, having four terms, &c.

Further, to the sequel, which he inferreth upon this argument: "But Christ bare himself in his own hands: ergo, he bare no figure of his body," &c. To this is answered by a distinction really and sacramentally. Really, neither David nor Christ did bear himself in his own hands; sacramentally, David could not bear himself, but Christ so did at the supper; and that Augustine meaneth, adding this word, *quodam modo*, after a certain manner; expounding thereby his words before. And this Dr. Smith, falsely and craftily, leaveth out, in alleging the doctor's words.

XXXIII. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ, he granteth, but only sacramentally; that is, that thing which beareth a sacrament of the natural body of Christ: but good men eat the same, both sacramentally and spiritually.

XXXIV. To the major he answereth: We worship the same natural body of Christ, which the wise men did worship, but not after the same manner; that is, not really here present to our

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bodies, as he was to theirs, but spiritually or sacramentally; and, so we worship Christ spiritually in his word and Scriptures, and yet we say not that he is really present in the Scriptures.

Resolutions to the arguments objected against Master Latimer.

XXXV. To the major of this argument, Master Latimer answereth himself sufficiently before. As touching drinking of blood, it is forbidden in the Old Testament; and commanded in the New, as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing, &c.

XXXVI. First he denieth the major; secondly he distincteth the word "church" in the minor; for as there is the true church of Christ which he never suffereth to err, in the whole, from the apostles' time, (although it may, in part, sometime,) so there is the popish church, and that erreth and hath erred; which first begat the error of transubstantiation in the time of Pope Innocent the Third about the year 1215.

255. Various Documents Relating to the Disputations

Here followeth a copy of the letter of warrant, sent from the queen to Richard Atkinson, mayor of Oxford; Richard Ivery, and William Jony, bailiffs; and the rest of the aldermen and inhabitants of the same city, concerning the custody and bringing forth of the said bishops to the disputations.

A letter of Warrant, &c.

To our trusty and well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants, of the city of Oxford.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, clerk, now remaining in your custody, by your appointment, have, besides other their great crimes, maintained and openly set forth divers heresies and erroneous and most pernicious opinions, contrary to the catholic faith of Christ's church, to the great offence of Almighty God, and evil and dangerous example of all our faithful and loving subjects:—like as it hath been wisely considered in the convocation of the bishops, prelates, and other the clergy of our realm, that the heresies, moved and nourished by the fore-said persons and other their adherents, being no less perilous for the state of our realm than hurtful to the setting-forth of God's glory and the furtherance of the catholic religion, are meet to be, by learning, convinced and overthrown in time:—so have they, for that purpose, appointed certain grave and well learned doctors and others, as well of that our university of Oxford as of our university of Cambridge, to hear, in open disputation, the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; so as their erroneous opinions, being by the word of God justly and truly convinced, the residue of our subjects may be thereby the better established in the true catholic faith: We therefore, minding to have the truth of Christ's catholic religion set forth and justly established among our loving subjects, to his glory and benefit of this our realm, do let you wit, that our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as, the said learned persons appointed for that purpose shall require you to cause the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer (every or any of them) to be brought to the place of open disputation, you shall not only give order for the same conveying thither of them, or any one or two of them, at the hours to them to be appointed, but also to receive them again into your custody, to be kept all together or separately as the commissioners shall appoint from time to time, until further order shall be taken in this behalf accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the sixth of April, and in the first year of our reign."

The report and narration of Master Ridley, concerning the misordered disputation had against him and his fellow prisoners at Oxford.

"I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men recounted to be of

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knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like to stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. The Sorbonical clamours—which at Paris I have seen in times past, when popery most reigned—might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators and overseers of others, and which should have given good examples in words and gravity; they themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good Christian reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But lest, by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause—yea, rather God's cause and his church's—should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, through false reports and untrue examples given out of our disputation, and so the verity might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers; to the intent that whosoever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many; speaking many times all together so thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was answered on my behalf to them so sundry and divers opponents.

"Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, (with hissing and clapping of hands,) and that in the English tongue, to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off, by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

"At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words (and that after the manner and law of schools); afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, 'He speaketh blasphemies! he speaketh blasphemies!' And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor, being moved, cried out on high, 'Let him read it! let him read it!'): yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, such confusion of voices, crying, 'Blasphemies! blasphemies!' as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like; except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!' And except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa; where, it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations:

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all were in a hurly-burly; and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor, in the second book of his history.

"The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in popery; and I am assured he will say, I spake the least. But, to complain of these things further, I will cease."

And further, speaking of this disputation, he concludeth with these words:

"And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters; which fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses, and favour of the whole university."

After the disputation of Master Latimer ended, which was the eighteenth of April; the Friday following, which was the twentieth of the said month, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particularly dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe, or no. And first to the archbishop of Canterbury, he said, he was overcome in disputations. To whom the archbishop answered, that whereas Dr. Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all that he said was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them; so thick their reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak. Master Ridley and Master Latimer were asked what they would do: they replied, that they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their supporters and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turn or no: and they bade them read on in the name of God; for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

After which, sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: the archbishop first beginning thus:

The archbishop of Canterbury.—"From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty; trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley.—"Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come."

Master Latimer.—"I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

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Dr. Weston to Latimer.—"If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another; videlicet, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley was carried to the sheriff's house, Master Latimer to the bailiff's.

On Saturday following, they had a mass with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo; Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house; Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfax, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spenser's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Dr. Weston carried the sacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him. Immediately after the sentence was given, Dr. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor in manner as followeth.

"Master Prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed (*me fateor neminem recusare*) to write what should be said, and to have had licence to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same:—these promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same; and I shall, by God's grace, procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master Prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, ye said then openly, that I should have time and place, to say and bring whatsoever I could, another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then, that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could, for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given, before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel at it all; and the due reformation of all things which are amiss, I commit to Almighty God my heavenly Father, who, by his dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he hath made the universal judge of all flesh, shall truly and righteously judge both you and me."

On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and past, being the twenty-third of the said month of April, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university unto the queen, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory unto the council. The which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half way to London, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them, &c. Likewise Bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London, the form of which letters, first of Dr. Ridley,

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then of the archbishop, and lastly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

Another letter of Bishop Ridley to the prolocutor.

"Master Prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and show all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester; and also to show and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you. And that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witness of them by whom I send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present; videlicet, the two bailiffs of Oxford—and of Master Irish, alderman, then there called to be a witness.

"By me Nicholas Ridley, the 13th of April, anno 1554."

The copy of the archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the council, sent by Dr. Weston, who refused to deliver it.

"In right humble wise showeth unto your honourable Lordships Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's Highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, and what I spoke against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your Lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first, of the real presence: secondly, of transubstantiation: and thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday, against me; upon Tuesday, against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday, against Master Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked without order: and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scanty be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto; whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard—for in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your Lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your Lordships, to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's Majesty; and I shall

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pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good Lordships in all godliness and felicity.

"April 23, 1554."

Bishop Ridley to Archbishop Cranmer.

"I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But, I trust, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported, that Serjeant Morgan, the chief justice of the Common Pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that Justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman. Item, that Master Rogers, Dr. Crome, and Master Bradford shall he had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answers, send them again to Austin, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and into perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh: the Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace!

"If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of England!—Turn, or burn."

256. Other Things which Happened in this Realm, in this Tumultuous Time.

These disputations being thus discussed and ended, which were at Oxford in the month of April, as is aforesaid: now let us return again to the prosecuting of our story, touching other things likewise that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of Queen Mary. And because things that happened in that time were so many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all—to the intent therefore to insert things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time, (albeit not much,) returning again to the month of July the year before, viz. 1553. In the which month of July, I showed before, how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel, and other lords and gentlemen appointed for that purpose, on St. James's day, (being the twenty-fifth of July,) and so to the Tower, where he remained.

These be the names of them that were committed to the Tower with the duke. First, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntingdon, Lord Ambrose Dudley and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same night; Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge.

The twenty-sixth of July, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Richard Corbet, were brought and committed to the Tower.

The twenty-seventh of July, the lord chief justice of England, and the Lord Mountacute, chief justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the Tower.

On the Friday, being the twenty-eighth of July, the duke of Suffolk and Sir John Cheke were committed to the Tower.

The thirtieth of July, the Lord Russel was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

The thirty-first of July, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet.

On the same day, being Monday, the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again. On Thursday the third of August, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

On Friday the fourth of August, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet.

On Saturday the fifth of August, the Lord Ferrers was committed to the Tower, and the same day Dr. Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea. The same day at night, Dr. Coxe was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Master Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day

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Dr. Tostal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday the sixth of August, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines, who before had been sent to the French king by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the despatch of his ambassage with the French king, returned to Guines, and so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday the seventh of August, *Dirige* in Latin was sung within the Tower, by all the king's chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister; whereat was present the queen, with most part of the council.

On Tuesday the eighth of August, the king's body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of Requiem was sung within the Tower, by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre, and did all things as in times past was done; at which mass the queen was present.

On Thursday the duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the duchess of Somerset was also delivered this Thursday.

On Sunday the thirteenth of August, Dr. Bourn preached at Paul's Cross: of the which sermon read before.

In the week following, commandment was given throughout the city, that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

On the Wednesday, being the sixteenth of August, Master Bradford, Master Beacon, and Master Veron, were committed to the Tower: with whom

also Master Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at Master Elsing's house in Fleet Street, where Master Bradford was taken; and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester fumed like a prelate, with the messenger.

On the Friday, being the eighteenth of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and there the same day condemned; the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

On Saturday the nineteenth of August, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day; the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge.

On that day a letter was sent unto Sir Henry Tirril, Anthony Brown and Edmund Brown, esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as should contemn the queen's order of religion, or should keep themselves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

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On Sunday the twentieth of August, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, and two hundred of the guard with their halberts, lest the people should have made any stir against the preacher.

On Monday the twenty-first of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On the which day also Queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, &c.: inhibiting in the said proclamation, printing and preaching. The tenor thereof read before.

On the Tuesday, being the twenty-second of August, the duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower Hill, as before is said. The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass, received the sacrament in one kind.

On Sunday the twenty-seventh of August, Dr. Chedsey preached at Paul's Cross; and the same day the bishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners, in the bishop's consistory within Paul's.

In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised; either to stablish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, out of credit, that he, to curry favour with Queen Mary, should promise to say "Dirige mass," after the old custom, for King Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore, to stop the noise and slanders of those rumours, on the seventh of September, 1553, he set forth a letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the copy of which letter here ensueth:

"As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and religion, with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his lifetime, and after, our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church; the devil goeth about now, by lying, to overthrow the Lord's supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince King Edward the Sixth, and that I offered also to say mass before the queen's Highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly; yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they are in no wise to be suffered.

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Wherefore, these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I that set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused mass to be set up there without mine advice or counsel. And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's Highness, or in any other place, I never did it; as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince King Edward the Sixth, in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed; and which his apostles and the primitive church used many years:—whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that Master Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet, if the queen's Highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Master Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these one thousand years: so that God's word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And whereas they boast of the faith, that hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past: and we shall prove, that the order of the church, set out at this present in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past—and so shall they be never able to prove theirs."

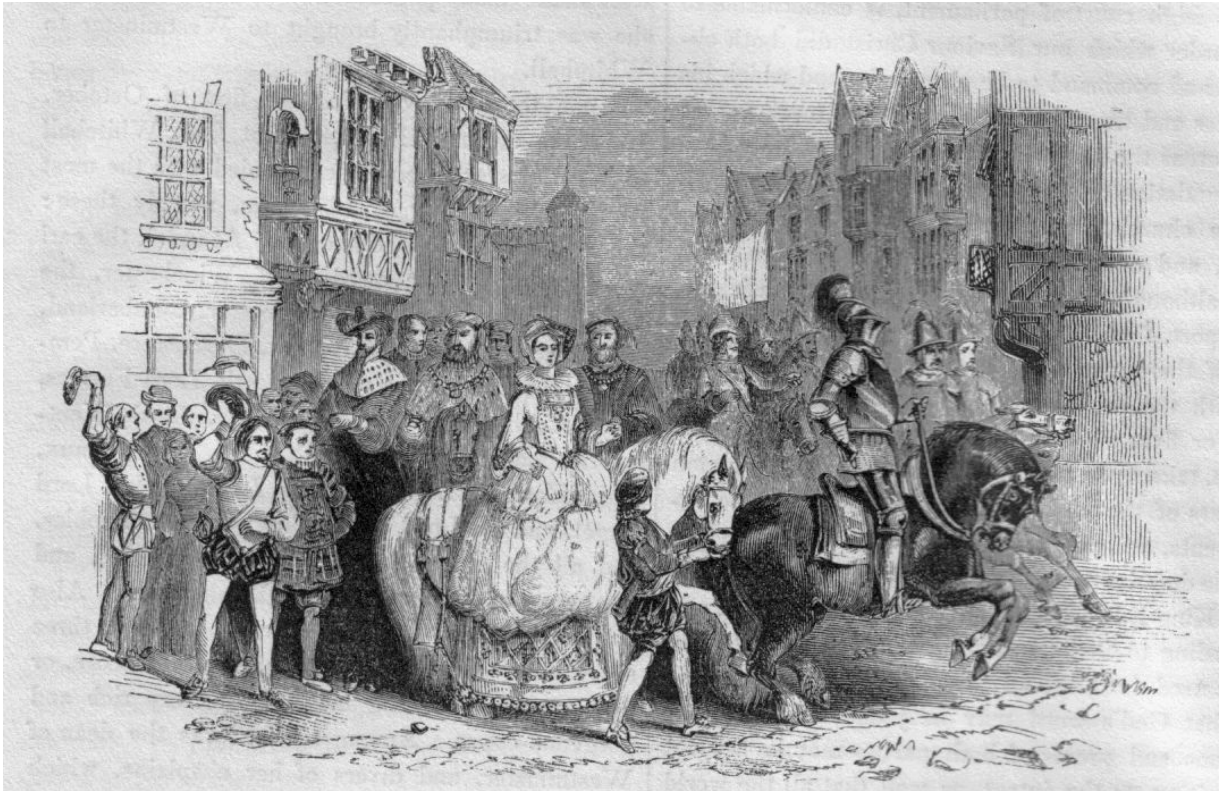
The same Thursday, being the seventh of September, 1553, Lord Mountacute, chief justice, and the lord chief baron, were delivered out of the Tower.

The thirteenth of September, the reverend father, Master Hugh Latimer, was committed to the Tower.

The fourteenth of September, the archbishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The twenty-sixth of September, one Master Gray of Cambridge, called before him one Master Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peterhouse to help him say mass in Pembroke hall; which was before any law was established for that behalf.

The queen came to the Tower of London upon the Thursday, the twenty-eighth of September. And, upon the Saturday following, she rode from the Tower through the city of London, where were made many pageants to receive her; and so she was triumphantly brought to Westminster to Whitehall.



Queen Mary's Coronation Procession

Upon the Sunday, being the first of October, 1553, the queen's Highness went from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, accompanied with the most part of the nobility of this realm, namely these: the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Oxford, Sussex, Devonshire, Pembroke, the Lord Dacres of the north, Lord Ferrers, Lord Cobham, Lord Abergavenny, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scrope, Lord Riche, Lord Vaux, Lord Howard, Lord Connyers, Lord Morley, Lord Paget, and the Lord Willoughby, with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of divers countries, and the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the Abbey, to receive her coming, came three silver crosses, and to the number of fourscore, or near upon, of singing men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst whom was the dean of Westminster, and divers of her chaplains, which bare every one some ensign in their hands, and after them followed ten bishops, mitred all, and their crosier staves in their hands, and rich copes upon them every one. And in this order they returned from Westminster Hall before the queen to the Abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's Majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the Abbey at the same time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more; whereof Master Whitchurch and Master Grafton were two.

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The third of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Master Pierson, for that he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same, and would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was clean discharged from further ministering in his cure.

On the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

On Thursday, being the fifth of October, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her, and when they were set in the parliament house, the bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn oration, and Serjeant Pollard was chosen speaker of the parliament. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Chester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation.

Also, the tenth of October, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

On the Sunday after, being the fifteenth of October, Master Laurence Saunders preached at Allhallows in Bread Street in the morning; where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters, very notably and godly: whereof more shall be heard (by the Lord's leave) hereafter, when we come to his story. In which his doing, as he showed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who saith, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father in heaven. But about noon of the same day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and from thence committed to the Marshalsea.

On the Sunday following, being the twentieth of October, Dr. Weston preached at Paul's Cross: who, in the beginning of his sermon, willed the people to pray for the souls departed, on this wise: "You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He named the Lord's table an oyster-board. He said, that the catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the setters-out of the same catechism to Julian the apostate, and the book to a dialogue set out by the said Julian the apostate, wherein Christ and Pilate were the speakers; with many other things. Which sermon, with all the points thereof, Master Coverdale the same time learnedly confuted by writing; which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen.

In the week following began the disputations in the Convocation-house in Paul's church, whereof sufficient hath been before declared.

The twenty-sixth of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker, displaced Dr. Madew, and placed Master Swynbourne in the mastership there, by force of the lord chancellor's letters; for that he was (as they termed it) *uxoratus*, that is, married.

The twenty-eighth of October, the papists in the King's college in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeal) had their whole service again in the Latin tongue; contrary to the law then in force.

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The last day of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did sharply reprove and threaten one Master Throckold, for that he challenged the said vice-chancellor, who had suffered Master Bovell (contrary to the statutes then in force) quietly without punishment to depart, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the supremacy of the queen, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

The third of November the vice-chancellor sent for the curate of the Round church in Cambridge, commanding him not to minister any more in the English tongue; saying, he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass: which was established the twelfth day of this month.

The sixth of November, Master Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his sermon approved purgatory.

The twenty-eighth of November, the archdeacon's official visited Hinton, where he gave in charge to present all such as did disturb the queen's proceedings, in letting the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying of mass, or any part thereof: whereby it was easy to see, how these good fellows meant to proceed, having the law once on their side; that thus readily, against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

The fifteenth of December there were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by King Edward, and for the setting up of the mass, for the twentieth of December then next following: the other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the fifth of October, continued till the fifth of December. In the which parliament were dissolved as well all the statutes made of præmunire, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, &c., as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under King Edward the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which parliament moreover was appointed, the twentieth of December next ensuing, the same year 1553, that all the old form and manner of church service, used in the last year of King Henry, should now again be restored.

On new-year's even, being the last day of December, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on the one day, and the next day after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him; for he said, he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did: and there made a long sermon against the mass.

The day after new-year's day, being the second of January, A. D. 1554, four ambassadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were these: the counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, &c., were chosen; more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their names are these: Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Cotes,

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bishop of Chester; Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Bourn, bishop of Bath; White, bishop of Lincoln; Mores, bishop of Rochester; Morgan, bishop of St. David's; Poole, bishop of St. Asaph; Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter, and, after his decease, bishop of Exeter; Glyn, bishop of Bangor; Master Fecknam, dean of Paul's; Rainolds, dean of Bristol, with others.

The twelfth of January, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a congregation general, wherein amongst other things he showed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the eighteenth of February then next following, for that it was her birthday; which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

On the Saturday, being the thirteenth of January, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also upon the Sunday following, one Master Addington was committed to the Tower. Also this same Sunday knowledge was given in the court openly by the bishop of Winchester, that the marriage between the queen's Majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, being Monday, and the fifteenth of January, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court; and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the said king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince the said king was, with many other commendations of him.

On the Saturday following, being the twentieth of January, the court of the first-fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On the Thursday at night following, the twenty-fifth of January, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him; who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

On the Saturday following, being the twenty-seventh of January, Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea, and the same day Master Rogers was committed to Newgate. On this Saturday, and the Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers (by the queen's commandment) to go into Kent against the commons: whereof were chief captains the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir George Hayward, and ten other captains. Which soldiers when they came to Rochester bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so the aforesaid captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them both six pieces of ordnance and treasure.

About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his house at Shene, and took his voyage into Leicestershire. After whom was sent the earl of Huntingdon to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor, by the way as he rode.

And thus passing to the month of February, here is to be noted by way of story, that upon the fifteenth day of the said month, being Thursday, there were seen within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, strange sights. There were seen two suns both shining at once, the one a pretty good way distant from the other. At the same time was also seen a rainbow

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turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accustomed. The common standing of the rainbow is thus \cap , but this stood thus U, with the head downward, and the feet as it were upward. Both these sights were seen as well at Westminster, in Cheapside, and on the south side of Paul's, as in very many other places; and that by a great number of honest men. Also certain aldermen went out of the Guildhall, to behold the sight.

257. The Execution of The Kentish Rebels.



Execution of the Duke of Suffolk

As touching the rising of Master Wyatt, with Sir William Cobham and others, in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February; also of the queen's coming to Guildhall, and her oration there made; and after of the taking of the said Wyatt and his company; likewise of the apprehension of the duke of Suffolk with his brother Lord John Gray; and, the next day after,

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of the beheading of the Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, which was the twelfth of February, and how the day before, which was the eleventh of the said month, Lord William Howard and Sir Edward Hastings were sent for the Lady Elizabeth; and how the same Sunday, Sir Henry Iseley, Master Culpepper, and Master Winter were committed to the Tower, the bishop of Winchester the same day (being the eleventh of February) preaching before the queen, and persuading her to use no mercy toward these Kentish men, but severe execution—all which was in the month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before, or else may be found in other chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having somewhat, notwithstanding, to declare touching the arraignment and death of the duke of Suffolk.

On Saturday, the seventeenth of February, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers: the earl of Arundel was chief judge for this day.

On the Sunday following, the eighteenth of February, sessions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept on the Sunday.

On Monday, the nineteenth of February, the Lord Cobham's three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the bar; and the other four were condemned.

On Tuesday, the twentieth of February, the Lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day; and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

On Wednesday, the twenty-first of February, the Lord Thomas Gray and Sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen.

On Thursday, the twenty-second of February, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

On Friday, the twenty-third of February, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded at the Tower Hill, the order of whose death here followeth.

The godly end and death of the duke of Suffolk, beheaded at Tower Hill.

On Friday the twenty-third of February, 1554, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, the Lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the scaffold on the Tower Hill, with a great company, &c.; and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. Weston, as his ghostly father: notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the said duke—for when the duke went up to the scaffold, the said Weston being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke with his hand put him down again off the stairs; and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down.

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Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure he should so do. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended up the scaffold, and paused a pretty while after. And then he said:

"Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient. And I pray God that this my death may be an en-sample to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and stedfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul."

And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then Master Weston declared with a loud voice, that the queen's Majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the standers-by said, with meetly good and audible voice: "Such forgiveness God send thee" (meaning Dr. Weston). Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalm, he said, *In manes tuus, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*, &c. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf unto the executioner.

Then the said executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, "God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly; and God have mercy to thee." Then stood there a man, and said, "My Lord, how shall I do for the money that you do owe me?" And the duke said, "Alas, good fellow! I pray thee trouble me not now; but go thy way to my officers." Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and said, "Our Father which art in heaven," &c., unto the end. And then he said, "Christ have mercy upon me;" and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and, at the first chop, struck off his head, and held it up to the people, &c.

The same day a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks. There were in number about two hundred.

On Saturday, the twenty-fourth of February, Sir William Sentlow was committed, as prisoner to the master of the horse, to be kept. This Sir William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

On Sunday, the twenty-fifth of February, Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all such priests within the diocese of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them.—This the bishop did of his own power.

On the Tuesday in the same week, being the twenty-seventh of February, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be executed there: their names were these, the two

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Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. With these Master Rudston, also, and certain others were condemned, and should have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As touching the aforesaid Master Mantel the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his first casting under the gallows, the rope brake. Then they would have had him recant the truth, and receive the sacrament of the altar (as they term it): and then, they said, he should have the queen's pardon. But Master Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refused their serpentine counsel, and chose rather to die, than to have life for dishonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the said Master Mantel, for that he was reported falsely to have fallen from the constancy of his profession; to clear himself thereof, and to reprove the sinister surmise of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology in purgation of himself, the copy whereof you shall hear.

The apology of Master Mantel the elder.

"Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised of me, concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ: I have thought it the duty of a Christian man, as near as I can, (with the truth,) to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's Majesty to send unto me Master Doctor Bourn, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common creed, the creed of Nicene, *Quicumque vult*, and *Te Deum laudamus*.

"Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare that I could be content to show unto any learned minister of Christ's church, any thing that troubled my conscience; and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

"Touching the sacrament of the altar, (as he termed it,) I said that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, *Hoc en corpus meum*.

"Further, when this word would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And insomuch as I dissented not from him in any article of the Christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter—alleging this text, He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all.—Yea, quoth I, 'It is true of these commandments of God.' To this I desired him to consider, it was not my matter, nor could I in these matters keep disputation, nor minded so to do. And therefore, to take these few words for a full answer, that I not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believeth. But upon this word 'church' we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichristian, popish church.

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"Then fell we in talk of the mass, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it naught; and he, *e contra*, upon certain considerations supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he said, that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, (for the death of Christ only was that sacrifice,) and this but a commemoration of the same. 'Then, if ye think so, (certain blasphemous collects left out,) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass.' 'See,' quoth he, how vain-glory toucheth you.' 'Not so, sir,' quoth I, 'I am not now, I thank God, in case to be vainglorious.'

"Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yea,' saith he, one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c., is a communion.' 'This agreeth scarcely with these words of Paul,' said I, 'Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse.' 'Yea, and it is a communion too,' said he, 'when they come together. Now draweth on the time,' quoth he, 'that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced.' Then I said, 'I pray you report the best; for I trust you find me not obstinate.' What shall I say? are ye content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament in the mass?' 'I beseech you,' said I, 'signify unto her Majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort.'—Thus, after certain requests made to the queen's Majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

"The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon 'De Mortalitate.' He had in this book turned and interlined certain places, both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Dr. Weston and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I answered much after that sort as I did the other. Dr. Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, *Panis iste non effigie sed nature mutatus*, &c. I asked of him how nature was taken in the Convocation-house, in the disputation upon the place of Theodoret.

"To be short, Dr. Bourn came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded nor able to dispute in matters of religion: but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, do write and believed. And this answer, and none other, they had of me in effect: what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard mass nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

"One time he willed me to be confessed. I said, 'I am content.' We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without 'Benedicite,' desiring him not to look, at my hand, for any superstitious particular enumeration of my sins. Therewith he was called away to the council; *et ego liberatus*. Thus much I bare only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust God hath forgiven me, who

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knoweth that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his heavenly Father.

"Thus I have left behind me, written with mine own hand, the effect of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long, and too foolish, so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to pass that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine—I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen, for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, (that antichrist,) and from the assault of all his satellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same! God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth, Amen! Pray, pray, pray, ye Christians, and comfort yourselves with the Scriptures.

"Written the second of March, anno 1554, by me Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world have forgiven his offences. Amen."

And thus much concerning the purgation of Master Walter Mantel, who, if he had consented unto the queen, what time she sent Dr. Bourn unto him to deny his faith, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and escaped with life.

On Saturday, the third of March, Sir Gawen Carew and Master Gibbs were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

In London, the seventeenth of March, every householder was commanded to appear before the alderman of his ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives and servants, should prepare themselves to shrift, and receive the sacrament at Easter; and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the city, until Easter was past.

On the Sunday following, being the eighteenth of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower.

On Easter even, being the twenty-fourth of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham, were delivered out of the Tower.

The twenty-fifth day, (being Easter day,) in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix with the pix were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection: so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, *Surrexit; non est hic*,"—he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon, being half dismayed, they consulted amongst themselves whom they thought to be likeliest to do this thing. In which debatement they remembered one Marsh, who, a little before, had been put from that parsonage because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burdened him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereto he

answered, "that he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife:" which words were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to several compters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.



A cat hanged in priest's dress

The eighth of April, there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the cross in Cheap, apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown. Her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them: whereon arose great evil-will against the city of London; for the queen and the bishops were very angry withal. And therefore the same afternoon there was a proclamation, that whosoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which reward was afterwards increased to twenty marks; but none could or would earn it.

As touching the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheapside, here is to be understood, that after the sermon of the bishop of Winchester, (above mentioned,) made before the queen for the strait execution of Wyat's soldiers; immediately upon the same, the thirteenth

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of February, were set up a great number of gallowses in divers places of the city; namely, two in Cheapside. one at Leaden-hall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet Street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's park corner, one at Cripplegate: all which gibbets and gallowses, to the number of twenty, there remained for terror of others, from the thirteenth of February till the fourth of June; and then, at the coming in of King Philip, were taken down.

The eleventh of April was Sir Thomas Wyatt beheaded and quartered at the Tower Hill, where he uttered these words touching the Lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire. "Concerning," said he, "what I have said of others in my examinations, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, nor my Lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of my rising." And when Dr. Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered: "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true!"

On Tuesday, the seventeenth of April, Sir James Croft and Master Winter were brought to the Guildhall, with whom also, the same time, and to the same place, was brought Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen: where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself, (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as were then alleged against him,) that the quest which was charged with this matter, could not in conscience but find him "not guilty:" for the which, the said twelve persons of the quest, being also substantial men of the city, were bound in the sum of five hundred pounds apiece to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed; there to answer such things as should be laid against them for his acquittal. This quest appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber on Wednesday, being the twenty-fifth of April, and St. Mark's day. From whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison: Emanuel Lucas and Thomas Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, of Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, which was the twentieth of this month of April, and also of their disputations, because we have said enough before, it shall not need now to bestow any further rehearsal thereof.

The Friday next following after the condemnation of them, (the twenty-seventh of April,) Lord Thomas Gray, the late duke of Suffolk's brother, was beheaded at Tower Hill.

On Saturday, the twenty-eighth of April, Sir James Croft and Master Winter were again brought to the Guildhall, where Sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and because the day was far spent, Master Winter was not arraigned.

On Thursday, the seventeenth of May, William Thomas was arraigned at the Guildhall, and there the same day condemned, who, the next day after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen's death: which how true it was, I have not to say. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and sonnets, in the prison before his death.

258. Disputation of Bradford and Saunders at Cambridge.

In the month of May it was given out, and bruited abroad, that a solemn disputation should be holden at Cambridge, (as ye heard before in Master Ridley's letter.) between Master Bradford, Master Saunders, Master Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both universities on the other side, like as had been in Oxford before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having word thereof, albeit they were destitute of their books, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced before; also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford: nevertheless, they thought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly and indifferently heard. And therefore, wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent they directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, the eighth of May. Wherein first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, where all things were so predetermined before; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, so that the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament houses, or else if they might dispute by writing: for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors' handling in their own schools, they had sufficient proof they said, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge. And so consequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their judges in this behalf; and so ended their protestation, the copy and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inserted.

A copy of a certain declaration drawn and sent abroad out of prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly preachers, concerning their disputation, and doctrine of their religion, as followeth:

"Because we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen's Highness, or of any of the council's, (God's name be praised therefore,) but alonely for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge:—because, we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the parliament houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; through which the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden

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duty now, while we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is above-said, to prevent the offences which might come thereby:—

"First, Because it is evidently known unto the whole world; that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, King Edward: and further it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

"Secondly, Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us, (as charity requireth,) then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed: so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity: and therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the verity.

"Thirdly, Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation-house in October last past, do most evidently declare.

"Fourthly, Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do evil thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may allege, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies; because our memories have not that which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that we may hate there for our advantage.

"Fifthly, Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopt when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley, at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always letting him to prosecute his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which wonderfully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

"Sixthly, Because the notaries, that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from, that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or must not, have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth; as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy nor scroll could any man have, by their good will: for the censors and

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judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

"For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them, as, if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the slandering of the verity.

"Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify, unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen, unless it be before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the houses of the parliament, as is abovesaid. If they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we, in a sum, do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it. And, to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or fire; or otherwise, as God shall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ beseeching, all that fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the queen's Highness and the superior powers, which are ordained of God under her; rather, after our example, to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed; we mean our sovereign lady Queen Mary: into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen!

"First, We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

"Secondly, We confess and believe, that the catholic church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion; and therefore is she to be heard accordingly: so that those which will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her Husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen.

"Thirdly, we believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, kept A. D. 324; of Constantinople, A. D. 384; of Ephesus, kept A. D. 432; of Chalcedon, kept A. D. 454; of Toledo, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damasus, (which was about the year of our Lord 376,) we confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

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"Fourthly, We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, through whom as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly; and so showeth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned, in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us; although inseparably they go together. And this we do, not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet; which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to God-ward.

"Fifthly, We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God: and therefore, in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edify; and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

"Sixthly, We confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

"Seventhly, we confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm purgatory, masses of Scala cœli, trentals, and such suffrages as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of antichrist.

"Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used, to the end for which they were instituted.

"And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichristian. And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they be called. Item, the adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God. [Item,] the reservation and carrying about of the same. Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

"All these we believe and confess to be antichrist's doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage as unlawful to any state. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the verity of God's word, and consent of the catholic church, which followeth, and hath followed, the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

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"And this, through the Lord's help, we will do, either in disputation by word, before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the parliament houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whensoever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

"In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen's Highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge: as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess; unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen's Highness and her council, or the parliament houses, shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same: and therefore most justly we may, and do, appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing; that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth, and grace of perseverance therein unto the end! Amen.

"The eighth day of May, A. D. 1554.
Robert St. David's; alias Robert Ferrar.
Glouc. Episcopus; alias John Hooper.
Rowland Taylor.
Edward Crome.
John Philpot.
John Rogers.
John Bradford.
Laurence Saunders.
John Wigorn, and
Edmund Laurence. J. P., and T. M."

"To these things abovesaid, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren being prisoners (mine own hand)."

And thus much concerning this present declaration subscribed by these preachers; which was on the eighth of May.

259. Princess Elizabeth Imprisoned.

Furthermore, the nineteenth of the said month, the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, after Lord Williams of Thame; of whom her Highness was gently and courteously entreated; who afterward was had to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield, knight, of Oxborough in Norfolk; who, on the other side, both forgetting her estate, and his own duty, (as it is reported,) showed himself more hard and strait unto her, than either cause given of her part, or reason of his own part, would have led him, if either grace or wisdom in him might have seen before, what danger afterward might have ensued thereof. But herein have we to see and note, not so much the uncivil nature and disposition of that man, as the singular lenity and gracious mansuetude of that princess, who, after coming to her crown, showed herself so far from revenge of injuries taken, that whereas other monarchs have oftentimes requited less offences with loss of life, she hath scarce impaired any piece of his liberty or estimation, save only that he was restrained from coming to the court. And whereas some, peradventure, of her estate would here have used the bloody sword, her Majesty was contented with scarce a nipping word; only bidding him to repair home, and saying, "If we have any prisoner, whom we would have sharply and straitly kept, then we will send for you."

This virtuous and noble lady, in what fear she was the mean time, and in what peril greater than her fear, the Lord only best doth know: and, next, it is not unknown to herself, to whose secret intelligence I leave this matter further to be considered. This I may say, which every man may see; that it was not without a singular miracle of God that she could or did escape, in such a multitude of enemies, and grudge of minds so greatly exasperated against her; especially Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whose head and devices were chiefly bent, as a bow, against that only person, to make her away: and no doubt would have brought it by some means to pass, had not the Lord prevented him with death; to preserve her life, to the preservation of this realm. Wherefore that is false which Dr. Story said in the parliament house, lamenting, as I heard say, "that when they went so much about the branches, they had not shot at the root herself." For why? They neither lacked their darts, or no good will, to shoot at the root, all they possibly might; but, what God's providence will have kept, it shall be kept, when all Dr. Stories have shot all their artillery in vain. But of this matter it is sufficient at this present, for of it we have to entreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter, in the story and life of Queen Elizabeth.

260. Marriage of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain. Further Actions to Re-Establish Papism

On the Friday following, being the twentieth of July, and St. Margaret's day, the prince of Spain landed at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed; who, immediately as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good pretty way.

Then met him, a little without the town, the mayor of Southampton with certain commoners, who delivered the keys of the town unto the prince, who removed his sword (naked as it was) out of his right into his left hand, and so received the keys of the mayor without any word speaking, or countenance of thankfulness; and after a while delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town-gate met him the earl of Arundel and the Lord Williams, and so he was brought to his lodging.

On the Wednesday following, being St. James's day, and the twenty-fifth of July, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England, were married together solemnly in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noblemen of both the realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambassador, being present, openly pronounced, that in consideration of that marriage the emperor had granted and given unto his son the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Whereupon, the first day of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the style of all manner of writings should be altered, and this following should be used:

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol."

Of this marriage as the papists chiefly seemed to be very glad, so divers of them, after divers studies, to show forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants: some drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward the Third, and John of Gaunt; some made verses.

After the consummation of which marriage, they both removed from Winchester to sundry other places, and by easy journeys came to Windsor castle, where he was installed in the order of the garter, on Sunday the twelfth of August. At which time a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and from thence by water came to London, and landed at the bishop of Winchester's house, through which they passed, both, into Southwark park, and so to Southwark House, called Suffolk Place, where they lay that night, being the seventeenth of August.

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And the next day, being Saturday, and the eighteenth of August, the king and queen's Majesties rode from Suffolk Place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall; and at London bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, was a vain great spectacle set up, two images representing two giants, the one named Chorinæus, and the other, Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verses, which for the vain ostentation of flattery I overpass.

And as they passed over the bridge, there were a number of ordnance shot off at the Tower, such as by old men's report the like hath not been heard or seen these one hundred years.

From London bridge they passed the conduit in Gracious Street, which was finely painted; and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof King Henry the Eighth was one. He was painted in harness, having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a book, whereupon was written Verbum Dei; delivering the same book (as it were) to his son King Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

But hereupon was no small matter made: for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not only called him knave, for painting a book in King Henry's hand, and specially for writing thereupon Verbum Dei, but also rank traitor and villain; saying to him that he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand, (who was also painted there,) for that she had reformed the church and religion, with other things, according to the pure and sincere word of God indeed.

The painter answered and said, that if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his Lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his Lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the queen's Majesty's will and commandment, that he should send for him: and so, commanding him to wipe out the book and Verbum Dei too, he sent him home. So the painter departed; but, fearing lest he should leave some other part either of the book, or of Verbum Dei, in King Henry's hand, he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal!

Here I pass over and cut off other gaudes and pageants of pastime showed to him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set up in Latin; wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world: Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, Philip prince of Spain and king of England.

In another poetry King Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and savage beasts following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after King Philip's pipe—not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having other graver things in hand: and therefore pass over, also, the sight at Paul's church-side, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements with his head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot; which shortly after cost him his life.

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But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the young flourishing rood, newly set up against this present time to welcome King Philip into Paul's church. The setting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best: In the second year of Mary, Bonner in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's choir, the rood laid along upon the pavements, and also, the doors of Paul's being shut—the bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by the rood. That being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places; and, after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

After that, they took the said rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place; and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole choir sang *Te Deum*; and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and spied the rood with Mary and John new set up; whereto, among a great sort of people, he made a low courtesy, and said: "Sir, your Mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your Mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green."

The prince thus being in the church of Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleet Street, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after; and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with strait commandment to bring all their harness and artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond they removed to Hampton Court, where the hall door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter, unless his errand were first known; which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not been used thereto.

About the eighth of September Bishop Bonner began his visitation, who charged six men in every parish to inquire, (according their oaths,) and to present before him the day after St. Matthew's day, being the twenty-second of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his articles, which he had set forth to the number of thirty-seven; of the which visitation of Bonner I have somewhat more largely to entreat, after that first I shall overpass a few other things following in course of this present story.

The seventeenth of September was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and straitly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers, with all others that sell victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victual to any servingman whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master to declare whose servant he was, and were in continual household with his said master; upon pain to run in danger of the law, if they offended herein.

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On the Sunday following, being the thirtieth of September, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present all the council that were at the court: namely, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, Lord North, Sir Anthony Brown, Master Rochester, Master Walgrave, Master Englefield, Lord Fitzwater, and Secretary Peter; and the bishops of London, Durham, and Ely; which three sat under the bishop's arms. The gospel whereof he made his sermon, is written in Matt. xxii., where the Pharisees came unto Christ; and amongst them, one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment. Christ answered, Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, &c., and thy neighbour as thyself; in these two are comprehended the law and the prophets.

After his long declaration of these words, speaking very much of love and charity, at last he had occasion, upon St. James's words, to speak of the true teachers, and of the false teachers; saying, that all the preachers almost in King Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies; affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh; saying, that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissension, that the preachers aforesaid would report nothing truly, and that they taught, that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another; and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure; with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the sacrament, he said, that all the church from the beginning have confessed Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament; and so concluded that matter. And then willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren, "We have all sinned against our brother:"—"and so," said he, "have I too." Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to show that the king came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a prince, as ever was in England; and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him; and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him. And so made an end.

On the Tuesday following, being the second of October, twenty carts came from Westminster, laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver, and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and there it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick; and in every cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth; for it is to us uncertain.

About the same time, or a little before, upon Corpus Christi day, the procession being made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the priest with his box went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named John Street, a joiner of Coleman Street, who, having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, by chance went under the canopy by the priest. The priest, seeing the man so to presume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, for fear let his pix fall down. The poor man, being straightways apprehended, was had to the Compter, the priest accusing him unto the council as though he had conic to slay him; whereas the poor man (as himself hath since declared unto us) had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the Compter he was had unto

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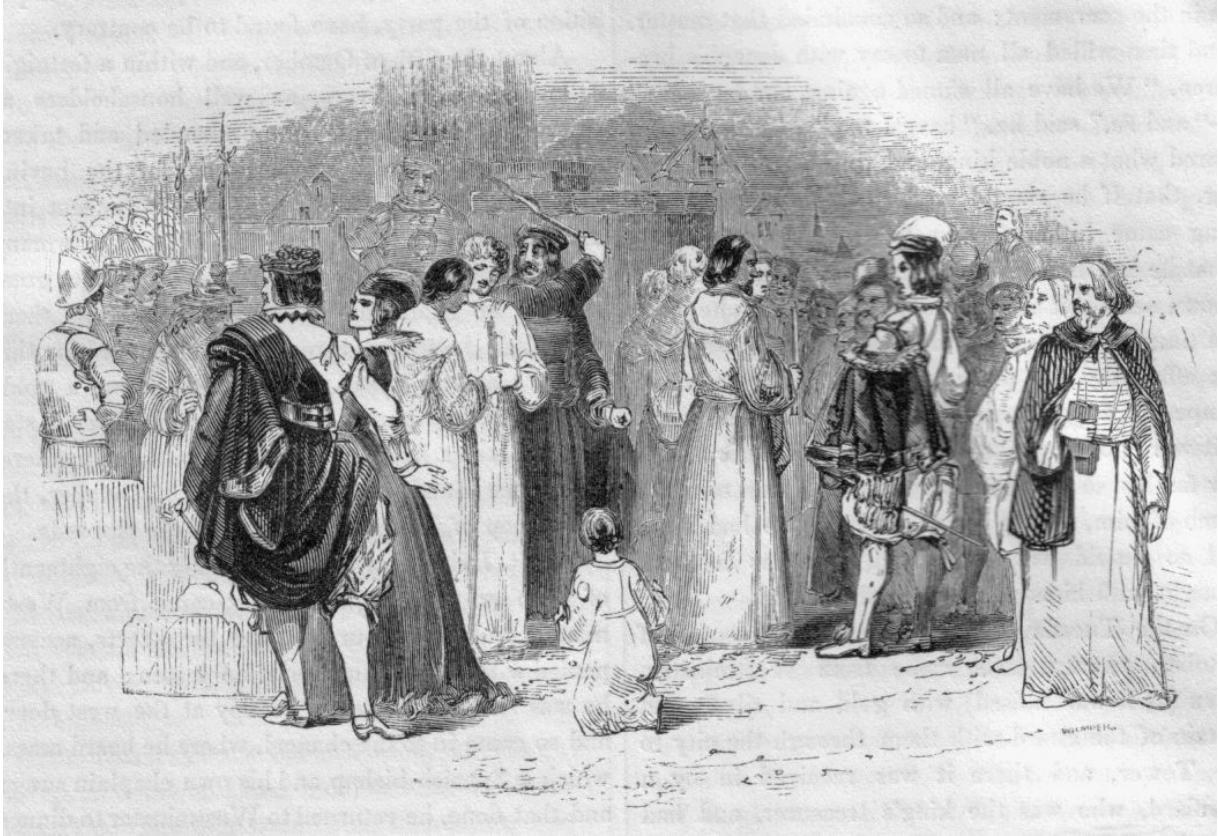
Newgate, where he was cast into the dungeon, there chained to a post; where he was cruelly and miserably handled, and so extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now feared out of his wits altogether, and so upon the same had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himself in Newgate to be mad; which thing we, in writing of this history, by due inquisition of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the fifth of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and apprentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter: among whom was Master Brown a goldsmith, Master Spark a draper, Randal Tirer a stationer, Master Beston a merchant, with many others. On the Sunday, the fourteenth of October, the old bishop of Durham preached in the Shrouds.

On St. Luke's day following, being the eighteenth of October, the king's Majesty came from Westminster to Paul's church along the streets, accompanied with a great number of noblemen; and there he was received under a canopy at the west door, and so came in to the chancel, where he heard mass, which a Spanish bishop and his own chaplain sung: and that done, he returned to Westminster to dinner again.

On Friday, the twenty-sixth of October, certain men, whereof I spake before, who were of Master Throgmorton's quest, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of prison, for that they submitted themselves, and said they had offended—like weaklings, not considering truth to be truth; but of force for fear said so): these eight men, I say, whereof Master Emanuel Lucas and Master Whetstone were chief, were called before the council of the Star-chamber; where they all affirmed, that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences; even as they should answer before God at the day of judgment. Where Master Lucas said openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful subjects; and therefore they humbly besought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to be means to the king and queens Majesties that they might be discharged and set at liberty: and said, that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their Majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesty.—Some of the lords said, that they were worthy to pay a thousand pounds apiece; and others said, that Master Lucas and Master Whetstone were worthy to pay a thousand marks apiece, and the rest five hundred pounds apiece. In conclusion, sentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they should pay a thousand marks apiece; and that they should go to prison again, and there remain, till further order were taken for their punishment.

On Tuesday, being the thirtieth of October, the Lord John Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and set at liberty.



Priests doing penance for having taken wives

On Sunday, the fourth of November, five priests did penance at Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to minister. Every of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did disple them.

On Wednesday, the seventh of November, the Lord Paget, and Sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors, I know not whither; but, as it was adjudged, to Cardinal Pole, who lay all that summer before at Brussels: and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into England, whereas at that time he was nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury.

On the Friday following, being the ninth of November, Master Barlow, late bishop of Bath, and Master Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the Star-chamber, where, after communication, they were commanded to the Fleet.

On the Saturday, the tenth of November, the sheriffs of London had commandment to take an inventory of every one of their goods who were of Master Throgmorton's quest, and to seal up their doors; which was done the same day. Master Whetstone, Master Lucas, and Master Kytely, were judged to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and the rest a thousand marks apiece, to be paid within a fortnight after. From this payment were exempted those four who confessed a fault,

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and submitted themselves; whose names are these, Master Loe, Master Poynter, Master Beswike, and Master Carter. Mention was made a little before, of the visitation of Edmund Bonner bishop of London, which began (as is said) about the month of September: for the better preparation whereof were set forth certain articles to the number of thirty-seven. These articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that Master Bale in a certain treatise hath sufficiently painted out the same in their colours, partly also because I will not infect this book with them, I slip over, proceeding in the progress of this bishop in his visitation in the county of Essex; who, passing through the said county of Essex, being attended with divers worshipful of the shire, (for so they were commanded,) arrived at Stortford in Hertfordshire, where he rested certain days; solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants aforesaid, at the house of one Parsons his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair she was indeed). He took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein she excelled; insomuch that every dinner (sitting by his sweet side) she arose and played three several times at his request, of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. These certain days thus passed in this bishoplike fashion, he proceeded in his popish visitation towards Hadham, his own house and parish, not past two miles from Stortford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no bells stirring there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler; and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit; and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus he rode on, chafing and fuming with himself. "What meaneth," saith he, "that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parson, that he meeteth me not?" with sundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two hours; whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour so far incorporated in his breast. At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanged up, nor rood-loft decked after the popish precept, (which had commanded about the same time a well-favoured rood, and of tall stature, universally in all churches to be set up,) curtailed his small devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madness in the uttermost degree, swearing and raging with a hunting oath or two, and by no beggars, that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his Honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said; calling the parson (whose name was Dr. Bricket) knave, and heretic. Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying: He was sorry his Lordship was come before that he and his parish looked for him; and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly. And as for those things lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his Lordship to come to his poor house, (where his dinner was prepared,) he would satisfy him in those things which his Lordship thought amiss. Yet this so reasonable an answer nothing could satisfy or assuage his passion unreasonable: for the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight; saying, as his by-word was, "Before God, thou art a knave: avaunt, heretic!" and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was, that with his hand he gave Sir Thomas Jocelyn, knight, (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the bishop,) a good flewet upon the upper part of the neck—even under his ear, as some say which stood by; but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the ear: whereat he was somewhat astonished at the suddenness of the quarrel for that time. At last he spake and said, "What meaneth your

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Lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommers's school, to strike him that standeth next you?" The bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Then Master Fecknam, dean of Paul's, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, "O Master Jocelyn! you must bear with my Lord; for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there, hath altered him, that in these passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it booteth any man to give him counsel until his heat be past; and then, assure yourself, Master Jocelyn, my Lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself." Whereunto he merrily replied and said, "So it seems, Master Fecknam; for now that he is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled; because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear; as no marvel it was that he shamed little to strike a stranger, who spared not the burning of so many good men.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this martial prelate presently taketh him to his horse again, notwithstanding he was minded to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so had made provision in his own house; and, leaving his dinner, rode that night with a small company of his household to Ware, where he was not looked for till three days after, to the great wonder of all the country, why he so prevented his day aforestalled.

At this hasty posting-away of this bishop, his whole train of attendants there left him. Also his doctors and chaplains (a few excepted) tarried behind and dined at Dr. Bricket's as merrily, as he rode towards Ware all chafingly which dinner was prepared for the bishop himself. Now, whether the bishop were offended at those solemnities which he wanted, and was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places where he journeyed; joining to that, that his "great god" was not exalted aboveground over the altar, nor his "block almighty" set seemly in the rood-loft to entertain strangers, and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket, (whose religion perchance he somewhat suspected,) I have not perfectly to say: but so it was supposed of divers the cause thereof to rise, which drave the bishop so hastily from such a dinner.

A story of a rood set up in Lancashire.



IN this visitation of Bishop Bonner above mentioned, ye see how the bishop took on for not setting up the rood, and ringing the bells at Hadham. Ye heard also of the precept, which commanded in every parish a rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By the occasion whereof it cometh in mind (and not out of place) to story, likewise, what happened in a certain town in Lancashire near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the parishioners and churchwardens, having the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their parish church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their rood: who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they, misliking his workmanship, refused to pay him; whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very meet man for such a purpose,

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and an old favourer of the gospel; which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in their church, which he, according to his promise, had done; and now, demanding his money, they refused to pay him. "Is this true?" quoth the mayor to the wardens. "Yea, sir," said they. "And why do you not pay the poor man his due?" quoth he. "And it please you, Master Mayor," quoth they, "because the rood we had before was a well-favoured man; and he promised to make us such another: but this that he hath set us up now, is the worst-favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on; gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him!" The mayor, thinking that it was good enough for that purpose if it had been worse—"My masters," quoth he, "howsoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been never the less; and it is pity that he should have any hinderance or loss thereby: therefore I will tell you what you shall do. Pay him the money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." This the parishioners took well in worth; the poor man had his money; and divers laughed well thereat—but so did not the Babylonish priests.

This mayor above-mentioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of Marsh the martyr (whose story followeth hereafter) with meat, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster castle, the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned.

About this time, or the month next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Bonner, bishop of London, to all parsons and curates within his diocese, for the abolishing of such Scriptures and writings as had been painted upon church walls before, in King Edward's days. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to express in their own style and words, that the world might see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word, and against the edifying of Christian people: whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake against the Holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought, by all manner of means, to keep the people still in ignorance.

A mandate of Bonner, bishop of London, to abolish the Scriptures and writings painted upon the church walls.

"Edmund, by God's permission bishop of London—to all and every parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being—sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

"Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same; placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do; and also have procured, as a stay to their heresies, (as they thought,) certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church walls; all which persons tend chiefly to this end—that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh,

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and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy-days, fasting days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church; opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue: Wherefore we, being moved with a Christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do, for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever, within our aforesaid diocese of London, (wheresoever any such Scriptures or paintings have been attempted,) that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen; and therein to proceed, moreover, as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you, jointly and severally, shall see the foresaid Scriptures to be rased, abolished, and extinguished forthwith; citing all and singular those churchwardens and parishioners, (whom we, also, for the same do cite here, by the tenor hereof,) that all and singular the churchwardens and parishioners, being slack and negligent, or culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special, in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court day, or else at the next court day after ensuing, where either we or our official or commissary shall sit: there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished, for their such negligence, slackness, and fault; to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as the law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things; or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate: In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents.

Dated in the bishop's palace at London, the twenty-fifth day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our translation the sixteenth."

About this time the lord chancellor sent Master Christopherson unto the university of Cambridge, with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe.

The first, that every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there should declare the whole style of the king and queen in their sermons.

In this university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing of these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: insomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were four-and-twenty places void together, in whose rooms were taken in four-and-

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twenty others, who, neither in virtue nor in religion, seemed to answer to them before. And no less miserable was the state of Oxford, by reason of the time, and the strait dealing of the visitors, that, for setting forward their papistical proceedings, had no regard or respect to the forwardness of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that university.

And forasmuch as we have entered into the mention of Oxford, we may not pass over in silence the famous exhortation of Dr. Tresham, who, supplying the room of the sub-dean in Christ-church, after he had called all the students of the college together, with great eloquence and art persuasory, began to commend the dignity of the mass unto them; declaring, that there was stuff enough in the Scripture to prove the mass good. Then, to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons—declaring that there were a company of goodly copes, that were appointed to Windsor; but he had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ-church. Now if they, like honest men, would come to church, they should wear them on holy-days. And besides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Hampton, and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for a holy-water-sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad, to forego these commodities, &c.

These things I rehearse, that it may appear what want of discretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall; whom, I beseech the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their own blindness.

To proceed now further in the course and race of our story where we left, being before in the month of November, it followeth more, that on the twelfth day of the same month of November, being Monday, began the parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two swords borne before them. The earl of Pembroke bare his sword, and the earl of Westmoreland bare the queen's. They had two caps of maintenance borne before them, whereof the earl of Arundel bare one, and the earl of Shrewsbury the other.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover on Wednesday, the twenty-first of November; on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous, that act made against him in King Henry the Eighth's time; and on the next day, being Thursday, and the twenty-second of November, the king and the queen came both to the parliament house, to give their royal assent, and to establish this act against his coming.

On Saturday, being the twenty-fourth of November, the said cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth House, which was ready prepared against his coming.

On the Wednesday following, being the twenty-eighth of November, there was a general procession in Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

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The same day were present at this procession ten bishops, with all the prebendaries of Paul's, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of commons of the city in their best array. The copy of the council's letter here followeth:—

"After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's Majesty in such sort as she is conceived and quick of child: whereby (her Majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities, which, for want of such succession, might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall, by God's grace, be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve him, as we be most bounden: these be not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other Divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God, so to extend his holy hand over her Majesty, the king's Highness, and this whole realm, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not ye would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet, for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your Lordship most heartily well to fare.

"From Westminster the twenty-seventh of November, 1554.

"Your assured loving friends,

Stephen Winton. Cancel.

John Bathon.

Arundel.

R. Riche.

F. Shrewsbury.

Thomas Wharton.

Edward Darby.

John Huddilstone.

Henry Sussex.

R. Southwell."

Also the same day in the afternoon, Cardinal Pole came to the parliament house, which, at that present, was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for that the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad; where the king and queen's Majesties, sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor, began in this manner:

"My Lords of the upper house, and you my Masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my Lord Cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's Majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever

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happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which ambassage, it is their Majesties' pleasure, that it be signified unto you all by his own mouth; trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise, as their Highnesses have done, and that you will give an attent and inclinable ear unto him."

When the lord chancellor had thus ended his talk, the cardinal. taking the time then offered, began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the mean time the court gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his oration.

The tenor of Cardinal Pole's oration, made in the parliament house.

My Lords all, and you that are the commons of this present parliament assembled, (which, in effect, is nothing else but the state and body of the whole realm,) as the cause of my repair hither hath been most wisely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, so, before that I enter to the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat touching myself, and to give most humble and hearty thanks to the king and queen's Majesties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled and banished from this commonwealth, have restored me to be a member of the same, and of a man having no place either here, or elsewhere within this realm, have admitted me in a place, where to speak and to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever shall.

"But leaving the rehearsal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, that my principal travail is, for the restitution of this noble realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the see apostolic, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this realm above all others; and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were by providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above all others; which to make more plain unto you, it is to be considered that this island, first of all islands, received the light of Christ's religion. For as stories testify, it was *prima provinciarum quæ amplexa est fidem Christi*.

"For the Britons, being first inhabitants of this realm, (notwithstanding the subjection of the emperors and heathen princes,) did receive Christ's faith from the apostolic see universally: and not in parts, as other countries; nor by one and one, as clocks increase their hours by distinction of times; but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merits, or forgetfulness of God, had deserved expulsion, and that strangers, being infidels, had possessed this land, yet God of his goodness, not leaving where he once loved, so illuminated the hearts of the Saxons, being heathen men, that they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ's religion: so that within a small space idolatry and heathen superstition were utterly abandoned in this island.

"This was a great prerogative of nobility; the benefit whereof, though it be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of the same came from the Church of Rome, in the faith of which

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church we have ever since continued and consented with the rest of the world in unity of religion. And to show further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this island towards the Church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the Saxons' time, with great travail and expenses went personally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus, who thought it not enough to show themselves obedient to the said see, unless that in their own persons they had gone to that same place from whence they had received so great a grace and benefit.

"In the time of Charlemagne, who first founded the university of Paris, he sent into England for Alcuinus, a great learned man, which first brought learning to that university; whereby it seemeth that the greatest part of the world fetched the light of religion from England.

"Adrian the Fourth, being an Englishman, converted Norway from infidelity; which Adrian afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry the Second, king of England, the right and seignory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the see of Rome.

"I will not rehearse the manifold benefit that this realm hath received from the apostolic see, nor how ready the same hath been to relieve us in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold miseries and calamities that this realm hath suffered by swerving from that unity. And even as in this realm, so also in all other countries which, refusing the unity of the catholic faith, have followed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues have happened. Let Asia and the empire of Greece be a spectacle unto the world, which, by swerving from the unity of the Church of Rome, are brought into captivity and subjection of the Turk. All stories be full of like examples. And to come unto the later time, look upon our neighbours in Germany, who, by swerving from this unity, are miserably afflicted with diversity of sects, and divided into factions.

"What shall I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood that hath happened there of late days; or trouble you with the rehearsal of those plagues that have happened since this innovation of religion, whereof you have felt the bitterness, and I have heard the report? of all which matters I can say no more but—such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For those that live under the Turk, may freely live after their conscience; and so was it not lawful here.

"If men examine well upon what grounds these innovations began, they shall well find that the root of this, as of many other mischiefs, was avarice; and that the lust and carnal affection of one man confounded all laws, both Divine and human. And notwithstanding all these devices and policies practised within this realm against the Church of Rome, they needed not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infest you: for they wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to have aided the church in that quarrel. Then mark the sequel: there seemed by these changes to rise a great face of riches and gain, which, in proof, came to great misery and lack. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly; and that thing which seemed to be done for relief, was cause of plain ruin and decay. Yet see that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worse deserved.

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"And when all light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted—even like as in a lamp, the light being covered, yet it is not quenched—even so, in a few remained the confession of Christ's faith; namely, in the breast of the queen's Excellency, of whom, to speak without adulation; the saying of the prophet may be verified, *Ecce quasi derelicta!*

"And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her Highness, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinheret her, and armed power prepared to destroy her; yet she, being a virgin helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory of tyrants; which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodness and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given: and therefore it may be said, *Da gloriam Deo*. For in man's judgment, on her Grace's part was nothing in appearance but despair.

"And yet for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her Grace established in her estate, being your lawful queen and governess, born among you; whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the restitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and sects. And to confirm her Grace the more strongly in this enterprise, lo! how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who, being a king of great might, armour, and force, yet useth towards you neither armour nor force, but seeketh you by the way of love and amity: in which respect great cause you have to give thanks to Almighty God, that hath sent you such a catholic sovereign. It shall he, therefore, your part again to love, obey, and serve them.

"And as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them issue, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.

"Of all princes in Europe, the emperor hath travailed most in the cause of religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany; yet haply, by some secret judgment of God, he hath not achieved the end: with whom in my journey hitherwards, I had conference touching my legation; whereof when we had understanding, he showed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, that it rejoiced him no less of the reconcilment of this realm unto Christian unity, than that his son was placed by marriage in the kingdom,—and most glad he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me, being an Englishman born, which is (as it were) to call home ourselves. I can well compare him to David, which, though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, who was *rex pacificus*. So may it be thought, that the appeasing of controversies of religion in Christianity, is not appointed to this emperor, but rather to his son, who shall perform the building that his father had begun. Which church cannot he perfectly builded, unless universally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge him to be the vicar of God, and to have power from above: for all power is of God, according to the saying, *Non est potestas, nisi a Deo*. And therefore I consider that all power being in God, yet, for the conservation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into two parts here in earth; which is into the powers imperial and ecclesiastical. And these two powers, as they be several and distinct, so have they two several effects and operations: for secular princes, to whom the temporal sword is committed, be

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ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil livers, and to preserve the well-doers and innocents from injury and violence. Which power is represented in these two most excellent persons, the king and queen's Majesties here present, who have this power committed unto them immediately from God, without any superior in that behalf.

"The other power is of ministration, which is the power of the keys, and order in the ecclesiastical state, which is, by the authority of God's word, and examples of the apostles, and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and given to the apostolic see of Rome by special prerogative: from which see, I am here deputed legate and ambassador. having full and ample commission from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands. I confess to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of him that sent me, and yet cannot open: not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build: I come to reconcile, not to condemn: I am not come to compel, but to call again: I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

"But the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes, which be impediments, blocks, and bars, to the execution of my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice to speak here among you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those laws that lay in my way; even so cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the apostolic see, until the abrogation of such laws, whereby you have disjoined and dissevered yourselves from the unity of Christ's church.

"It remaineth therefore that you, like true Christians and provident men, for the weal of your souls and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause; and so to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may first tend to the glory of God, and next to the conservation of your commonwealth, surety, and quietness."

The next day after, the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster; where the king and the queen's Majesties and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a supplication to their Highnesses, the tenor whereof ensueth.

"We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled—representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your Majesties with most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, legate, sent especially hither from our most holy father Pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolic of Rome—do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments, against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking what might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be

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always, ready, under and with the authority of your Majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament; as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent.

"Whereupon we most humbly beseech your Majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God, by his providence, hath made subject unto your Majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may, in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your Majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen."

The supplication being read, the king and queen delivered the same unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their Majesties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success; he, by the pope's authority, did give them this absolution following.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you! And we, by apostolic authority, (given unto us by the most holy lord Pope Julius the Third, his vicegerent in earth,) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censure, and pain, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, (as in our letters more plainly it shall appear,) in the name of the Father, of the Son. and of the Holy Ghost."

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there, singing Te Deum, with great solemnity declared the joy and gladness that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of this was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise; whereupon the pope caused there at Rome processions to be made, and thanks to be given to God with great joy, for the conversion of England to his church; and therefore, (praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen,) on Christmas even, by his bulls he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

A copy of King Philip's letter, written with his own hand to Pope Julius, touching the restoring of the realm of England: translated out of Spanish into English.

"Most holy father, I wrote yesterday unto Don John Maurique, that he should declare by word of mouth, or else write to your Holiness, in what good state the matter of religion stood in this realm, and of the submission to your Holiness, as to the chief. As this day, which is the feast

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of St. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that service, (to whose only goodness we must impute it, and to your Holiness, who have taken so great pain to gain these souls,) that this realm, with full and general consent of all them that represent the state, being very penitent for that was past, and well bent to what they come to do, submitted themselves to your Holiness, and to that holy see; whom, at the request of the queen and me, your legate did absolve. And forasmuch as the said Don John shall signify unto your Holiness all that passed in this matter, I will write no more thereof; but only that the queen and I, as most faithful and devout children of your Holiness, have received the greatest joy and comfort thereof that may be expressed with tongue: considering that, besides the service done to God hereby, it hath chanced, in the time of your Holiness, to place as it were in the lap of the holy and catholic church such a kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that is done this day. And I trust in him, that your Holiness shall always understand, that the holy see hath not had a more obedient son than I, nor more desirous to preserve and increase the authority of the same. God guide and prosper the most holy personage of your Holiness, as I desire.

"From London, the thirtieth of November, 1554.

"Your Holiness's most humble son, the king," &c.

Here followeth, likewise, the cardinal's letter to the said pope concerning the same matter.

"Those things which I wrote unto your Holiness of late, of that hope which I trusted would come to pass, that in short space this realm would be reduced to the unity of the church, and obedience of the apostolic see; though I did write then not without great cause, yet, nevertheless, I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the minds of our countrymen did show, being so long alienated from the see apostolic, and for the old hatred which they had borne so many years to that name; but much more I feared, lest the first entry into the cause itself, should be put off by some other by-matter or convention coming betwixt. For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the king and queen, which little needed; for their own godly forwardness, and earnest desire to bring the thing to pass, far surmounted my great and earnest expectation.

"This day in the evening, being St. Andrew's day, (who first brought his brother Peter to Christ,) it is come to pass by the providence of God, that this realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peter's seat and your Holiness, by whose means it may be conjoined to Christ the Head, and to his body which is the church. The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and queen being present) with such full consent and great rejoicing, that incontinently after I had made my oration, and given the benediction, with a great joy and shout there was divers times said, "Amen, Amen." Which doth evidently declare, that that holy seed, although it hath been long oppressed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the nobility.

"Returning home to my house, these things I wrote unto your Holiness upon the sudden, rejoicing that I had so luckily brought to pass so weighty a matter by the Divine Providence, thinking to have sent my letters by the king's post, who (as it was said) should have departed shortly: but afterwards, changing my purpose, when I had determined to send one of my own men, I thought good to add thus much to my letters, for the ample gratulation and rejoicing at that good chance. Which thing, as it was right great gladness to me, through the event of the

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same (being itself very great, and so holy, so profitable to the whole church, so healthful to this my country which brought me forth, so honourable to the same which received me): so likewise I took no less rejoicing of the princes themselves, through whose virtue and godliness the matter did take success and perfection.

"Of how many and how great things may the church (which is the spouse of Christ, and our mother) make her account through those her children! O notable zeal of godliness! O ancient faith! which undoubtedly doth so manifestly appear in them both, that whoso seeth them, must needs (whether he will or no) say the same which the prophet spake of the first children of the church: 'These are the seed which the Lord hath blessed. This is the Lord's planting to glory in.' How holily did your Holiness with all your authority and earnest affection favour this marriage! which truly seemeth to express a great similitude of the highest King, which, being heir of the world, was sent down by his Father from the regal seat to be spouse and son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all mankind. For even so this king himself, the greatest heir of all men which are in the earth, leaving his father's kingdoms that are most great, is come into this little kingdom, and is become both the spouse and son of this virgin, (for he so behaveth himself as though he were a son, whereas indeed he is a husband,) that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, show himself an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Christ, and to his body, which is the church. Which things, seeing they are so, what may not our mother the church herself look for at his hands, that hath brought this to pass, to convert the hearts of the fathers towards their sons, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous? which virtue, truly, doth wonderfully shine in him. But the queen, which at that time, when your Holiness sent me legate unto her, did rise up as a rod of incense springing out of the trees of myrrh, and as frankincense out of the desert—she, I say, which a little before was forsaken of all men, how wonderfully doth she now shine! What a savour of myrrh and frankincense doth she give forth unto her people, who (as the prophet saith of the mother of Christ) brought forth, before she laboured; before she was delivered, brought forth a man-child! Whoever heard of such a thing, and who hath seen the like of this? Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or shall a whole nation be brought forth together? But she now hath brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereof we are in most great hope.

"How great cause is given to us to rejoice! How great cause have we to give thanks to God's mercy, your Holiness, and the emperor's Majesty, which have been causers of so happy and so godly a marriage, by which we, being reconciled, are joined to God the Father, to Christ, and to the church! of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep silence of it. And to this my rejoicing, this was also joined, (which when I had perceived by the letters of the reverend archbishop of Cocenza, your Holiness's nuncio with the emperor's Majesty, brought me marvellous great gladness,) that your said Holiness began to restore to the ancient beauty those things, which, in the Church of Rome, through the corruption of times, were deformed; which truly, when it shall be finished, then indeed may we well cry out with the prophet, and speak unto your Holiness with these words 'Put off the stole of sorrow and vexation; and put on comeliness, which thou hast of God in everlasting glory. For thy name shall be named of God everlasting, peace of righteousness, and honour of godliness; and then it shall be said, Look about and see thy sons gathered together from the sun-rising to the going down of the same, rejoicing in the holy word.' There is nothing truly (to speak of thy children gathered together in the west, which prepare themselves to meet their mother) which they had rather see,

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than her apparelled (that I may use the words of the prophet) in that garment of righteousness, wherewith God adorned her in times past. This one thing remaineth: that your Holiness's joy, and the joy of all the universal church, may be perfected; which, together with us her unworthy children, ceaseth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preserve your Holiness long to continue in health, for the profit of his church!

"From London, the last of November, 1554,
"Your most humble servant,
REGINALD POLE, cardinal."

On the Sunday, the second of December, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at which sermon was present the king and Cardinal Pole. He took for his theme this part of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, This also we know, the season, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer, than when we believed, &c. Some notes thereof, as they came to my hands, faithfully gathered, (as it appeareth by sundry copies,) I have here thought good to set forth.

First, he showed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: "Therefore St. Paul," quoth he, "to stir up their heavy dulness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer, than when they believed."

In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish sacraments had from those of the Christians, wherein he used these words:

"Even as the sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come: but Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews' sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in signs, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now, also, it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept, or rather dreamed, these twenty years past; as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the properties and effects of a sleep or a dream. And first, as men intending to sleep do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated ourselves from the see apostolic of Rome; and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us.

"Secondly, as in sleep men dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of drowning or burning, sometimes of such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your ears: so we have in this our sleep not only dreamed of beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one brother destroyed another? hath not half our money been wiped away at one time?—And again, those that would defend their conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled; besides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, whereof I report me to your own consciences. Further, in a man's sleep all his senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell, nor hear: even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were instituted to move and stir up our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put

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out the candle, lest peradventure it may let his sleep, and awake him: so of late all such writers as did hold any thing with the apostolic see, were condemned, and forbidden to be read; and images (which were laymen's books) were cast down and broken.

"This sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head: for when King Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whose death, King Edward (having over him governors and protectors which ruled as them listed) could not be head of the church, but was only a shadow or sign of a head: and, at length, it came to pass that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For on the one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other side, they both were convicted of one crime, and so deposed. Thus, while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the north, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, I am sure the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the pope: but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for fear.

"After this, Master Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a mean between the pope's Holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome: but the time was not yet come; for it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of King Edward's reign the matter was moved, but the time was not yet; for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, *hora est*, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's Holiness, Pope Julius the Third, sent unto us this most reverend father, Cardinal Pole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? Not to revenge the injuries done by us against his Holiness, *sed benedicere maledicentibus*, to give his benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

"And that we may be the more meet to receive the said benediction, I shall desire you that we may alway acknowledge ourselves offenders against his Holiness—I do not exclude myself forth of the number. I will weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice. And I shall desire you that we may defer the matter no longer; for now, the hour is come. The king and queen's Majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy, and the three estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, have also submitted themselves to his Holiness, and his successors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their father, so may the pope say, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine first from Rome—therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his Holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such care hath he for us. Therefore let us say, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, emultemus et lætemur in ea*: Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that such a nobleman of birth is come, yea, such a holy father, (I mean, my Lord Cardinal Pole,) which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto strangers; who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, which so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much naughtiness against the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the

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altar, and pulled down the altar, which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ."

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed first for the pope, Pope Julius the Third, with all his college of cardinals; the bishop of London, with the rest of that order. Then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and last, for the commons of the same, with the souls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Paul's to ring for their evening song, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make a short end of his clerky sermon.

About this very time a post or messenger was sent from the whole parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of abbey-lands and chantry-lands; for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchases were fully confirmed.

On the Thursday following, being the sixth of December, and St. Nicholas's day, all the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their perjurations, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down and received his absolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church made by the cardinal, they departed.

On Wednesday, the twelfth of December, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Master Throgmorton's quest, were discharged, and set at liberty upon their fine paid, which was two hundred and twenty pounds apiece; and the other three put up a supplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the sum that they were appointed to pay; and so, upon that declaration paying forty pounds apiece, they were delivered out of prison upon St. Thomas's day before Christmas, being the twenty-first of December.

On the Saturday following, being the twenty-second of December, all the whole parliament had strict commandment, that none of them should depart into their country this Christmas, nor before the parliament were ended: which commandment was wonderful contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as also many of the inferior sort, had sent for their horses, and had them brought hither.

On the Friday following, being the twenty-eighth of December, and Childermas-day, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

On new-year's day the act of supremacy passed in the parliament. Also the same day at night was a great tumult between Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to have ensued great mischief through a Spanish friar, which got into the church and rung alarum. The occasion was about two loose women which were in the cloister of Westminster, with a sort of Spaniards, whereof, whilst some played the knaves with them, others did keep the entry of the cloister with dags, in harness. In the mean time certain of the dean's men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole town was up almost; but never a stroke was

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stricken. Notwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the dean's men, and also the ringing of the alarum, made much ado; and a great number also to be sore afraid.

261. John Bolton

A lamentable example of cruelty showed upon John Bolton, a man of Reading, imprisoned for the true testimony of a Christian conscience.

The Lent following the coronation of Queen Mary, which Lent was in the year 1554, there was a writing set upon the church-door at Reading in . Berkshire, containing matter against the mass, but the author thereof then, and a long time after, was unknown; although now certainly known to be indeed one John Moyer, who afterwards confessed the fact, recanted, and is now made minister. Great inquisition was in every place thereabouts, but nothing, as I said, could be found certainly. Amongst many others one John Bolton was suspected, who, being asked his mind of the mass, answered, that he took it to be against the word of God, and contumelious to Christ: upon which words, he was by the mayor, (whose name was Boyer, and by science a tanner,) with other officers, committed to the gaol about three weeks before Easter; where being kept by the space of a week or a fortnight, in the under prison or dungeon, afterwards he was had up to a chamber of the gaoler's, (whose name was Welch,) having his bed and other necessaries to help himself withal, and so continued until Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, came through the town with King Philip and Queen Mary, straight upon their marriage at Winchester.

Then the said bishop, hearing of the said John Bolton, sent for him to talk with him, persuading him, what he could, to relent from the truth. But he stood stedfast, and most boldly reproved the said bishop to his face, and replied most earnestly against his persuasions; whereby the bishop, being greatly moved, commanded that he should be had to prison again, there to be kept with bread and water, and nothing else: charging, further, that whosoever came to him should, in anywise, immediately be set by him. Well, John Bolton was, thereupon, carried again to the gaol and put into the dungeon, or under prison, where he was before; which is under the ground about twelve feet deep, compassed about with most thick walls, without any light saving only that which cometh down at the entry; but (which is the best) both above the head and under foot, it is boarded. And alas! to no purpose, (poor John Bolton might say,) for he was not suffered to walk any part therein, but was most cruelly stocked and chained, as hereafter followeth. In the same dungeon is a marvellous evil scent or odour, and the whole proportion most terrible to see. In the midst thereof is a huge pair of stocks, of a great height, wherein they did put both his hands and his feet; on the other side of the stocks, his legs were tied with a great chain of iron, being surely fastened to a great and mighty block unmovable. And hanging on this sort by the hands and feet, sometimes for a day and a night together, (his body not touching any part of the ground,) the gaoler often would ease him and loose his hands sometimes at night, but his feet he would keep in the stocks still, three or four whole days together. And, being in this woeful and most miserable case, the gaoler and his family would wickedly, in the night season, to trouble the good poor man, oftentimes cast squibs of fire into the dungeon, whereby his empty and careful head might be troubled with vain and fond fantasies; which came to pass, as hereafter shall be showed.

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Now his honest good neighbours, hearing of his perplexity, were not a little careful for him, and sent their benevolence liberally to him; such as wholesome meats and drinks to comfort his weak body, which always were either eaten up by the gaoler and his household, or else brought to the grate of the prison, and there given to dogs before his face: so cruel and unmerciful was this wicked gaoler. Whereby the said poor John Bolton was enforced (alas! the pity) to eat what cannot be named for hunger; some think for the space of six days, some think more, some less; but although how long the time is uncertain, yet, that he did it, is most true.

Thus was he in the lower prison just twelve months and ten weeks, having sometimes his hand and feet in the stocks; sometimes his feet only, sometimes neither; sometimes having checks, taunts, scornings, threatenings, and mockings; otherwhiles having meat; otherwhiles in loathsome extremity: until at last, with terrible torments, solitary sighings, lack of liberty, meat, drink, with such like, and also with eating that which nature most abhorreth, and what never was heard of before in any tyrant's days, he began, I say, at the last, to be full of ravings and strange fantasies, in such sort, that men took him as one without reason and distracted of mind. This being once known to Sir Francis Englefield, he, with his blood-thirsty brother the parson of Englefield, thought good to rid the prison of him; and so he was discharged.

It is not to be forgotten, amongst so many troubles, that in prison was laid awhile, for fornication, a collar-maker by his science; who, being of nature very tender, and feeling not one quarter of John Bolton's troubles and miserable torments, fell mad. And, through friendship of them that were more mad than he, liberty was given him to sit at the grate of the dungeon, to work for his living and to have the benefit of the light; which is (as prisoners say) no small benefit. This madman having his tools, that is to say an awl and a stretcher, and his liberty therewith, used the same almost to the destruction of his own wife and the said John Bolton. For she, coming to visit him, being great with child and thinking of no danger (poor woman) towards her, the wretched madman, ungraciously, thrust his awl in her body, and slew the little babe within her. And yet, not content therewith, but to increase his mischief more and more, he also with the same instrument did, in divers places, hurt the said John Bolton sitting in the stocks, to the great peril of his life, and no less danger of the same continually, while the said collar-maker remained in prison; as it appeareth evidently at this present upon his body, for them that list to see.

By such cruelty, and so greatly, was truth handled and whoredom maintained by this wicked gaoler, that the evil person could have liberty to do his mischief when he would, while the poor simple John Bolton (laid in for conscience' sake to God-ward) might not once have so much favour as to be free from the stocks, and to walk a little for his comfort. This is the truth of this story, approved by sufficient and credible testimonies, as well of the inhabitants of the said town of Reading, (whose letters, at this present, for the certification thereof we have to show, dated to us the twelfth day of May,) as also by the confirmation of the party himself on whom this cruelty was showed, being, although, through the same their extreme handling, weak and feeble, yet, God be praised! a man alive.

262. The Queen with Child

Ye heard a little before the council's letter sent to Bishop Bonner, signifying the good news of Queen Mary to be not only conceived, but also quick with child, which was in the month of November, the twenty-eighth day. Of this child great talk began at this time to rise in every man's mouth, with busy preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as seemed in England to carry Spanish hearts in English bodies. In number of whom is here not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign commendation for his worthy affection towards his prince and her issue, one Sir Richard Southwell, who, being the same time in the parliament house, when the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: "Tush, my masters," quoth he, "what talk ye of these matters? I would have you take some order for our young master that is now coming into the world apace, lest he find us unprovided," &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the aforesaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an assured opinion was then conceived in men's heads of Queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child: insomuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament, there was eftsoons a bill exhibited, and an act made upon the same, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplify, as followeth.

Extract of an Act for the government of Queen Mary's issue.

"Albeit we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved the queen's Majesty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even so he will, of his infinite goodness, give her Highness strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain. and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of the inconstant government, during the time of the reign of the late King Edward the Sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils, that may ensue in this whole realm, if foresight be not used to prevent all evil chances, if they should happen: for the eschewing hereof, we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special trust and confidence that we have and repose in the king's Majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration of this realm in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of her Majesty's body to be born (if it should please God to call the queen's Highness out of this present life, during the tender years of such issue or issues; which God forbid)—according to such order and manner, as hereafter, in this present act, his Highness's most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble suit, by the assent of the queen's Highness, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is aforesaid: upon which our suit being of his said Majesty most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his Highness not only to declare, that like as for the most part his Majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath

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hitherto preserved the queen's Majesty, to give this realm so good a hope of certain succession in the blood royal of the same realm) will assist her Highness with his graces and benedictions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern, (whereof neither all this realm, nay, all the world besides, should or could receive more comfort than his Majesty should and would,) yet, if such chance should happen, his Majesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues as of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's Highness and him; but also, during the time of such government, would, by all ways and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the said trust in his Majesty reposed, with no less goodwill and affection, than if his Highness had been naturally born amongst us. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's most excellent Majesties, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same," &c.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader may understand, not so much how parliaments may sometimes be deceived, (as by this child of Queen Mary may appear,) as rather what cause we Englishmen have to render most earnest thanks unto Almighty God, who so mercifully, against the opinion, expectation, and working of our adversaries, hath helped and delivered us in this case; which otherwise might have opened such a window to the Spaniards, to have entered and replenished this land, that peradventure, by this time, Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country. The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his benefits! Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, provision, and order taken in the parliament house for their young master long looked for, coming so surely into the world, in the end appeared neither young master, nor young mistress, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay sort was herein deluded; so no less ridiculous it was to behold, what little effect the prayers of the pope's churchmen had with Almighty God, who travailed no less with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young master to come, as here followeth to be seen.

A prayer made by Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the queen's deliverance.—Out of Latin into English.

"O most righteous Lord God, which, for the offence of the first woman, has threatened unto all women, a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and, being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious Queen Mary, being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, she, forgetting the trouble, may, with joy, laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most

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heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church say, 'Where is their God?'"

A solemn prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's child, that it may be a male child, well-favoured, and witty, &c.

"O most mighty Lord God, which regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences; humbly, with eyes intent and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciously, with the help of thy right hand, deliver her; and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

"It hath seemed good in thy sight, merciful Father, by thy servant Mary, to work these wonders; that is to say, in her hands to vanquish and overthrow the stout enemy, and to deliver us, thy people, out of the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies to thee and to the cross of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; that of thy servant thou mightest speak in far countries. Therefore, for these wonderful works which thou dost to thy servants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for ever; and we thy people bless thee, the God of heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great mercy, and hath excluded from us the heretic, the enemy of truth, the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know, that we have grievously, Lord, sinned; that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sins be increased up to heaven: and we ourselves, having offended, and our princes and our priests, for these our sins have deserved a hypocrite to our prince; our sins have deserved a tyrant to our governor, that should bring our life to a bitterness. We be not worthy to have so gentle and merciful a queen, so godly a ruler, and finally, so virtuous a prince; at the very beginning of whose reign, a new light, as it were, of God's religion seemed to us for to spring and rise. The Jews did bless the widow Judith with one voice, saying, 'Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou hast loved chastity; and thou shalt be blessed for ever.'

"And we, the English people, with one agreeable consent do cry: 'Thou Mary art the glory of England,' our joy, the honour of thy people; for that thou hast embraced chastity. Thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever. But bow down, O most merciful Father, thine ear, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip, (not by human, but by thy ordinance, our king,) and against thy servant Mary, (by thy providence our queen,) the restorers and maintainers of thy testament of the faith, and most constant defenders of thy church: thou knowest, I say, that against these, our two governors, the enemies of thy holy Testament, and of the church thy spouse, be most rank rebels and spiteful murmurers, walking after their lusts; whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they may set up the kingdom of heretics and schismatics. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop and shut up the mouths of them that praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholic church and altar.

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"It is manifest and plain, how many contentions, how many conspiracies and seditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many and how great troublesome vexations, how many heresies and schisms, (for these be the most ready devices and evident tokens of heretics,) for our sins do hang over us, if thy servant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midst of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turn therefore thy countenance unto us, show unto us, O Lord, thy face. Punish us for our sins according to thy will and pleasure; only now deliver us. We, bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou wilt not reserve unto us punishment for ever; and we shall praise thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the spring of lively water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy servant a perfect work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the faithless rebels to say of thy servant and her councillors, that they have devised matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy servant a happy and an easy travail: for it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy justice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

"It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of ninety years, and in Elizabeth, the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou, Lord, that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy servant never lusted after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness: but she consented to take a husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took a husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever.

"Give therefore unto thy servants Philip our king and Mary our queen, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy servant a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent. Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitality like Lot, in chastity and brotherly love like Joseph, in meekness and mildness like Moses, in strength and valour like Samson. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Solomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an upright man, fearing God and eschewing evil. Let him, finally, be garnished with the comeliness of all virtuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and live, that he may see his children's children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our sovereign lord and lady, King Philip and Queen Mary, thy blessings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may stedfastly continue in faith, love, and holiness. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for ever and ever: Amen!"

Another prayer for Queen Mary, and her conceived child.

"O Almighty Father, which didst sanctify the blessed Virgin and mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Christ our Saviour thine only Son; also, by thine omnipotent power, didst safely deliver the prophet Jonas out of the whale's belly: defend, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy servant Mary, our queen, with child conceived; and so visit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the child thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the blessed sacraments of baptism and confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increase of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and soul; but

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that also she, (the mother,) through thy special grace and mercy, may in time of her travail avoid all excessive dolour and pain, and abide perfect and sure from all peril and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

It followeth now further, in process of the story, that upon the Tuesday, being the tenth of January, nineteen of the lower house of the parliament, with the speaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm and of the issue, if the queen should fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

On Wednesday following, being the sixteenth of January, the parliament was clean dissolved. In this parliament, amongst other tidings, the bishop of Rome was established, and all such laws as were made against him since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth, were repealed, and also Cardinal Pole, Bishop Pates, Lilly, and others were restored to their blood. Also there was an act made for speaking of words; that whoever should speak any thing against the king or queen, or that might move any sedition or rebellion, at the first time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit a hundred marks; and at the second time to have both his ears cut off, or else to forfeit a hundred pounds; and whosoever should write, cipher, or print any of the premises, to have their right hand cut off.

Also in this parliament three statutes were revived for trial of heresy; one made in the fifth year of Richard the Second: another in the second year of Henry the Fourth: and the third in the second year of Henry the Fifth. Also the doing of Master Rose, and the others that were with him, was communed of in this parliament; and upon that occasion an act was made, that certain evil prayers should be treason against the queen's Highness. The prayers of these men were thus: "God turn the heart of Queen Mary from idolatry; or else shorten her days."

263. The Bow Congregation

Master Rose with thirty persons taken at a communion in Bow Churchyard. Anno 1555.



ON new-year's day at night following, certain honest men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and a minister with them named Master Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow Churchyard at the communion, and the same night they were all committed to prison. And on the Thursday following, being the third of January, Master Rose was before the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor; and from thence the same day he was committed to the Tower, after certain communication had between the bishop and him.

As touching the taking of Master Rose and his fellows, word was brought thereof to that godly man and dear martyr of God, Master Hooper, being then in the Fleet, in words as followeth.

A letter sent to Master Hooper, concerning the taking of a godly company in Bow Churchyard, at their prayer.

"My duty humbly remembered:—You hear, I know, of a godly company imprisoned, which were taken upon new-year night. Yet notwithstanding, forasmuch, perhaps, as you know not perfectly how nor wherefore, you shall understand that being upon their knees in ending of prayer, (wherein they gave God thanks, prayed for the magistrates and estates of the realm, and required things necessary at his bountiful hands,) two of my Lord Chancellor's men, as I am informed, came first into the chamber where they were, in Bow Churchyard; and, immediately afterwards, followed Master Sheriff with others, who commanded them all to stay, in the king's and queens Majesty's names: whereunto they humbly obeyed. For they came not thither weaponed, to conspire or make any tumult, but only like Christians, Christianly to pray, and to be instructed, in the vulgar tongue, by the reading and hearing of God's word; as their conscience did enforce them, without the displeasure of God, to do.

"For, as you well know, there is nothing so grievous to the patient in this world, as the gnawing and biting worm of a troubled conscience; being accused by God's law for the wilful transgression of the same. This, by experience, we know by Judge Hales: who, contrary to the knowledge of God's word, consented to the wicked traditions of the papists, who, although in name they would be of the holy church and preachers of the gospel of Christ, yet, in fact and deed, do dissent from the same, and most detest that godly society; as by the cruel handling of the Christians by the prelates, at this present time, it doth evidently appear. Therefore, I say, that they might, without the offence of God, quietly pray together, as they he taught by his word, there assembled a godly company together, to the number of thirty: divided and sent to both the compters, where, at commandment, they yet remain. And with Master Chambers, Master Monger, and the rest in the compter at Bread Street, I was yesterday; who (God he thanked!) be strong, and do rejoice that for well-doing they are imprisoned: not doubting, but that as God hath

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vouchsafed to accept them worthy to sustain imprisonment for his sake, so he will strengthen them, rather to suffer death than to deny his truth; as the Lord knoweth, who assist you with his Holy Spirit, that unto the end you may persevere in his truth: unto whose tuition, in my poor prayer, I humbly commend you. January the third, 1555. Master Chambers, Master Monger, Master Sh * * *, and the rest in the compter do pray for you, and, in Christ, salute you most heartily."

Whereupon the said Master Hooper sendeth answer again, with a letter also of consolation sent to the said prisoners; the copy whereof I thought here not to overpass.

The answer of Master Hooper to a letter sent unto him concerning certain prisoners taken in Bow Churchyard.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon new-year's day at night, there were taken a godly company of Christians, whilst they were praying. I do rejoice in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any magistrate with words, or to mean him evil by force or violence. They also may rejoice, that in well-doing they were taken to the prison. Wherefore I have thought it good to send them this little writing of consolation; praying God to send them patience, charity, and constancy in the truth of his most holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true word into this realm again amongst us, which the ungodly bishops have now banished.

"January 4, A.D. 1555."

A letter of consolation sent from Master Hooper, to the godly brethren taken in Bow Churchyard in prayer, and laid in the compter in Bread Street.

"The grace, favour, consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost, be with you now and ever. So be it.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, as well of mirth and gladness, as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical, to persecute the people of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy Psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare, that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the Ethnics and Gentiles.

"When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians, in the primitive church, were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens, in the time of Trajan the emperor, about seventy-seven years after Christ's ascension into heaven; and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition: whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the

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true cause of Christian men's trouble. A great learned man, called Pliny, wrote unto him, and said, It was because the Christians said certain Psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God. When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments every where, that no man should be persecuted for serving of God. Lo! a Gentile and heathen man would not have such as were of a contrary religion punished for serving of God: but the pope and his church hath cast you into prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellentest works that is required of Christian men: that is to wit, whilst ye were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his name only ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his sake ye asked for such things as ye want. Oh! glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for righteousness' sake: for if God had suffered them that took your bodies, then to have taken your life also, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you, gloriously to speak and maintain his truth to the world.

"Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts, and in your mouths to speak his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishness to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the same unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it to perish. Now ye be in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. Doubtless it is a singular favour of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this fore-ward and pre-eminence, as a sign that he trusteth you before others of his people. Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly; ye stand for the true Christ, (who is after the flesh in heaven,) and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much be ye bound to God, who puts you in trust with so holy and just a cause!

"Remember what lookers-on you have, to see and behold you in your fight: God and all his angels, who be ready always to take you up into heaven, if ye be slain in this fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire, to follow such noble and valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your adversaries: for he that is in you, is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not, although it be pain to you: your pains be not now so great, as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable eighth, tenth, and fifteenth chapters to the Romans, and the eleventh and twelfth to the Hebrews. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and there you shall see how the shepherds that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born at Bethlehem, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do, now we be called; commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the

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house, he will preserve the goods; yea, rather than it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Cast therefore all your care upon God, for he careth for you.

"Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word: but, for lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot by Holy Scripture persuade; because the holy word of God, and all Christ's doings, be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me; and I will pray for you. And although we be asunder after the world, yet in Christ (I trust) for ever joining in the Spirit: and so shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen.

"The 14th of January, 1555."

On the Friday following, being the eighteenth of January, all the council went unto the Tower, and there the same day discharged and set at liberty all the prisoners of the Tower, or the most part of them, namely, the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry; Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Sent-low, Sir Gawin Carew, Master Gibbs, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

On the Tuesday following, being the twenty-second of January, all the preachers that were in prison were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the bishop's house at St. Mary Overy's; from whence (after communication, being asked whether they would convert and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught; they all answering, that they would stand to that they had taught) they were committed to straiter prison than before they were, with charge that none should speak with them.

Among this number of prisoners, one James George the same time died in prison, being there in bands for religion and righteousness' sake; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the popish churchyard, and was buried in the fields.

On the Wednesday following, being the twenty-third of January, all the bishops with the rest of the Convocation-house were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to entreat the people and their flock with all gentleness, and to endeavour themselves, to win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour: and so let them depart.

On the Friday following, being the twenty-fifth of January, and the day of the conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the catholic church: wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) there were fourscore and ten crosses, and one hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There followed also, for the better estimation of the sight, eight bishops; and, last of all, came Bonner, the bishop of London, carrying the popish pix under a canopy.

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Besides, there was also present the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover, the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to Paul's church the same day. From whence, after mass, they returned to Westminster again. As the king was entered the church at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themselves and their services.

After the procession there was also commandment given to make bonfires at night; whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk, why all this was done. Some said it was that the queen, being (as they said) with child, might have a safe delivery. Others thought that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the see of Rome; which opinion, of both, seemed most true.

On the Monday following, being the twenty-eighth of January, the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison; and according to this commission, the same day the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops, with certain of the council, sat in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them these three, Master Hooper, Master Rogers, and Master Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence after communication they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker this day submitted himself unto them.

On the Tuesday, being the twenty-ninth of January, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them; where sentence of excommunication and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon Master Hooper and Master Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Caiaphas's seat; who drave them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

On the Wednesday, being the thirtieth of January, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were before the said bishops; where three of them, that is to say, Dr. Taylor, Master Saunders, and Master Bradford, were likewise excommunicated, and sentence pronounced upon them; and so committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome desired two months' respite, and it was granted him; and Master Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men showed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were no less: but what availeth either learning, reason, or truth itself, where will beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers above recited, commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad likewise into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true Christians out of all the quarters of the realm (but especially Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison; and afterwards, most of them, either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in the prisons, and were buried on the dunghills abroad in the fields, or in some backside of the prison. Of all which matters, concerning the tragical handling of the blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ—of all the bloody persecution of this time—now followeth (the Lord so granting) severally and more particularly in this next book in order to be declared: after that I shall first recite a general supplication, given up in the name of the

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preachers aforesaid lying in prison, unto the king and queen, during the time of the parliament, as followeth

"Unto the king and queen's most excellent Majesties, and to their most honourable and high court of parliament.

"In most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your Majesties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor desolate and obedient subjects, H. F. T. B., P. R. S., &c. That whereas your said subjects, living under the laws of God and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble King Edward the Sixth, did in all things show themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm did then, allow: your said subjects nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner not only cast into prison, (where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months,) but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books, taken from them, and they slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges; belying, slandering, and misreporting your said subjects at their pleasure, whereas your said subjects, being straitly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly.

"In consideration whereof, may it please your most excellent Majesties, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing, in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your Majesties, unto such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous heresies: provided that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh subjects and children of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

"Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics, neither teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ: yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your Majesties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the king of Israel, and Bar-Jesu to the proconsul Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects be not able, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your Majesties to appoint.

"Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ, (which you look for at the day of judgment,) your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of

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your Majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent Majesties long to endure."

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THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

WHEREIN

**IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS,
WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GOOD
MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN
MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.**

264. John Rogers.



HE fourth of February suffered the constant martyr of God, Master John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and suffering, here followeth in order set forth. And first touching his life and bringing up.

John Rogers, brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at length was chosen and called by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant, whom he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, who both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, The Translation of Thomas Mattheewe. He, knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant, King Edward the Sixth, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then, being orderly called, having both a conscience, and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Paul; and the dean and the chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity-lesson there; wherein he diligently travailed, until such time, as Queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with his idolatry and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he, being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council, being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer; and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true

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preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keep his own house; and so he did; although by flying, he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the recovery of religion in England, for that present, desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a great space; during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing; which God would not be lost, but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

The examination and answer of John Rogers, made to the lord chancellor, and to the rest of the council, the twenty-second of January, A. D. 1555.

First the lord chancellor said unto me thus: "Sir, ye have heard the state of the realm, in which it standeth now."

Rogers.—"No, my Lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded."

Then said the lord chancellor, "General things, general things," mockingly. "Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such a unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they (of which there are eightscore in one house, said one that was by, whose name I know not) have, with one assent and consent, received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye? Are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England. Will ye do that?"

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

L. Chan.—"Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head."

Rogers.—"I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the

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word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ."

L. Chan.—"Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the Eighth to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?"

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

L. Chan. &c.—"Yea," said the lord chancellor, and Tostal, bishop of Durham, and N****, bishop of Worcester, "if thou hadst said so in his days"—and they nodded the head at me with a laughter—"thou hadst not been alive now." Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor, also, said to the Lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the lord chancellor said, "What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rogers.—"My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, &c., (as is before said,) seeing you, and all the bishops of the realm, have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long agoe condescended unto it." And there he interrupted me thus:

L. Chan.—"Tush! that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome."

Rogers.—"With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way, with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?"

L. Chan.—"I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto: whereas, in this parliament, it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Here my Lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant; unto whom I answered: "My Lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my Lord, by more or lesser part: but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him: "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee."—And so there were indeed ten persons

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more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called: of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them; and nine were contrary, which all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus: Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him? and he answering yea, was so discharged by the friendship of my Lord William Howard, as I have understood.—He bade me tell him what I would do: whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not?" "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c., and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing."

L. Chan. "Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee."

Rogers.—"I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me, to confer by writing and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past: and will ye now, without collation, have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded."

L. Chan.—"If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such a one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment."

Rogers.—"My Lord, I deny that I am a heretic: prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text."—But still the lord chancellor played on one string, saying:

L. Chan.—"If thou wilt enter into our church with us, &c., tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now."

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

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

Rogers.—"I find not the bishop of Rome there. For 'catholic' signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are

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plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan.—"Show me one of them; one, let me hear one!"

I remembered myself, that amongst so many I were best to show one, and said, "I will show you one."

L. Chan.—"Let me hear that; let me hear that.."

Rogers.—"The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against 1 Cor. xiv."

L. Chan.—"I deny that; I deny that it is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that. How prove you that?"

Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter: "To speak with tongue," said I, "is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c., and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue; wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God" (meaning God only at the most). This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

L. Chan.—"Well, then it is in vain unto men."

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

L. Chan.—"Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but into the wind."

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree, (for they must agree; they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paul,) as to wit, "to speak not to men, but unto God," and, "to speak into the wind," and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun; but here arose a noise and a confusion.—Then said the lord chancellor:

L. Chan.—"To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible."

Rogers.—"I will prove them possible."

"No," said my Lord William Howard to my Lord Chancellor. "Now will I bear you witness, that he is out of the way; for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God—and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man."

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

Lord Howard.—"I understand so much, that that is not possible."

"This is a point of sophistry," quoth Secretary Bourn.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the Lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Halle, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester.—"Yea, and at Wittenberg too."

Rogers.—"Yea," but I could not be heard for the noise, "in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin."—And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my Lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but, perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another "Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but to let them alone, and commit the matter to God."—Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. Chan.—"No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor."

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

Worcester.—"All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them; and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rogers.—"Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expositor."

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

Rogers.—"I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures."—And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor bade to prison with me again "And away, away," said he; "we have more to talk withal" If I would not be reformed (so he termed it) "away, away!" Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

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Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood in a window by, said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that."

Rogers.—"Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes;"—lifting up mine eyes unto heaven. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the queen's Majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c. I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her Grace, and all their Honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spake at once.—"No," quoth they then, a great sort of them, and specially Secretary Bourn "A married priest, and have not offended the law!"

Rogers.—"I said I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful."

Divers at once.—"Where was that?" said they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers.—"In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying, that I was come too soon with such a sort; I should find a sore coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said, (I could not well perceive who,) that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

I said, "The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man;" and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

Rogers.—I said, yes, that I could tell where it was;—but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand; but at this present I was informed that I should tomorrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true imps of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all

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consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death; and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all, in us all; which is the very property of a head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do): and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the most jeopardy of the battle; but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and, at this present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly, desire and beseech you all to pray: and also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children; whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation—the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, Amen.

The twenty-seventh day of January, at night.

The second confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made, (if it might have been heard,) the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth day of January, 1555.

"First, being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and the whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament, (in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic Church of Rome,) and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors:—I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant; but now, I understand that it was a mercy of the antichristian Church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the rising which he spake of, was a very fall into error and false doctrine. Also, that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not, to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. 'Should,' quoth he, 'when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one or any private person have authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.'

"I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could, rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the lord chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vain-glory.—I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on

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which side pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory was. It was a poor pride, that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

"Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of antichrist; and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, that the queen's Majesty (God save her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I, ever believe it.

"Then said Dr. Aldrich, the bishop of Carlisle, that they (the bishops) would bear him witness. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'that I believe well:' and with that the people laughed; for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants in a manner: yea, and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then Master Comptroller and Secretary Bourn would have stood up also, to bear witness, and did.

"I said, it was no great matter: and, to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves; but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me; yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

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

"I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler; and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. 'Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand 'really and substantially' to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament.' And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: 'My Lord,' quoth I, 'ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my livings—which was against the law.'

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

""Was the king, then, a usurper,' quoth I, 'which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?'

""Yea,' quoth he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also:—'But yet I do misuse my terms,' quoth he, 'to call the king usurper.'

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But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

"I asked him, wherefore he put me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen.

"I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. 'I preached,' quoth I, 'a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience; which was not small.' I alleged also, that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

"'Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after,' quoth he, 'against the commandment of the council.'

"That did I not,' quoth I; 'let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.'

"I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, so long until they may catch them in their laws; and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which, by a crafty devised law, was cast into the lions' den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house.

"Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold also, that worthy man who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my Lord Chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

"This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the twenty-eighth day of January at afternoon, after that Master Hooper had been the first, and Master Cardmaker the second, in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end; and in the end, Amen, sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God! Amen, Amen! let every true Christian say and pray.

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"Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me, (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand,—as to wit, the same that the fox doth with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs,) and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calleth his antichristian false church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

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

"'Well,' quoth he, 'then is our church false and antichristian?'

"'Yea,' quoth I.

"'And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?'

"'False,' quoth I;—and cast my hands abroad.

"Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock.

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

"'I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call,' quoth I.

"And thus was I brought up by the sheriffs to the compter in Southwark, Master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets. (Thus much was done the twenty-eighth day of January.)

"The second day, which was the twenty-ninth of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the compter in Southwark to the church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Overy's, where we were the day before in the afternoon, as is said. And when Master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then my lord chancellor said unto me:

"'Rogers,' quoth he, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined; whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.'

"'My Lord,' quoth I, 'I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and, that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.'

"'When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing, (meaning not only of the

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primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached,) ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not, to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet, my Lord,' quoth I, 'I am able to show examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterward, hath, by the word of God, declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples,' said I, 'I am able to show two. I can also show the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic, to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

"'Item, I could show,' said I, 'the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitane, who saith, that unto a simple layman, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ—albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly, and without respect of fear and favour, agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of—specially seeing the like had been permitted in that old church, even in general councils; yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For,' said I, 'if Henry the Eighth were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive,) then will ye, (pointing to my Lord Chancellor,) and ye, and ye, and so ye all, (pointing to the rest of the bishops,) say, Amen: yea, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.'

"Here my Lord Chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down mockingly, saying that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

"'My Lord,' quoth I, 'I stand, and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?'

"'Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate?' quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant, proud fashion; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no, not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause. I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

L. Chan.—"See what a spirit this fellow hath,' said he; 'finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.'

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Rogers.—"I have a true spirit,' quoth I, 'agreeing and obeying the word of God:' and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my Master Christ's matters: but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his Church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, that are now in England, are the chief members): 'Of laws I mean,' quoth I, 'and not of all men and women which are in the pope's church.' Likewise when I was said to have denied their sacrament, (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution; more for his own and his popish generations' sake, than for religion or God's sake,) I told him after what order I did speak of it (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the twenty-eighth of January); wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he lusted; for the most of them were of his own servants at that day (the twenty-ninth of January, I mean). At the last I said, 'I will never deny that I said; that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.'

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

The copy of this his condemnation here, I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory, through the whole story to be referred unto.

The sentence condemnatory against Master Rogers.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee John Rogers, priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes: because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these: That the catholic Church of Rome is the church of antichrist: item, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ: the which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and

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affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare, the same: we therefore, Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, (the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew,) through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness, (which, through manifold ways, thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy,) to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine, and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended, the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm, and believe the same; and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: we therefore, I say—albeit, following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church: notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee; nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions—we therefore, (Stephen, the bishop aforesaid,) not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy, (which we are greatly afraid of,) with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate, impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated; but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid!"

"After this sentence being read, he sent us (Master Hooper I mean, and me) to the clink, there to remain till night: and when it was dark, they carried us, (Master Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other,) with bills and weapons enow, out of the clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's churchyard; and so into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate, through the city.

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"But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse; and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was, to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing: for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

"'Well my Lord,' quoth I, 'here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked there-for. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.'

"'What is that?' quoth he.

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

"'No,' quoth he, 'she is not thy wife.'

"'Yes, my Lord,' quoth I, 'and hath been these eighteen years.'

"'Should I grant her to be thy wife?' quoth he.

"'Choose you,' quoth I: 'whether ye will or not, she shall be so nevertheless.'

"'She shall not come at thee,' quoth he.

"'Then I have tired out all your charity,' said I. 'You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whoredom; as in Wales,' quoth I, 'where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to do the like.' Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last."

Other good matter there is besides, penned by Master Rogers in the prison, which he thought and would have answered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be seen by his own setting down.

"Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said. Now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched: the one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me: the other was to prove that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

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"And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this manner I purposed to have proceeded:-

"It is not unknown to you, that King Henry the Eighth, in his time, made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard; he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome; he pulled down abbeys: and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

"King Edward the Sixth, in his time, made lawful the marriage of priests; turned the service into English; abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery; set up the holy communion: and all by consent of parliament.

"The queen that now is hath repealed the act that made her bastard; hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority: beginneth to set up abbeys again; hath made the marriage of priests unlawful; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath set up the mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

"If the acts of parliament, made in King Henry's time and in King Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

"If your acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coined, (I call them yours, because ye only bear the swinge—devise, and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow,) be good, and according to God's word, then the former acts were naught; which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary.—If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will do to the world's end, in your book *De vera Obedientia*, where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be a usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England?

"Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

"In King Edward's days the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queen that now is came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also contrary to their own consciences: so great is your cruelty.

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"For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom, (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over,) ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that what ye could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for, if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

"And as it is most true, that acts of parliament have, in these latter days, been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole parliament house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted, that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and, like men-pleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry; and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they would forego lust or living, for God or for religion.

"King Henry by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by God's word Christ to be head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

"King Edward also, by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion: the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching; and all they by practising confirmed the same.

"Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty, like wavering weathercocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, 'Come again, come again to the catholic church;' meaning the antichristian Church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

"Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scantily can stand a year in strength? or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

"Ye charge the gospel preachers with the undoing of this realm: nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set to sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and

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preached to be true doctrine, in King Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

"Therefore, to conclude that which I purposed, forasmuch as the acts of parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to God's most manifest word—as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage, (which St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils,) with many such others: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive and best church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in Acts v., where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and Pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandments to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us. Notwithstanding, when they were charged therewithal, they answered, We ought more to obey God than man: even so we may, and do answer you—God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.

"The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips: yet when ye have done that which God's hand and counsel hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his Holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it. And whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure that God's word will prevail, and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust. And that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against, of all such as fear God and love his truth.

"And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

"Now touching the second point: That whereas my Lord Chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto a unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purposed to have said:

"Secondly, my Lord, whereas ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent King Edward's days, it may please your Lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil governance in many things, specially their covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospel; as also their negligence to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This can all London testify with us.—I would also have told him, what I myself,

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for my part, did once at Paul's Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeyes, and other church goods: and I am assured right well, that never a papist of them all, did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord there-for: I was also, as is well known, fain to answer there-for before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like, so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

"But, my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so infest against them, it is neither any just nor public cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

"But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will, with your governance, bring England out of God's blessing into a warm sun. I pray God, you do not.

"I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

"And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, (for so you report and brag openly of yourself,) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answer thus: God's works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God's wonderful works, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness: 'He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof.'

"This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies' hands, to kill, slay, burn, &c.: that is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet doth God use this order, and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extreme madness.

"Can the world show a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon, or why he put that most holy man, John Baptist, into the hands of Herod's son to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly, without open judgment, most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod? Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thraldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Judah and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No verily, but his

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true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly show, if I had time.

"But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods' services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: the contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians' hands. And all the others (the Herods and Pharaoh, I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary; and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

"They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather. The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea, Christ and the apostles, did teach: of which none taught any thing of our adversaries' doctrine; namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be the head of Christ's church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, especially Paul, John, and Daniel; which thing, if I might have life and books, I would so (by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it: and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they, in their days, were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world; for unto John Baptist it was said, Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet? &c.—as who should say, Thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church; for we be in ordinary possession of the church; and of us thou hast received no such power: we abide by our circumcision. And the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that were all condemned as heretics, and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas heard like words of the Philippians: These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by St. Paul, *Quid vult spermo-logus hic dicere?* What will this prater, (as my Lord Chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate,—when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written,) trifler, news-carrier, or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage? that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, &c. And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a preacher of new devils, &c.; and the Jews say by Paul, laying hands on him, Help, O ye Israelites, say they; this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, (meaning the Jews,) and the law of this place (meaning Jerusalem): and yet was never a word of these true. And the same Jews said of Paul, Out of the earth with that man,

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or, Away with him; for it is not lawful for him to live, or, he is not worthy to live. And how many more of these examples are to be found in the Bible! Although, I say, these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known (yea, and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also) unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world, had of them); and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked there-for) not a few that already know it; as we ourselves also are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences—that we are not heretics, but members of the true catholic church; and that our adversaries the bishops and popish clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

"But here they will cry out, Lo! these men will be still like John Baptist, the apostles, and prophets,' &c.

"I answer, 'We make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things.' The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this; that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

"We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: that we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing, for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our Master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sisters, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is; being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice; which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted, and be-blotted with many filthy sins, which, if the great mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measureless unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual: herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our Head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all Christian men to be like them; and herein are all true Christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them.

"But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart (that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof) into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, and disobedience towards God and his commandment, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures; to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God; to obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness there-for, and to make them to

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sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same. and for the aid of the Spirit daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts: yea, and often falling into gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalene, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes—let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers do with their children, he utterly destroyeth, yea, and everlastingly damneth, the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land; yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, (that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruel death,) God-arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm. Pharaoh did, with most great and intolerable labours and burdens, oppress and bring under the poor Israelites; and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have not we the like examples now-a-days? Oh that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good brethren I will not speak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For, although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgments. Oh that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was, by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that this bloody, butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his most bloody brethren, shall escape? or that England shall, for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great a brunt?—Yes, undoubtedly.

"If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already, by these hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will show itself one day, when the plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those crown-shorn captains, and that shortly; howsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the mean while, by God's good sufferance and will.

"Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall'd, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple builded up again by Zerubbabel, Esdras, and Nehemiah, &c. And the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin, and

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be taken in of strangers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the dispersed English flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edward's days; and our bloody Babylonical bishops, and the whole crown-shorn company, brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying false doctrine; their hypocrisy, bloodthirst, whoredom, idleness; their pestilent life, pampered in all kind of pleasure; their thrasonical boasting pride; their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that, If judgment beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the end of them, that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear? Some shall have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce, O ye wicked papists; make ye merry here, as long as ye may!"

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably entreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned: the fourth of February, A. D. 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was warned suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself to the fire; who, being then found asleep, scarce with much shogging could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, "Then," said he, "if it be so, I need not tie my points "and so was had down first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner but one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be: "Nothing," said he, "but that I might talk a few words with my wife before my burning." But that could not be obtained of him. "Then," said he, "you declare your charity, what it is." And so he was brought into Smithfield by Master Chester and Master Woodroofe, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been showed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefly, and in few words, to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom: first, this godly Master Rogers was committed to prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light: wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little above, how Master Rogers craved of Bonner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife; which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likewise it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings; yet, after his death, his wife and one of her sons, called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son aforenamed, casting his

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eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs; who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matter above specified. In the latter end whereof was also contained, that which concerneth a propheticall forewarning of things pertaining to the church, and which, in the same his words as they be there written, may be seen in the end of his Admonitions, Sayings, and Propheysings.

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in prison, to the printer of this present book, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion "Thou," said he, "shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches; or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was, (Master Hooper also agreeing to the same,) that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got; so that popish priests should clean be put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes. And if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place; and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsel and request: showing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers things touching Master Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King Edward the Sixth, there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, for wearing of priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Master Rogers, being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of King Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition: that if they would needs have such a uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c., then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with a host upon it. Whereupon if they would consent, he would agree to the other: otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap; as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus devised: that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander Andrew, their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doing more shall be said, God willing, hereafter, would in no case suffer that.

The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to Master Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, "There was never little fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him; "presupposing they should both be burned together,

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although it happened otherwise; for Master Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of Master Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.



John Rogers Burnt at the Stake

Now when the time came, that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him Master Woodroffe, one of the aforesaid sheriffs, and calling Master Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," quoth Master

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Woodroffe, "thou art a heretic." "That shall be known," quoth Rogers, "at the day of judgment." "Well," quoth Master Woodroffe, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," quoth Master Rogers: and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the fourth of February, by the sheriffs towards Smithfield, saying the psalm Miserere by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there, in the presence of Master Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, the fire was put unto him; and when it had taken hold both upon his legs and shoulders, he, as one feeling no smart, washed his hands in the flame, as though it had been in cold water. And, after lifting up his hands unto heaven, not removing the same until such time as the devouring fire had consumed them—most mildly this happy martyr yielded up his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused. He was the first protomartyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death, with wonderful patience, in the defence and quarrel of Christ's gospel.

265. Laurence Saunders.



AFTER that Queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, as is before declared, divers godly ministers of the word, which had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did, notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward,) but as the private pastors of particular flocks; among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worshipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his yonth, in places meet for that purpose, as namely in the school of Eton; from whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the King's college in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time. Shortly after that, he did forsake the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealthily; and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named Sir William Chester, who afterward chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burned at Coventry. Thus, by the mind of his friends, Laurence should needs have been a merchant; but Almighty God, who hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end. For although that Saunders was bound by fast indenture to play the merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation; so that when his other fellows were busily occupied about that kind of trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations; as one not liking that kind and trade of life.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice thus in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was, of that his solitariness and lamentation; who then, perceiving his mind nothing to fancy that kind of life, (for so Saunders declared unto him,) and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and, giving him his indenture, so set him free. And thus Laurence Saunders, being ravished with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long time in the traffic of merchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study; where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much. Therewith, also, he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scripture, to furnish himself to the office of a preacher. In study he was diligent and painful; in godly life he declared the fruits of a well-exercised conscience; he prayed often and with great fervour; and in his prayers, as also

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at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared, in which when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief. Then was his company marvellous comfortable; for as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular consolations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others who were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the university, till he proceeded master of arts, and a long space after.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, after licence obtained, he began to preach; and was so well liked of them which then had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where, by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married estate led a life unblamable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield; where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries did give him a full report as well of learning, as of much godliness. After a certain space, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-Langton, whereupon he, keeping residence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows in Bread Street. Then minded he to give over his cure in the country: and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (such I mean as were for the queen,) he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish doctrine and antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation did bear to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men, which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon, and for it kept him among them as prisoner: but, partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him; seeing he could resign neither of them now, but into the hand of a papist.

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

On Saturday, the fourteenth of October, as he was coming nigh to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a councillor to Queen Mary, did overtake him, and asked him whither he went. "I

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have," said Saunders, "a cure in London; and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," quoth Master Mordant, "let them alone, and come not at them." To this Saunders answered, "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire consolation? if any want good counsel, and need instruction? or if any should slip into error, and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," quoth Mordant, "preach such a day (and named a day,) in Bread Street, London?" "Yes verily," said Saunders "that same is my cure." "I heard you myself," quoth Master Mordant; "and will you preach now there again?" "If it please you," said Saunders, "to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place; where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them." "I would counsel you," quoth the other, "not to preach." "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Saunders. "Nay," quoth he, "I will not forbid you; but I do give you counsel." And thus entered they both the city, and departed each from other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner, bishop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day. Saunders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty: where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one who was there about him, asked him how he did. "In very deed," saith he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison:" meaning that there his mind was unquiet until he had preached; and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, entreating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had towards Christ. He recited a sum of that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving: and, lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue. The first, he said, was good, because it was according to the word of God, and the order of the primitive church. The other, he said, was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink up all. This was the sum of his sermon. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests; so was Laurence Saunders brought before this bishop in his palace of London, who had in his company the aforementioned Sir John Mordant, and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no more to Laurence Saunders's charge, but treason for breaking the queen's proclamation; heresy and sedition for his sermon.

The treason and sedition his charity was content to let slip until another time; but a heretic he would now prove him, and all those, he said, who did teach and believe that the administration of the sacraments and all orders of the church are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could

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not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furnished with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that church. To this Laurence Saunders answered with the authority of St. Augustine—that ceremonies were, even from the beginning, invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man; and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the church papistical, because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly unsavoury and unprofitable.

After much talk had concerning this matter, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, "My Lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." This writing the bishop kept for his purpose—even to cut the writer's throat; as shall appear hereafter. The bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas: and like favour found Saunders as Christ his Master did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed, with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with divers others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise.



Laurence Saunders in the Bishop's House

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All this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed, Sir John Mordant, his guide or leader, walking up and down by him; who, as I said before, was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many suitors met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where, in the mean way, Saunders's leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation, of the said Saunders; which when he had perused, "Where is the man?" said the bishop. Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop did sit; unto whom the bishop spake on this wise:

"How happeneth it," said he, "that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?"

Saunders denied not that he did preach; saying, that forasmuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet—exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand stedfastly in the doctrine which they had learned: saying also, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto, than his own conscience.

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

Then said Saunders, "We," said he, "do not declare or say, that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that, let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the author" privily taunting the bishop himself, who had before (to get the favour of Henry the Eighth) written and set forth in print a book of True Obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queen Mary to be a bastard. Now Master Saunders, going forwards in his purpose, said, "We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest the same." The bishop, being in this sort prettily nipped and touched, said, "Carry away this frenzy-fool to prison." Unto whom Master Saunders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in prison, in the same bed, reported that he heard him say, that even in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted; insomuch as not only in spirit, but also in body, he received a certain taste of that holy communion of saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from every part and member of the body unto the seat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

This Saunders continued in prison a whole year and three months; in all which space he sent divers letters to divers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and

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also to others; certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and also of his private afflictions, and of sundry his conflicts with his adversaries—as, in writing to his friend, he speaketh of Weston conferring with him in prison, whereof ye shall hear anon, (by the leave of the Lord,) as followeth in the story. In the mean time the chancellor, after this little talk with Master Saunders, (as is aforesaid,) sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea, &c. For the Caiaphas (Winchester I mean) did nothing but bait him with some of his currish eloquence; and so committed him to the prison of the Marshalsea, where he was kept prisoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his cause and estate, thou shalt now see what Laurence Saunders himself did write.

A parcel of a letter of Laurence Saunders, sent to the bishop of Winchester, as an answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him.

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did was such as, being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at the least no wilful breaking of it; forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

"Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul: This I confess, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my forefathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God, &c. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men: so that (God I call to witness) I have a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

"It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true Pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice. Yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith: The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him; for they know not the voice of a stranger. Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God; being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And albeit that the wolf (as Christ saith) cometh in sheep's clothing; yet he saith, By their fruits ye shall know them. For there be certain fruits whereby the wolf is bewrayed, notwithstanding that otherwise, in sundry sorts of devout holiness in outward show, he seemeth never so simple a sheep.

"That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, it is apparent in three principal points:—

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"First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

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

"Thirdly, it spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his prescript commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against the which Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, doth speak sharply: This people honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. And in another place: Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions.

"Wherefore I,—in conscience weighing the Romish religion, and, by indifferent discussing thereof, finding the foundation unstedfast, and the building thereupon but vain: and, on the other side, having my conscience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church,—I neither may, nor do intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from the same; no, though an angel out of heaven should preach another gospel than that which I have received of the Lord.

"And although that for lack either of such deep knowledge and profound judgment, or of expedite uttering of that I do know and judge, as is required in an excellent clerk, I shall not be able sufficiently to answer, for the convincing of the gainsayer: yet nevertheless this my protestation shall be of me premised; that, for the respect of the grounds and causes before considered, albeit I cannot *explicita fide*, as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can discuss all that is to be discussed, nor can effectually express all that can be expressed, in the discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion, whereunto I am professed; yet do I bind myself, as by my humble simplicity, so by my *fidem implicitam*, that is, by faith in generality, (as they call it,) to wrap my belief in the credit of the same, that no authority of that Romish religion repugnant thereunto, shall by any means remove me from the same, though it may hap that our adversaries will labour to beguile us with enticing words, and seek to spoil us through philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ," &c.

And thus much of Master Saunders's letter, so much as remained thereof. The residue, because it was rent away, I could not adjoin thereunto. Notwithstanding, by this already expressed, it is sufficient to understand, how good was the cause and state of this blessed child of God, being prisoner for Christ's cause. For the defence whereof he wholly bestowed and resigned himself, in such sort, as he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery; and, when others of his friends had by suit almost obtained it, he discouraged them, so that they did not follow their suit, as by his letter following may appear.

A letter of Master Saunders, to his Wife

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord:—Entirely beloved wife, even as unto mine own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you; for I do daily, twice at the least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace

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and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him! Amen.

"I am merry, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in Ephesians vi.; and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

"A prisoner in the Lord,
LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

This his constancy is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, antichrist and death. To neither of these did he give place; but, by suffering their malice, got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his own handwriting. It was with Dr. Weston, a man, whom though I should praise, yet would all good and godly men worthily dispraise. Of this the said Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. Weston did at the Marshalsea whereunto he thus answereth.

"Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he hath concluded with him I know not: I wish it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen. Master Weston of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly, wily sort, &c. I had not so much good manners, as to take it at his hand; for I said, that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good conscience. 'Ye be asleep in sin,' said he. 'I would awake,' quoth I, 'and do not forget Watch and pray.' 'What church was there, thirty years past?' 'What church was there,' quoth I, 'in Elias's time?' 'Joan of Kent,' said he, 'was of your church.' 'No,' quoth I; we did condemn her as a heretic.'

"'Who was of your church,' said he, 'thirty years past?' 'Such,' quoth I, 'as the Romish antichrist, and his rabble, have reputed and condemned as heretics.' 'Wickliff,' said he, 'Thorpe, Old-castle,' &c. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'with many more, as stories do tell.'

"'The bishop of Rome hath,' said he, 'longtime played a part in your railing sermons: but, now, be ye sure, he must play another manner of part.' 'The more pity,' quoth I, 'and yet some comfort it is to see how that the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings; though now, to please the world, you do turn with the weathercock.' 'Did you ever,' said he, 'hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?' 'No,' quoth I, for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have been no wiser than others,' &c.—with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it."

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What a blessed taste this good man had of God's Holy Spirit, by divers and sundry his letters may right well appear to him that is disposed to peruse the same: whereof certain we have here thought good, the Lord willing, to express; first beginning with that which he wrote out of the Marshalsea to Drs. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, prisoners for the like cause of Christ in Oxford.

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

"In my most humble wise I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord.—Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given unto that our Father of mercies, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of saints in light; which hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his beloved Son; by whom we have redemption through his blood, &c. O most happy estate! that, in an unspeakable wise, our life is hid with Christ in God: but whensoever Christ, which is our life, shall show himself, then shall we also appear with him in glory. In the mean season, as our sight is but in a glass, even in a dark speaking, so we walk in faith, not after outward appearance: the which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reason reputeth but as vain, yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yea, even them which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered the heart of man, &c. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth that we must needs possess, have, and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who be no small part of our joy, and good things given us of God.

"We, heretofore, have had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit; praised be that our most gracious God there-for! And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods; for that in this so glorious sort ye become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick, a spectacle unto the world, both to the angels and unto men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feel, you also may assuredly say, with St. Paul, that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the gospel; so that our bonds in Christ are manifest, not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all whole Europe; insomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear. And herein as you have with St. Paul greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed, with you, give thanks for this excellent worthy favour of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you; yea, and hereafter shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death: of which thing truly we are assured in our prayers for you, and ministering of the Spirit. And although, for your own parts, Christ is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your desire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed and to be with Christ, yet, for the church of Christ, were it much more necessary, that ye should abide in the flesh. Yea, that merciful God, even for his Christ's sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant, through Christ, by your restoring! Amen, Amen.

"But if it seem better otherwise, unto the Divine wisdom, that by speedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your

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behalfs, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; so we shall no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake. And herein we shall have to rejoice in the behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed upon God's verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

"And now, most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth of us and our estate, how we stand in the Lord, I do assure your reverences, partly by that I perceive by such of our brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience, which I, most unworthy, have of God's good comfort, (more abundance whereof I know there is in others,) you may be assured, I say, by God's grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, wherein we, believing, are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance (the which Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father): so, after such portion as God measureth unto us, we, with the whole church of Christ, and with you, reverend fathers, receiving the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak. For the which we, in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, having even such a fight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wise afraid of our adversaries.

"And forasmuch as we have such an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly, that though we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours; yet shall we not be dashed in pieces, for the Lord will put his hand under us. When we are troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift: when we are in poverty, we are not utterly without something: when we suffer persecution, we are not forsaken therein: when we are cast down, yet we shall not perish: but to communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed unto us, that even with him also we shall be glorified: For it is a true saying, If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we be patient, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he shall also deny us. Wherefore we be of good cheer, always bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might appear also in our body. For we know, that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by the means of Jesus, and shall join us to himself together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.

"We testify unto you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Saviour. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the wells of Israel. We trust to be merry together at that great supper of the

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Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and there to sing that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yea, come Lord Jesus! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen."

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself, even as it were against himself, to the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ's camp.

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

"Fain would this flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace. O Lord! how loth is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God's path! It phantasieth forsooth much fear of fray-bugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the rein of God's most sweet promise, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventure there were of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours, who, in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed so to shine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ: and having this treasure in our earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be God's, and not ours, we are (according to his own good will) troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is sufficient; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, nevertheless we perish not; we bear in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also appear in our body. Wherefore, by the grace of our Christ, we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us: but by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. For he that goeth on his way weeping, and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him. Then, then, shall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then, shall be brought to pass that saying which is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"In the mean season it remaineth for us to follow St. Peter's bidding: Let them, saith he, that are troubled according to the will of God, commit their souls to him with well doing, as a faithful Creator and Maker. He is our Maker; we are his handiwork and creatures, whom now, when he hath made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the shipwright doth the ship; leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the tempest; but he comforteth us his creatures. And in him we live, move, and have our being. Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Christ repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender good-will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by such promises he hath plighted such faith, that though it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful believers should be forgotten of him. He biddeth us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us. And what though for a season he both suffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and seemeth, as in much

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anger, to have given us over and forgotten us? Let not us, for all that, leave off to put our trust in him; but let us, with godly Job, conclude in ourselves and say, Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him. Let us, with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who, though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembereth that we are but dust. Wherefore, look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth: so great is his mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the east is from the west: so far hath he set our sins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him. Oh what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most gracious God! We cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful Benefactor, and say with the same psalmist, Praise the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within me, praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits.

"Dear wife, riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is unto hungry consciences, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more,) that I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the devils in hell. I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

He wrote many other letters, full of godly instruction and consolation, which cannot all in such large sort be added, as I have done these; therefore thou shalt now, good reader, be content with some such short things as are gathered out of his writings. Being in prison he was, to his fellow-prisoners, a profitable prisoner, to whom, as he faithfully disposed the bread of life, so left he record thereof in this English metre following.

"The grace of God declared is, in Christ, his Son most dear,
And teacheth us, in holiness, to live in his true fear;
Whoso then, in that heavenly birth, a Child is rightly born,
His Father's will he followeth, and thereunto is sworn.

"Children, of love, their father's will do lovingly embrace;
Servants, of fear, their mater's will to do, do somewhat pass:
To children and to servaots both, the rod doth ofttimes reach;
The children and the servants both, the rod doth penance teach.

"All ye, therefore, which in this place in strait bondage now be,
Be servants unto righteousness, from sin be loose and free;
Be mindful of all duty, due unto the Lord above,
Be thankful for his benefits, the pledges of his love.
Consider with yourselves, I say, to sanctify the Lord,
In every place, and that alway, by thought, deed, and by word.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

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Of the communion of saints, the true taste whereof he learned and felt even in prison, thus he wrote in a letter which he sent to a gentlewoman, speaking of such friendship as she had showed unto him.

"Herein do I take occasion of much rejoicing in our gracious God and heavenly Father; who, as he hath in his unmeasurable mercies, by faith, hand-fasted us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual espouse of such a heavenly Husband, so he linketh us by love one to another; being by that bond compacted together, with such charitable readiness to do good one to another, that, first, to the glory of God and his Christ; then, to our own joying in the testimony of a good conscience; last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confounding of our adversaries, we bear that badge, as the right espouse of Christ, which he himself noteth in this saying, Herein shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another. Then, further, by this bond of mutual love, is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that, though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and have our being, who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance, yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another; wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of this mystical body. And though that, either for lack of ability, or else for distance of place, power and opportunity of present helping one another by bodily presence do fail, yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as thereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial Head, by his Spirit to be measured severally as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body. Thus doth our faithful prayer one for another, scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and the arm cannot reach such God's riches," &c.

A letter, of true taste of God's love by faith with the fruits thereof.

"The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of his Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! Much less can the same by any means be expressly uttered. And, as such heavenly blessings, which, by faith, we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so, hard it is to utter (when the faithful are set on fire by love) their readiness to reach forth by charity, to scatter and give, as by faith they have received. But, alas, we carry this treasure in earthly vessels. Many times faith is feeble, and love loseth her fervour: pray we, therefore, Lord, increase our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who, in our Christ, hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, which crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And, as St. Paul saith, Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken, we also believe, and therefore we speak; yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth us in mind to speak, but in attempting thereof we are driven to say with Moses, O Lord! I am slow-mouthed; and with Jeremiah, O Lord! I cannot speak," &c.

In this letter he doth, with most tender affection, commend his wife and child to the Christian care of that same his dear friend to whom he did write; which doth declare, that, as he had learned to forsake both wife, child, and life, for Christ's sake, so did he thereby retain that godly care over them which becometh a true Christian.

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This affection is most lively set forth in another letter, which he did write to his wife; in which (after he had admonished her that she should not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue) he saith:

"You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger, by keeping of faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in the meditation of God's most holy word, which is the sustenance of the soul; and also by going yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means by which the members of Christ are made daily more meet to inherit his kingdom. Wherefore do this, dear wife, in earnest, without leaving off, and so shall we two, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here, will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth; and so, if we two continue God's children grafted into our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (as it seemeth) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath He said which cannot lie, I will be thy God and the God of thy seed. Yea, if you, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or to do any work of obedience, should be compelled to leave him in the wild wilderness, destitute of all help, that God which heard the cry of that poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, and did succour it, will do the like to this our child, and to the child of any other which feareth God and putteth his trust in him. If we lack faith to believe this, (as many times we do indeed,) let us call for it, and we shall have both the increase of it, and of any other, good grace needful for us. Be merry in God, dear wife, for I am very merry. O Lord! what great cause have we for rejoicing, when we think upon that kingdom which God vouchsafeth, for his Christ's sake, freely to give unto us, forsaking ourselves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our cross and follow him. Then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly. Amen; shortly, shortly," &c.

To the commendation of a true fatherly affection doth this also make not a little.

As the said Master Saunders was in prison, strait charge was given to the keeper that no person should speak with him. His wife yet came to the prison-gate with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband. The keeper, though for his charge he durst not suffer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto his father. Laurence Saunders seeing him, rejoiced greatly, saying, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And unto the standers-by, which praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose this life present, rather than, by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of priests' marriage; but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learn to bear in their bosom true affections—natural, but yet seasoned with the true salt of the Spirit—unfeignedly and thoroughly mortified to do the natural works and offices of married couples and parents, so long as with

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their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith in a conscience unsoiled. Otherwise, both they and their own lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied, and given in his cause.

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

"Praised be our gracious God who preserveth his from evil, and doth give them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church, Amen.

"Being convented before the queen's most honourable council, sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak in such form as followeth

Lord Chancellor.—"It is not unknown, that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be showed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say, that we have fallen in manner all; but now we be risen again, and returned to the catholic church: you must rise with us, and come home unto it.—
vGive us forthwith a direct answer."

Saunders.—"My Lord, and my Lords all, may it please your Honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

L. Chan.—"Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay."

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

L. Chan.—"Conscience! you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from the church."

Saunders.—"The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And whereas your Lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand,) I do assure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old: being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

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

Saunders.—"My Lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head: for the man may live, though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint; and so he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of your church again."

Bishop of London.—"And if it like your Lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?"

Saunders.—"What I have written, that I have written; and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force."

L. Chan.—"Well, you be obstinate, and refuse liberty."

Saunders.—"My Lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price: but I beseech your Honours to be means to the queen's Majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unlogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the most extremity that man may do against me, rather than to do against my conscience."

L. Chan.—"Ah sirrah! you will live as you list. The Donatists did desire to live in singularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on earth.—No more be you, and that shall you understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him!"

Saunders.—"Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your Honours! Amen."—This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and so stayed until the rest of his fellows were likewise handled, that they might have them all together to prison. Laurence Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that, which, by their falling from Christ to antichrist, they did deserve; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

The copies of his other examination and excommunication came to the hands of such as do keep them still in secret: but in them, as he defended Christ's cause stoutly, so warned he the pharisaical bishops and papists of their hypocrisy and tyranny freely, and cleared himself of their unjust quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to the prison called the Compter, in his own parish in Bread Street; whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow prisoner, Master

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Cardmaker, with whom he had Christian and comfortable conference, and also because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his parishioners; as by his letter hereafter shall be declared.

The fourth day of February, the bishop of London did come to the prison, where he was, to degrade him; which when he had done, Laurence Saunders said to him, "I thank God, I am none of your church."

The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where Master Grimoald (a man who had more store of good gifts than of great constancy) did speak with him.

After Master Saunders had given him a lesson meet for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his shrugging and shrinking showing what he was, said, "Of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you; but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you." "Well," said Master Saunders, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine shall be; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope." After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor shoemaker, which was wont to serve him of shoes, came to him after this manner, and said, "O my good master! God strengthen and comfort you." "Gracmercies good shoemaker," quoth Master Saunders, "and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing of others.

The next day, which was the eighth of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, barefooted, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to Master Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "wherefore thou hast deserved death," quoth he; "but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee." To whom Master Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, which have always resisted God's holy word; it is you which have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies; but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that hold I; that believe I; that have I taught; and that will I never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him." And away from him went Master Saunders with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose up again, and took the stake to which he should be chained in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.



Laurence Saunders burnt at the stake

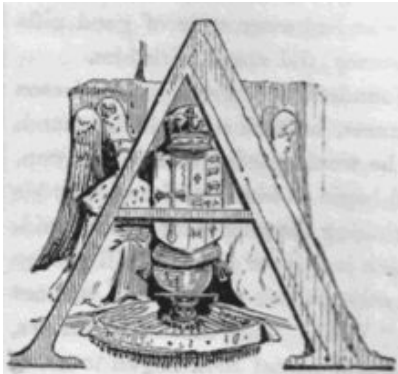
And thus have ye the full history of Laurence Saunders, whom I may well compare to St. Laurence, or any other of the old martyrs of Christ's church; both for the fervent zeal of the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, as also for the cruel torments that he, in his patient body, did sustain in the flame of fire. For so his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering, rather than burning fuel, which put him to much more pain, but that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsaketh his servants, and gave strength to St. Laurence, gave also patience to

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this Laurence, above all that his torments could work against; which well appeared by his quiet standing, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

And to the intent to give the reader to understand the better what the grace of Christ worketh in his servants; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himself without this grace given from above, though he seem otherwise never so stout in himself; here, therefore, have we added to the aforesaid story of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble was between him and Dr. Pendleton, by the example whereof, such as stand, may learn to understand to take heed with due fear, and not to brag; to lean to the grace of the Lord, and not to presume in themselves.

A certain communication between Laurence Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, in the beginning of Queen Mary's time.



T the change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Dr. Pendleton and Master Saunders, men known to the world not only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God's word in the time of blessed King Edward, met together in the country, where, by occasion, they were at that time, and, as the case required, (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand,) fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Whereupon Master Saunders, whether through very frailty of his weak flesh that was loth to taste the bitter cup, though his spirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the mistrust of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the said causes alone, but for both together, or such like; seemed so fearful and feeble-spirited, that he showed himself, in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at least to betake him to his heels, and to fly the land, rather than to stick to his profession, and abide by his tackle: so as Dr. Pendleton (who on the contrary side appeared not so big of body, but as bold in courage; nor so earnest before in pulpit, but as ready now to seal the same with his blood) took upon him to comfort Master Saunders all that he might; admonishing him, as he could do it very well, not to forsake cowardly his flock when he had most need to defend them from the wolf; neither, having put his hand to God's plough, to start now aside and give it over; nor yet, (that is worst of all,) having once forsaken antichrist, to fall either himself, or suffer others, by his example, to return to their vomit again.

After which and such-like persuasions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him, "What, man!" quoth he, "there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than in you; forasmuch as you see, I carry a greater mass, of flesh upon my back than you do, and being so laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcass, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you; and yet," said he, "I will see the uttermost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this pampered flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth." Whereunto the other, answering but little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more strength than he presently felt in himself, acknowledging his own weakness, consented notwithstanding, though it were somewhat faintly, to join with him in the profession

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of the gospel, and so to go up to London, and set forth the same: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, oh what a great change was there between these two persons! The poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodness of Almighty God taking heart of grace to him, seeking the same in humility, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down antichrist, and lustily preaching Christ his Master; for the which he afterward suffered most willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other side, Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in words than constant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good warrior) followed Peter so justly in cracks, howsoever he did in repentance, (which God only knoweth,) that he came not so soon to London but he changed his tippet, and played the apostatate, preaching, instead of sound doctrine, nothing almost but errors and lies, advancing antichrist, and overthrowing poor Christ with all his main: so his former boldness came to nothing, unless it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful pastor a false runagate, and of a true preacher a sworn enemy to God's everlasting testament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own soul. Wherein are specially to be considered the deep and marvellous judgments of God, who, as he can and doth make strong whom it pleaseth him, when he seeth his time, and most commonly such as appear most feeble; even so, contrariwise, throweth he down others, seem they never so stout, stand they never so much in their own conceits. Wherefore, let him that standeth take heed he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increase our faith, that in him it may be made strong, which of itself is so weak, that it is soon overthrown.

This blessed man of God, enduring long time in prison, did not pass all this time in unfruitful idleness, but still, from time to time, did visit his friends, (as is said,) and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. All which letters it shall not be greatly needful here to insert; partly because they are to be found in The Book of Letters, partly because we intend also (if God will) to prosecute the same hereafter more at large. In the mean time it shall not be out of place here presently to comprehend certain of them, as in order followeth.

A letter sent to Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, Doctor Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot.

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. Good fathers, and dear brethren, be thankful unto our most gracious God, which hath preserved us, and shall, I doubt not, from blaspheming his blessed name: yea, not only that, but also out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings shall be set forth his praise. They offer us, forsooth, our liberty and pardon, so that we will rise with them into that faith, which we with them were fallen from. Yea, or no, must be answered in haste. They will not admit any needful circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable and abominable. Rise with them we must unto the unity. A pardon, say I, of me must not so dearly be purchased. A pardon I desire, to live with an unclogged conscience. 'The Donatists,' say they, 'sought for such singularity; but they were not meet to live in a commonwealth—no more be you, as you shall shortly understand. Wherefore away with him.' (Yea, the time was named—within this seven-night.) There be twelve hours in the day. Death

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shall be welcome,' said I, 'as being looked for long since: and yet do justice ye were best; for Abel's blood cried, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God save your Honours.' Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah! 'I am a child, I cannot speak.' My brother P. shall show you more herein. By him send me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backside, about eleven of the clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we have such out-walkers but then will they be at dinner.

"Yours, as you know,
LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

A letter which Laurence Saunders did write to his wife, and others of the faithful flock, after his condemnation to the fire; written the last of January, A. D. 1555, out of the Compter in Bread Street.

"The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever vessels to God's glory. Amen.

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

"To number these mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say, rejoice with thanksgiving, for this my present promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: and as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if my dear Husband Christ doth, for my trial, leave me alone a little to myself, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if, for my proof, he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall, and hide himself, (as Solomon saith in his mystical ballet,) yet will he peep in by a crevice to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph. Though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly, yea, threaten grievous bondage to his best-beloved brother Benjamin, yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto us all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried, to come unto him; as we have experience how our very adversaries do help us unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy despatch, yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto, blessed be our God! Be not afraid of fray-bugs which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: fear the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste, which are not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and a good conscience; and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us

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into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ, our brazen serpent, hath pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, triumph; and with our Christ, and all his elect, say, Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (us) the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!

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

"And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity which now I suffer among them for Christ's gospel's sake; bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom; requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor, who, though he be unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high Pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high Pastor.

"Be not careful, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting: this hope is put up in my bosom.—Amen, Amen, Amen! Pray, pray!"

Another letter, to Mrs. Lucy Harrington, a godly gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his troubles.

"Your most gentle commendations, whereof this messenger made remembrance unto me, was for two causes very comfortable: first, for that hereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will; whereunto I will daily say, Amen! And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious a God and merciful Father, who, as he hath in his immeasurable mercy, by faith, hand-fastened us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual spouse of such a heavenly Husband; so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together with charitable readiness to do good one to another: so that first to the glory of our God and his Christ, then to our own joining in the testimony of a good conscience, and, last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confusion of our adversaries, we bear the badge, as the right spouse of our Christ, which he himself noted in this saying: Herein shall all men know that ye be my disciples, if ye love one another. Then further, by this bond of mutual love is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that though it be he that careth for us—in whom we live, move, and be—who feedeth

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all flesh with bodily sustenance—yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another. Wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of his mystical body. And though that either for lack of ability, or else through distance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail; yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial Head by his Spirit, to be measured severally, as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body.

"Thus doth our faithful prayer, which we make one for another, distribute and scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth such God's riches. According hereunto I well perceive and understand your readiness to do good unto all; and especially I have experience of your ready good-will towards me, in your hearty desire to stretch out your helping hand to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other spiritual sort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as I also therein assure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the same not so much as I would do.

"My need concerning bodily necessities is as yet furnished by God's provision, so that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdalous to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me: the Lord reward you there-for! If God make me worthy to be his witness at this present, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the testimony of his truth, it is enough for me to say to you, that I have a poor wife and child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know, for my sake, you will tender when I am departed hence," &c.

Another letter to Mistress Lucy Harrington.

"Grace and mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter, bringing with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb; and even then chiefly, when there is most eager purpose of speaking, silence doth suppress, and causeth the party so affected imperfectly to express that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feel I sometimes in myself, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! much less may the same by any means be expressly uttered. And as such heavenly blessings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so is it hard to utter, when the faithful are set on fire by love, their readiness to reach forth and to give by charity, as by faith they have received. But (alas!) we carry this treasure in earthen vessels. Many times faith is feeble, and then love loseth her fervour. Pray we therefore, Lord, increase our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And (as Paul saith) Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken: we also believe, and therefore we speak. Yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth in us a mind to speak; but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moses to say, O Lord! I am slow-mouthed, and of uncircumcised lips: and with Jeremiah, O Lord, I cannot speak.

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"Albeit that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of heart in my tender Christian duty to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you, let this be settled in your understanding; that, as St. Paul expresseth unto his Corinthians, that they were in his heart either to live or to die, with many other such sayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expressing his vehement affection towards them: so, in some part, I would be like affected towards all God's children, and especially towards you whom I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendship and tender good-will towards my wife: yea, that good gracious God recompense you, which may worthily with the more countervail the same, and fulfil that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And because of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love towards me and mine; I make myself thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my said poor wife; I mean, to be unto her a mother and mistress, to rule and direct her by your discreet counsel. I know she conceiveth of you the same that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for such a friend; and therefore I beseech you, even for Christ's sake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God, neither I, neither she, have any such extreme need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as with mine own mother. I beseech you give my hearty salutations unto Master Fitz-Williams, and my good lady; with thanks also for my poor wife and child. The Lord recompense them!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

Furthermore, as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his little child, the same is lively set forth in another letter which he did write to his wife; wherein he admonished her that she would not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue; the tenor of whose letter here followeth:

"Grace and comfort, &c.—Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the grate where the porter may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it needs not. You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means how to be made members of our Christ, meet to inherit his kingdom.

"Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off; and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth. And so, if we two continue God's children grafted in our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said, and he cannot lie, I will be thy God, saith he, and the God of thy seed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness, destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience; that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you, or any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him.

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

Another letter to his wife, to Master Robert Harrington and Master Hurland, and other friends.

"Grace and comfort, &c.—Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Christ; and give thanks most humbly and heartily to him for this day's work; that in any part I, most unworthy wretch, should be made worthy to bear witness unto his everlasting verity, which antichrist, with his, by main force (I perceive) and by most impudent pride and boasting, will go about to suppress. Remember God always, my dear wife; and so shall God's blessing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Christ's sake; be merry, and grudge not against God; and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who, in his Christ, hath given us great cause to be merry; by whom he hath prepared for us such a kingdom, and doth and will give unto us some little taste thereof, even in this life, and to all such as are desirous to take it. Blessed, saith our Christ, be they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for such shall be satisfied. Let us go, yea, let us run, to seek such treasure, and that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit obtained by prayer. My dear friends and brethren, Master Harrington and Master Hurland, pray, pray. The spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak. When I look upon myself, being astonished and confounded, what have I else to say but those words of Peter, Lord, go from me; for I am a sinful man. But then feel I that sweet comfort, The word of the Lord is a lanthorn unto my feet, and a light unto my paths, and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then wax I bold with the same Peter to say, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life. This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battles, which the root of unfaithfulness, the which I feel in me, will most eagerly give unto my conscience, when we come once to the combat. We be (I ween) within the sound of the trump of our enemies. Play, ye that be abroad, the part of Moses, praying in all places, lifting up pure hands; and God's people shall prevail: yea, our blood shall be their perdition who do most triumphantly spill it. And we then, being in the hands of our God, shall shine in his kingdom, and shall stand in great stedfastness against them which have dealt extremely with us. And when these our enemies shall thus see us, they shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the hastiness of the sudden health; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind, 'These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their lives to be very madness, and their end to be without honour; but lo! how they are accounted among the children of God.'—The blessing of God be with you all, &c.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

To his wife a little before his burning.

"Grace and comfort in Christ, Amen.—Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also ye, my dear friends. Pray, pray for us, everybody. We be shortly to be despatched hence

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unto our good Christ; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you send me my shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both the sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so; and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation, can do against me. O wife! always remember the Lord. God bless you, yea, he will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray!"

Another letter to Masters Robert and Johan Glover, written the same morning that he was burnt.

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

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

After these godly letters of Master Saunders diversely dispersed and sent abroad to divers of the faithful congregation of Christ, as is afore to be seen; now, in the latter end, we will adjoin two other letters, not written by Master Saunders the martyr, but by Master Edward Saunders the justice, his brother, sent to this our Saunders in prison, although containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent; that the reader may see in these two brethren, so joined in nature, and so divided in religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly saying, Brother shall be against brother, &c., as by the contents of these two letters following may appear.

A letter of Justice Saunders to his brother Laurence.

"After my most hearty commendations: these be to ascertain you, that I have spoken with Master Basset, who hath showed me, that four pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the profit of the prebendary at York, the which you shall have, although, as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reason of your deprivation; before, it was due. As concerning your conscience in religion, I beseech God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghost, and that you may also have the grace of the Holy Ghost to follow the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy ii., To handle rightly the word of truth; wherein you, dissenting from many holy and catholic men, especially in the sacrament, it maketh me in my conscience to condemn yours. For although I have not hitherto fancied to read Peter Martyr, and other such, &c.; yet have I had great desire to see Theophylact, and divers others of this sort and opinion, both notable and holy fathers (if any credit be to be given to the writings of our ancient fathers before us): and surely the sentences and judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my conscience, than three hundred of the Zuinglians, or as many of the Lutherans, can or should do. Thus in haste, willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert. If you shall need towards your finding, (if

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you shall require it of me,) you shall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who send us all things good for us.—Scribbled this Thursday, by your brother and petitioner to God,

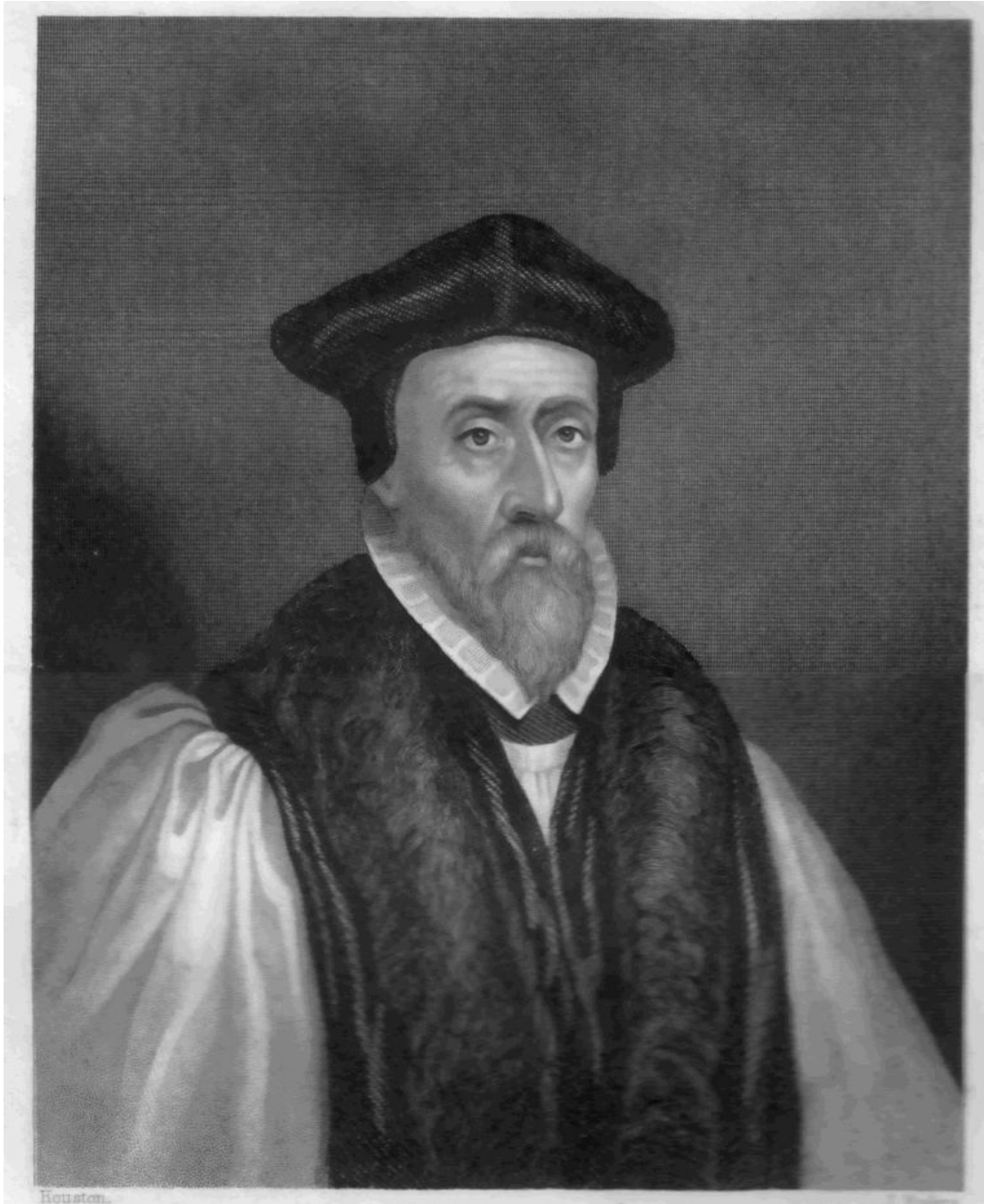
ED. SAUNDERS."

Another letter of Justice Saunders to his brother, wherein he seeketh to win him to popery.

"As nature and brotherly love with godly charity require, I send you by these letters (*quantum licet*) most hearty commendation; being sorry for your fault, and your disobedient handling of yourself towards my Lord Chancellor, who, I assure you, mindeth your good and preservation, if you can so consider and take it. I would be glad to know, whether you have not had with you of late some learned men to talk with you by my Lord Chancellor's appointment, and how you can frame yourself to reform your error in the opinion of the most blessed, and our most comfortable, sacrament of the altar: wherein, I assure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this present, using to my great comfort hearing of mass, and, somewhat before the sacring time, the meditation of St. Bernard, set forth in the third leaf of this present book. The accustomed using whereof I am fully professed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that confession of holy Bernard, than to Luther, &c., or to Latimer, &c.; for that the antiquity, the universality of the open church, and the consent of all saints and doctors, do confirm the same: ascertaining you that I have been earnestly moved in mine own conscience these ten or twelve days past, and also between God and myself, to move you to the same; most earnestly desiring you, and as you tender my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that you would read over this book this holy time, at my request, although you have already seen it, and let me know wherein you cannot satisfy your own conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.

"By yours, from Serjeants' Inn,
ED. SAUNDERS."

266. John Hooper



Portrait of John Hooper

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The story, life, and martyrdom of Master John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester; burnt for the defence of the gospel at Gloucester, February the ninth, A. D. 1555.



JOHN Hooper, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through God's secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures: in the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer; so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Thus Master Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and showing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit, being then about the beginning of the six articles, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, fell eftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins in Oxford, who, by and by, began to stir coals against him; whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to void the university; and so, removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good upon him; but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Winchester, after long conference with Master Hooper four or five days together, when he at length perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Master Arundel's request, he sent home his servant again; right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudging stomach against Master Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon Master Hooper, leaving Master Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend, (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows,) took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Master Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England again, and was retained of Master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for; whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas. And so escaped he (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany; where he, entering acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, of Master Bullinger, being his singular friend. There also he married his wife, who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

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At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto his gospel, amongst many other English exiles who then repaired homeward, Master Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself; but, seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so, coming to Master Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, (as duty required,) to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom Master Bullinger again (who had always a special favour to Master Hooper) spake on this wise:

"Master Hooper," said he, "although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return, out of long banishment, into your native country again; where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church, by you, may fare the better; as we doubt not but it shall.

"Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this: that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty; but you shall leave here a barren, a sour, and an unpleasant country, rude and savage; and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you, being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where ye shall come, peradventure, to be a bishop, and where ye shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-willers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you."

Wherunto Master Hooper, answering again, first gave to Master Bullinger and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good-will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so, touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of theirs, there was no cause therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country, if there were nothing else in his conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends; although, said he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had blessed his country of England with many great commodities; yet, neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends, should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom he was so entirely bound unto "and therefore you shall be sure," said he, "from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you, how it goeth with me. But the last news of all, I shall not be able to write: for there," said he, (taking Master Bullinger by the hand,) "where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes. And that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me," &c.

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To this also may be added another like prophetic demonstration, foreshowing before the manner of his martyrdom wherewith he should glorify God, which was this: When Master Hooper, being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, should have his arms given him by the herald, (as the manner is, here in England, every bishop to have his arms assigned unto him,) whether by the appointment of Master Hooper, or by the herald, I have not certainly to say; but the arms which were to him allotted were these: A lamb in a fiery bush, and the sun-beams from heaven descended down upon the lamb; rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our story again. Thus when Master Hooper had taken his farewell of Master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he made his repair again into England in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, where he, coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once, every day; and never failed.

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

Moreover, besides other his gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time: in house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good bishop, in his Epistle to Timothy, I know not one in this good bishop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might, peradventure, be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himself.

This, by the way, I thought to note, for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, who, having in himself a certain conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel: but, being abashed at his austere behaviour, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands; which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither they show themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor, on the other side again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravity in this man neither was excessive, nor did he bear that personage that was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him, peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the

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common sort ought to be chastened, not only with words and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's Majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him; and, after that, he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good and lucky beginning of the godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion then begun in the Church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chimere, and under that a white rochet; then, a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's Majesty, most humbly desiring his Highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenor.

The king's letters or grant for the dispensation of John Hooper, elected bishop of Gloucester; written to the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops.

"Right reverend father, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well worthy, Master John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study both in the Scriptures, and other profane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation; to the intent all our loving subjects, which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might, by his sound and true doctrine, learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall in *præmunire* of laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you shall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge there-for.

"Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the fifth of August, the fourth year of our reign.

Ed. Somerset.

W. Paget.

W. Wiltshire.

An. Wingfield.

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W. North.
N. Wooton."

Besides this letter of the king, also the earl of Warwick (who was afterward duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose and effect: that Master Hooper might not be burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience; as by the purport of the letter here is to be seen, as followeth.

"After my most hearty commendations to your Grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my Lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to show him your Grace's favour, the rather at this my instance; which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's Majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his Highness, none other but that your Grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdenous to his conscience. And so, for lack of time, I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster, the twenty-third of July, 1550.

"Your Grace's most assured loving friend,
J. WARWICK."

Both this grant of the king, and also the earl's letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of the aforesaid ceremonies; saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the mean time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition—that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bore and suffered patiently. And I would to God, in like manner, they, who took upon them the other part of that tragedy, had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the public concord and edifying of the church; for no man in all the city was one hair the better for that hot contention.

I will name nobody, partly for that his oppugners, being afterwards joined in the most sure bond of friendship with him, in one, and for one cause, suffered martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use, according to my accustomed manner, to keep my pen from presumptuous judging of any person. Yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration: to admonish the reader hereby, how wholesome and necessary the cross of Christ is sometimes in the church of

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Christ, as by the sequel hereof afterward did appear. For as, in a civil governance and commonwealth, nothing is more occasion of war than overmuch peace; so in the church and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietness, so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the public cross of persecution.

Furthermore, so I persuaded myself, the same not to be inexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For, if it do not a little appertain to our public consolation and comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foul dissension between Paul and Barnabas, of the fall of Peter, and of David's murder and adultery; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to hear and know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the less despair in our infirmity, considering the same or greater infirmities to reign in the holy saints of God, both prophets, apostles, and martyrs?

And thus, by the way, thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us, either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailness of ours. Now again, on the other part, it remaineth to record, after the foresaid discord, the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward, being in prison for the truth's sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by Bishop Ridley to the said bishop of Gloucester. The copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand, hereafter followeth.

"My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto, since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or, if I might, yet was I greatly in doubt how my letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past, in certain by-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

"And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God: let us join hands together in Christ; and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.

"I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow prisoner, and venerable father, D. C.; by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy,

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in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity, and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God.

"I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again; for I stand much in fear lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow prisoners and co-captives in the Lord; and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother. Farewell.

"N. RIDLEY."

Master Hooper, after all these tumults and vexations sustained about his investing and priestly vestures, at length entering into his diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under King Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the whole realm of England. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them: and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men Master Hooper was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock; who, being bishop of two dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. With his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-a-days; whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich

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men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort of poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

But now, again, we will return our talk to Master Hooper, all whose life, in fine, was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example; to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them that were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the public affairs of the church: and, certainly, there appeared in him at home no less example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his blood; yet, nevertheless, there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad: for every where he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all; no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled; yet, if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and, when they were served, (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments,) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. After this sort and manner Master Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in King Edward's time did safely flourish and take place: and would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance, in their function!

After this, King Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a pursuivant to be at London; and that for two causes: first, to answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was before, in King Edward's days, deprived thereof for papistry. Secondly, to render account to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for that he, in King Edward's time, was one of his accusers, in that he showed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his council, openly at Paul's Cross. And, although the said Master Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him, (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get him away, and shift for himself,) yet he would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying, "Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because

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I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep."

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforesaid Drs. Heath and Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the queen and her council, to answer to certain bonds and obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her; and, when he came before them, Winchester, by and by, received him very opprobriously, and, railing and rating of him, accused him of religion. He, again, freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But, in fine, it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward; it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for the which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall hereafter in its place more plainly appear.

The next year, being 1554, the nineteenth of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the queen's commissioners; where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics: which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the testimony and report of one, which, being present at the doing, committed the same to writing.

A letter or report of a certain godly man, declaring the order of Master Hooper's deprivation from his bishoprics, March the nineteenth, Anno 1554.

"Forasmuch as a rumour is spread abroad of the talk had at my Lord Chancellor's, between him with other commissioners there appointed, and Master Hooper, clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions and evil reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat myself, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same; partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtful people; and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably Master Hooper was handled at their hands, which, with all humility, used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience he might have been permitted to speak; assuring all men, that whereas I stood in a mammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have credited, either that set forth by the king's Majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the queen's Majesty; their unreverent behaviour towards Master Hooper doth move me the rather to credit his doctrine, than that which they, with railing and cruel words, defended; considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true myself—so I appeal to all the hearers' consciences, that there were present, (so they put affection away,) for the witness of the same."

Master Hooper examined before the commissioners.

The bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, and Chichester, sat as commissioners.—At Master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

Hooper.—"Yea, my Lord, and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me."

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Durham.—"That is matter enough to deprive you."

Hooper.—"That it is not, my Lord, except ye do against the law."

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great space; but as well the commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture, as was unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called Master Hooper "hypocrite," with vehement words, and scornful countenance. Bishop Tonsal called him "beast" so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and divers others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would; and brought in this text, There be, that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven.

Master Hooper said; that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined.

Then Master Hooper said, that it did appear by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests; and named the Decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagants: but Bishop Hooper said, that book was not it, which he named. Then cried out the bishop of Winchester, and said, "You shall not have any other, until ye be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done or spoken orderly or charitably. Afterward Judge Morgan began to rail at Master Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men; and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that Master Hooper had never read the councils.

"Yea, my Lord," quoth Master Hooper, "and my Lord of Chichester (Dr. Day) knoweth that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not seen.

After this long brutish talk, Tonsal, bishop of Durham, asked Master Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence in the sacrament. And Master Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

Then would the bishop of Durham have read out of a book, for his purpose belike (what book it was, I cannot tell); but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then asked Winchester of Master Hooper, what authority moved him not to believe the corporal presence? He said, the authority of God's word; and alleged this text, Whom heaven must hold until the latter day.

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Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text have served nothing for his purpose; and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also. Master Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that Master Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married: and said, that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them; and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time.

The true report of Master Hooper's entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own hand, the seventh of January, 1555.

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

"After one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time; having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.—During which time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, "Let him alone; it were a good riddance of him." And, amongst many other times, he did thus the eighteenth of October, 1553; as many can witness.

"I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric; and, since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

"The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good

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people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, (saving God's help,) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

Thus much wrote he himself, of this matter.

Another examination of Master Hooper.

The twenty-second of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Master Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at the said Winchester's house at St. Mary Overy's, where in effect thus much was done. The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward the Sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's Holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament; promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be showed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's Holiness.

Master Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction. Neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. "Howbeit," saith he, "if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's Majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy; if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

Answer was made, that the queen would show no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near unto the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days; and, in the mean time, his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which Master Hooper was thought to have made, but none were found.

Another examination of Master Hooper.

The twenty-eighth of January, Winchester and other the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where Master Hooper appeared before them at afternoon again; and there, after much reasoning and disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside, till Master Rogers (which

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was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Master Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Master Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the church door, Master Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Master Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers! must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yea, sir," said Master Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said Master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

By the way the sheriff said to Master Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my Lord Chancellor, and did use no more patience." He answered, "Master Sheriff. I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death; not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come." Then were they committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with commandment that they should not be snffered to speak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them, that night.

The third and last examination of Master Hooper.

Upon the next day following, the twenty-ninth of January, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said bishop and commissioners, in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Master Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Master Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner entreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, Master Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London bridge, through the city to Newgate. And by the way some of the serjeants were willed to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him; praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him: and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should he appointed thereto.

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During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, &c., resorted divers times unto him to assay if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted: for, besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of worldly commodities; not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail: but they found him always the same man, stedfast and immovable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about, by false rumours and reports of recantations, (for it is well known, that they and their servants did spread it first abroad,) to bring him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. So the bruit being a little spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at last came to Master Hooper's ears: wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credit unto false rumours, having so simple a ground; as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occasion, the copy whereof followeth:—

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

"Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth as we have and do feel, and be daily like to suffer more; yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad, (as I am credibly informed,) that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now, after sentence of death, (being in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution,) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men; or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come; not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point, for I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me; praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

"Therefore, ye that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and, I thank God, I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly; but yet the false report

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of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood.

"Forth of Newgate the second of February, anno 1555.

"Your brother in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

Upon Monday morning the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Master Hooper.

After the sentence of degradation thus declared, now let us see the form and mannrc of their degrading, which here also followeth. But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceed against him as a bishop, but as only against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted for no bishop.

The form and manner used in degrading Bishop Hooper.



John Hooper degraded from his office

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The fourth day of February, the year above mentioned, in the chapel in Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notary and certain other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew, the gaoler, bringing with him Master Hooper and Master Rogers, being condemned before by the chancellor; where the said bishop of London, at the request of the aforesaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, Master Hooper and Master Rogers, after this form and manner: first, he put upon him all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being re-vested) they should solemnly execute their office. Thus they, being apparelled and invested, the bishop beginneth to pluck off, first the uttermost vesture; and so, by degree and order, coming down to the lowest vesture, which they had only in taking Benet and Collet; and so, being stript and deposed, he deprived them of all order, benefit, and privilege belonging to the clergy; and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to be given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffs being for that year, Master Davy Woodroffe, and Master William Chester; who, receiving first the said Master Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present were Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; Robert Cosin, and Robert Willerton, canons of Paul's; Thomas Mountague, and George How, clerks; Tristram Swadock, and Richard Cloney, the sumner, &c.

The same Monday at night, being the fourth of February, his keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in a readiness to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London, and other their officers, forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet Street, where six of the queen's guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who, with the Lord Chandos, Master Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of the day he went to horse, and leaped cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known. And so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the guard learned of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge; and ever carried him to another inn.

On the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil she could of Master Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears; confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

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After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock; and a mile without the town was much people assembled, which cried and lamented his estate, insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, &c.; but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the guard, and others. After his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber, (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay,) that there, being solitary, he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard licensed to speak with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst others that spake with him, Sir Anthony Kingston, knight, was one; who, seeming in time past his very friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Master Kingston, being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer: and as soon as he saw Master Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Master Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said Master Kingston, "Why, my Lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

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

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

Hooper.—"Indeed it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas, consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word; desiring you, and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers."

Kingston.—"Well, my Lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child: and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

Hooper.—"If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have; and that you may continually live in his fear."

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After these, and many other words, the one took leave of the other; Master Kingston with bitter tears, Master Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure Master Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained licence to be brought unto Master Hooper's speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Master Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth: but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldst thou be blind both in body and soul!"

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, which appeared to be sorry for Master Hooper's trouble, saying, "Sir, I am sorry to see you thus." "To see me? Why," said he, "art thou sorry?" "To see you," saith the other, "in this case. For I hear say, you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry." "Be sorry for thyself, man," said Master Hooper, "and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christ's sake is welcome."

The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being then expired, unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Master Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner "Master Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly king that dead is, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commandment to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Master Sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends," (meaning the guard,) "at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness, by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require, (for the which also I most heartily thank them,) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done: for I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain); but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

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These and such-like words in effect used Master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called North gate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself in the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison.

So it was determined, at length, he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs, and the sergeants, and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock Master Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in a readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, glaves, and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise "Master Sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer; for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand, (for it was market day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death,) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas, why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine; and that, out of the word of God: because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal: for the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilingly he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses and the boughs of the tree were replenished with people; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college.

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Then kneeled he down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come, (pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom,) who gave attentive ears unto the same; the which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least-wise it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the Lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Master Hooper said, "Good my Lord, I trust your Lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then said the Lord Chandos to Sir Edmund Bridges's son, which gave ear before to Master Hooper's prayer at his request, "Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him." Whiles this talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words following:

"Lord, (said he,) I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am swill and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou that art ascended into heaven, receive me, hell, to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me: the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, (being thereto called,) I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature; such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee: therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his gear, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness; unto whose pleasures, good man, he very obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So, desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains,) he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them said, "Ye have no need thus to trouble yourselves; for I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands:

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notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good."

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

Thus being ready, he looked upon all the people, of whom he might be well seen, (for he was both tall and stood also on a high stool,) and beheld round about him; and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. "O sir!" said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein," said Master Hooper, "thou dost nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer green faggots than two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place, (it was a lowering and cold morning,) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots, (for there were no more reeds,) and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair, and scorch his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, (but as one without pains,) "O Jesus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!" After the second was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire!"

And all this while his nether parts did burn; for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In the which fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice. "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breasts with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still

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with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood, dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast, in knocking, to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side: but, having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed. And he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

A letter which Master Hooper did write out of prison, to certain of his friends.

"The grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you of what extremity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and setting forth the untruth; intending to cause all men by extremity to forswear themselves, and to take again, for the head of the church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record: and for lack of law and authority, they will use force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, since their authority first began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to see whether we fear more God or man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ whilst the prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial, who be his.

"Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power, of his Holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to adversity and constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight. Remember none shall be crowned, but such as fight manfully; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Ye must now turn all your cogitations from the peril you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril; either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this world, for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them, draweth from God.

"Wherefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good; but yet none otherwise than it standeth with the favour of God.

It is to be kept; but yet so far forth as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good abiding and tarrying still among our friends here; but yet so, that we tarry not therewithal in God's displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept; so that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.

"Of adversity judge the same. Imprisonment is painful; but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The prisons stink; but yet not so much as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God lack. I must be alone and solitary: it is better so to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great; but loss of God's grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of noble, learned, and wise men: it is better to make answer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth before the just God at the

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latter day. I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man: he is blessed that loseth this life full of miseries, and findeth the life of eternal joys. It is pain and grief to depart from goods and friends; but yet not so much, as to depart from grace and heaven itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adversity of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.

"I can do no more, but pray for you: do the same for me, for God's sake. For my part, I thank the heavenly Father, I have made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, so I will, by his grace. For God's sake, as soon as ye can, send my poor wife and children some letter from you, and my letter also which I sent of late to D***. As it was told me she never had letter from me since the coming of M*** S*** unto her; the more blame to the messengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, she should have had necessary things but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her, and you all. I am a precious jewel now, and daintily kept; never so daintily: for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house, may come to me, but my keeper alone, a simple rude man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well.

"The twenty-first of January, 1555.

"Your bounden,
JOHN HOOPER."

Amongst many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembered in the history of Master Hooper, this also is not to be forgotten which happened between him and a bragging friar, a little after the beginning of his imprisonment: the story whereof here followeth.

"A friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest heretic in England: thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made that Master Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to prison. He said, for debt. Nay, said he, it was for heresy: which, when the other had denied, 'What sayest thou,' quoth he, 'to Hoc est corpus meum?' Master Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this: What remained after the consecration in the sacrament—any bread, or no? 'No bread at all,' saith he. 'And when ye break it, what do you break; whether bread or the body?' said Master Hooper. 'No bread,' said the friar, 'but the body only.' 'If ye do so,' said Master Hooper, ye do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also ye break the Scriptures, which say, 'Ye shall not break of him one bone,' &c. With that the friar, having nothing belike to answer, suddenly recoiled back, and with his circles and his crosses began to use exorcism against Master Hooper, as though," &c.

This and more wrote Master Hooper to Mistress Wilkinson, in a letter, which letter was read unto her by John Kelke.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Comparison between Hooper and Polycarp.



HEN I see and behold the great patience of these blessed martyrs in our days in their sufferings, so quietly and constantly abiding the torments that are ministered unto them of princes for God's cause; methinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old martyrs of the primitive church: in the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between saint and saint, martyr and martyr, with whom might I better match this blessed martyr John Hooper, through the whole catalogue of the old martyrs, than with Polycarp, the ancient bishop of Smyrna, of whom Eusebius maketh mention in the ecclesiastical story? For as both agreed together in one kind of

punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them showed more patience and constancy in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be said. And though Polycarp, being set in the flame, (as the story saith,) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with weapon, and so despatched: yet Hooper, by no less miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of God's comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did Polycarp, in the fire flaming round about him.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarp, when he should have been tied to the stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words "Let me alone I pray you; for he that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying." So likewise Hooper, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied with three chains to the stake. requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet no doubt, would have no less answered to that great patience of Polycarp.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seem not far discrepant. In teaching, alike diligent both; in zeal fervent, in life unspotted, in manners and conversation inculpable: bishops and also martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joined together in one spirit, so might they be joined in one name together—Πολυκαρπος [Greek; Polykarpos]; to wit, much fruitful; to which name also οπωρος [Greek: oporos] is not much unlike. In this the martyrdom of Master Hooper may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the martyrdom of Polycarp, for that he was both longer in prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I think none of the old martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was degraded by Bonner with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think, in Polycarp's time, was not used to any.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good martyrs together, so now if we should compare the enemies and authors of their death one with the other, we should find no inequality betwixt them both, but that the adversaries of Master Hooper seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put Polycarp to death, yet ministered to him a quick despatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment; whereas the tormentors of Master Hooper suffered him, without all compassion, to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his martyrdom, what consul or proconsul

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was there to be conferred with the chancellor here, which brought this martyr to his burning? Let this suffice.

This good bishop and servant of God, being in prison, wrote divers books and treatises, to the number of twenty-four, whereof some he wrote to the parliament in Latin, and one to the bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day: besides he wrote of the sacraments, of the Lord's prayer, and of the ten commandments, with divers others.

Here follow certain of Master Hooper's letters.

As you have heard the whole story of the life and martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us consequently adjoin some part of his letters, written in the time of his imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, of all true Christians, which, by true mortification, seek to serve and follow the Lord through all tempests and storms of this malignant world, as by the reading and perusing of the said letters you shall better feel and understand.

A letter of Master Hooper to certain godly professors and lovers of the truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woeful alteration and change of religion.

"The grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly Love and embrace his holy gospel. Amen.

"It is told me, that the wicked idol, the mass, is established again by law, and passed in the parliament-house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act to such as speak against it; also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen, before our time, such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant King Edward the Sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to shed our blood for his name's sake; and blessed then shall we think the parents which brought us into the world, that we should, from this mortality, be carried into immortality. If we follow the commandment of St. Paul, that saith, If ye then be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God; we shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pains as others do.

"Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his blessed will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in time to come; and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be used in this troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to have assemblies together of such men and women as be of your religion in Christ; and there to talk

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and renew amongst yourselves the truth of your religion, to see what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof; to weigh and confer the dreams and false lies of the preachers that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth: and by such talk and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their lies that now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requisite, that the members of Christ comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another: so shall ye be the stronger, and God's Spirit shall not be absent from you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, patient in adversity, and strong in persecution.

"Ye see how the congregation of the wicked, by helping one another, make their wicked religion and themselves strong against God's truth and his people. If ye may, have some learned man, that can, out of the Scriptures, speak unto you of faith, and true honouring of God; also that can show you the descent of Christ's church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive, by the life of our forefathers, these two things; the one, that Christ's words, which said that all must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be true; the other, that none of all his, before our time, escaped trouble—then shall ye perceive, that it is but a folly for one that professeth Christ truly, to look for the love of the world.

"Thus shall ye learn to bear trouble, and to exercise your religion, and feel indeed that Christ's words be true, In the world ye shall suffer persecution. And when ye shall feel your religion indeed, say, Ye be no better than your forefathers; but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy soldiers for this war. And pray God when ye come together, that he will use and order you and your doings to these three ends, which ye must take heed to: the first, that ye glorify God; the next, that ye edify the church and congregation; the third, that ye profit your own souls.

"In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time he not yet so bloody and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that could not bear the name of Christ without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for body and soul. Therefore of us Christ said, Think ye, when the Son of man cometh, he shall find faith upon the earth? He said not, Think ye, he shall find any man or woman christened, and in name a Christian? But he spake of the faith that saveth the Christian man in Christ. And doubtless the scarcity of faith is now more (and will, I fear, increase) than it was in the time of the greatest tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the sixth chapter of St. John's Revelation, and ye shall perceive, amongst other things, that at the opening of the fourth seal came out a pale horse, and he that sat upon him was called Death, and hell followed him. This horse, is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the church under the pretence of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing-priests, with such others, that hath killed more souls with heresy and superstition, than all the tyrants that ever were, who killed bodies by fire, sword, or banishment, as it appeareth by his name that sitteth upon the horse, who is called Death: for all souls that leave Christ, and trust to these hypocrites, live to the devil in everlasting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horse, which is hell.

"These pretended and pale hypocrites have stirred the earthquakes, that is to wit, the princes of the world, against Christ's church; and have also darkened the sun, and made the moon bloody, and have caused the stars to fall from heaven: that is to say, have darkened with mists,

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and daily do darken, (as ye hear by their sermons,) the clear sun of God's most pure word. The moon, which be God's true preachers, which fetch only light at the sun of God's word, are turned into blood, prisons, and chains, that their light cannot shine unto the world as they would: whereupon it cometh to pass, that the stars, that is to say, Christian people, fall from heaven, that is to wit, from God's most true word to hypocrisy, most devilish superstition, and idolatry. Let some learned man show you all the articles of your belief and monument of Christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and ye shall perceive that there was never mention of such articles as these hypocrites teach. God bless you, and pray for me as I do for you.

"Out of the Fleet, by your brother in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

*To Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot,
prisoners in the King's Bench in Southwark.*

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertised by divers, as well such as love the truth, as also by such as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I shall be carried shortly to Cambridge, there to dispute for the faith, and for the religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have and do profess. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Christ ready, not only to go to Cambridge, but also to suffer, by God's help, death itself in the maintenance thereof. Weston and his complices have obtained forth the commission already; and speedily, most like, he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do advertise you of the thing before, for divers causes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near and is at hand, that we shall testify before God's enemies God's truth: the next, that ye should prepare yourselves the better for it: the third, to show you what ways I think ourselves were best to use in this matter, and also to hear of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know such as shall be censors and judges over us breathe and thirst for our blood; and whether we, by God's help overcome after the word of God, or by force and subtlety of our adversaries be overcome, this will be the conclusion: our adversaries will say, they overcome; and ye perceive how they report of those great learned men and godly personages at Oxford.

"Wherefore I mind never to answer them, except I have books present, because they use not only false allegation of the doctors, but also a piece of the doctors against the whole course of the doctors' mind. The next, that we may have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the adversaries will have the oversight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was, and ours worse than it was. Then, if we see that two or three, or more, will speak together, or with scoffs and taunts illude and mock us; I suppose it were best to appeal, to be heard before the queen and the whole council, and that would much set forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than malice, and the others that be indurate should be answered fully to their shame, I doubt not; although to our smart and blood-shedding. For of this I am assured, that the commissioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently; for they be enemies unto us and our cause, and be at a point already to give sentence against us: so that if it were possible, with St. Stephen, to speak so that they could not resist us, or to use such silence and patience as Christ did, they will proceed to revenging.

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"Wherefore, my dear brethren in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to-morrow; for shortly we shall begone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and the council, or else before all the parliament, as they were used in King Edward's days. Further, for my part I will require both books and time to answer. We have been prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our books; and our memories, by close keeping and ingratitude of their parts, be not so present and quick as theirs be. I trust God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our adversaries, that shall be our judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemn us, (as far as I know,) and so one of the Convocation-house said this week to Dr. Weston. To whom Weston made this answer, 'It forceth not,' quoth he, 'for a law: we have commission to proceed with them. When they be despatched, let their friends sue the law.'

"Now how soon a man may have such a commission at my Lord Chancellor's hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an indictment for Christ at Caiaphas's hand. Besides that the bishops, having the queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the lords of the temporalty; who, at this present, have found out the mark that the bishop shot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doings. I pray you, help, that our brother Saunders, and the rest in the Marshalsea, may understand these things, and send me your answer betime. 'Judas sleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the hour.' The Lord Jesus Christ, with his Holy Spirit, comfort and strengthen us all. Amen.

"May the sixth, anno 1554.

"Yours, and with you unto death, in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

An exhortation to patience, sent to his godly wife, Ann Hooper; whereby all the true members of Christ may take comfort and courage to suffer trouble and affliction for the profession of his holy gospel.

"Our Saviour Jesus Christ—dearly beloved, and my godly wife—in St. Matthew's Gospel said to his disciples, That it was necessary scandals should come: and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should contemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine or godly ways should be showed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a Christian man, with such works and fruits of his profession and Christianity, as his fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works; and will not try them by the word of God at all. These men, by the just judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtilty of the devil, that they may be kept by one scandalous stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost: as ye may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own lusts, to do one mischief after another; careless, until

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they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itself, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone; because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of God's word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where such corrupt minds be, there is also corrupt election and choice of God's honour: so that the mind of man taketh falsehood for truth, superstition for true religion, death for life, damnation for salvation, hell for heaven, and persecution of Christ's members for God's service and honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God, even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to, any thing that God would have preached and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word even so can they not abide any other man, to be a Christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God; but hate him. persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, whether it be man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they pass off no law, whether it be God's or man's, but persecute such as never offended; yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God's grace.

"In their Pharaonical and blind fury they have no respect to nature. For the brother persecuteth the brother, the father the son; and most dear friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the world doth use to serve the devil under cloaked hypocrisy of God's title) Christ said, It is expedient and necessary that scandals should come: and many means be devised to keep the little babes of Christ from the heavenly Father; but Christ saith, Woe be unto him by whom the offence cometh! Yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it, unto the world's end: For as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Therefore, forasmuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves, that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment: Ye shall possess your lives in patience, saith he. In the which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles. He showeth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for, in troubles. And, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our persecutors: because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midst of all troubles the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair, therefore, tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself! Wherefore let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us; but rather gain, wealth, and felicity.

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For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

"That the spirit of man may feel these consolations, the giver of them, the heavenly Father, must be prayed unto, for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed by God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the man weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come; and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's precious blood; and so, for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys, contemn all things present—doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

"Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitory life, and therein showeth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world: If ye be risen again with Christ, saith he, seek the things which are above; where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Wherefore, the Christian man's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joy and consolation, but also the victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and all other tyrants and persecutors of Christ and of Christ's people; the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up; their wounds healed; their bodies made immortal in joy; their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect, in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

"In this first part St. Paul commandeth us, to think or set our affections on things that are above. When he biddeth us seek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never cease from prayer and study in God's word, until we see, know, and understand, the vanities of this world; the shortness and misery of this life, and the treasures of the world to come; the immortality thereof, the joys of that life; and so never cease seeking, until such time as we know certainly and be persuaded, what a blessed man he is, that seeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he lose it. And in seeking to have right judgment between the life present and the life to come, we shall find how little the pains, imprisonment, slanders, lies, and death itself is, in this world, in respect of pains everlasting, the prison infernal, and dungeon of hell, the sentence of God's just judgment, and everlasting death.

"When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he (as St. Paul saith) set his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life present; as you may see how, daily, men and women can praise and commend, yea, and wish for heaven, and to be at rest there, yet they set not their affection upon it: they do more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this world that pleaseth their affection, than the treasure of all treasures in heaven, which their own judgments saith is better than all worldly things. Wherefore we must set our affections upon the things that be above; that

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is to say, when any thing, worse than heaven, upon earth, offereth itself to be ours, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see, by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and such things as be for this worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment must take place, Set your affections on things that are above. If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must set our affection upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that as our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present; so we should choose them before other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done; for they choose the best and approve it, and yet follow the worst.

"But these things, my godly wife, require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer, than words or talk. They be easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore, seeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who seeth and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled and destitute of all his blessed gifts, we be, by reason of sin. He did command therefore his disciples, when he showed them that they should take patiently the state of this present life, full of troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find yourself too much oppressed, (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment,) use the seventy-seventh Psalm, that beginneth, I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me: in which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

"Use also in such trouble the eighty-eighth Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himself, that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him, yet he by prayer humbly resorted unto God, as the only port of consolation, and, in the midst of his desperate state of trouble, put the hope of his salvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit no man of himself can do this; but the Spirit of God, that striketh the man's heart with fear—prayeth for the man stricken and feared, with unspeakable groanings. And when you feel yourself, or know any other, oppressed after such sort, be glad; for, after that God hath made you to know what you be of yourself, he will doubtless show you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Christ his only Son; and use prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be sought unto for his gifts. These Psalms be for the purpose, when the mind can take no understanding, nor the heart any joy, of God's promises: and therefore were the sixth, twenty-second, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-eighth, and sixty-ninth Psalms also made, from the which you shall learn both patience and consolation. Remember, that although your life (as all Christian men's be) be hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe (as St. Paul saith) with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open with him in glory. But, in the mean time, with seeking and setting our affections upon the things that be above, we must patiently suffer whatsoever God shall send unto us in this mortal life. Notwithstanding, it might fortune that some would say, 'Who is so perfect, that can let all things pass as they come, and have no care of them; suffer all things, and

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feel nothing; be tempted of the devil, the world, and the flesh, and be not troubled?' Verily no man living. But this I say, that, in the strength of Jesus Christ things that come may pass with care, for we be worldly; and yet are we not carried with them from Christ, for we be in him godly. We may suffer things, and feel them as mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as Christian men. We may be tempted of the devil, the flesh, and the world; but yet, although those things pinch, they do not pierce; and, although they work sin in us, yet in Christ no damnation to those that be grafted in him. Hereof may the Christian man learn both consolation and patience: consolation, in that he is compelled both in his body and goods to feel pain and loss; and in the soul heaviness and anguish of mind: howbeit none of them both shall separate him from the love that God beareth him in Christ. He may learn patience, forasmuch as his enemies both of body and soul, and the pains also they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet, when death cometh, they shall avoid, and give place to such joys as be prepared for us in Christ: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they shall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be servants of God, to go and come as he commandeth them. But we must take heed we meddle not forcibly nor seditiously to put away the persecution appointed unto us by God. Remember Christ's saying, Possess you your lives by your patience. And in this commandment God requireth of every man and woman this patient obedience. He saith not, it is sufficient that other holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, continued their lives in patience, and patient suffering the trouble of this world; but Christ saith to every one of his people, By your own patience ye shall continue your life: not that man hath patience in himself, but that he must have it for himself of God, the only giver of it, if he purpose to be a godly man. Now, therefore, as our profession and religion requireth patience outwardly, without resistance and force; so requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he use us, that be his own creatures, as him listeth.

"We may not also murmur against God, but say always, his judgments be right and just—and rejoice that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us, as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this world; and have a singular care to this commandment, Be glad and rejoice; for he showeth great cause why: Your reward, saith he, is great in heaven. These promises of him that is the truth itself shall, by God's grace, work both consolation and patience in the afflicted Christian person. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God, in the end of trouble, in Christ hath ordained eternal consolation; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked world doth curse and abhor such poor troubled Christians. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and saith, Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. We may also see with whom the afflicted for Christ's sake be esteemed, by St. Paul to the Hebrews, whereas the number of the blessed and glorious company of saints appear now to our faith in heaven, in joy; yet, in the letter, for the time of this life, in such pains and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore consider both them, and all other things of the world since the fall of man, and we shall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with such confusion and disorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather lost for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to heaven (no not Christ himself) until such time as the world had thought verily that both he and all his had been clean destroyed and cast away as the wise man saith of the wicked people, We thought them to be fools, but they be in peace.

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"We may learn by things that nourish and maintain us, both meat and drink, what loathsomeness and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from that they were when they were alive; from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all-to-hacked; from the trencher to the mouth, and as small ground as the teeth can grind them; and from the mouth into the stomach, and there so boiled and digested before they nourish, that whosoever saw the same, would loathe and abhor his own nourishment, before it come to his perfection.

"Is it then any marvel if such Christians as God delighteth in, be so mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchen and mill to boil and grind the flesh of God's people in, till they achieve their perfection in the world to come And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meat when it is full digested, and not before; so must he look for his salvation when he hath passed this troublous world, and not before. Raw flesh is not meat wholesome for man: and unmortified men and women be not creatures meet for God. Therefore Christ saith, that his people must be broken, and all-to-be-torn in the mill of this world; and so shall they be most fine meal unto the heavenly Father. And it shall be a Christian man's part, and the duty of a mind replenished with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things; how he dealeth with them, and how they suffer; and be content to let God do his will upon them: as St. Paul saith, They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled, and never be at rest, but look for the time when God's people shall appear in glory.

"We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation; as Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed. Joseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) lord over his brethren. When Christ would make the blind man to see, he put clay upon his eyes, which, after the judgment of man, was a means rather to make him doubly blind, than to give him his sight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to man's reason. And as touching this world, he useth all his after the same sort. If any smart, his people be the first; if any suffer shame, they begin; if any be subject to slander, it is those that he loveth: so that he showeth no face or favour, nor love almost in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their sore eyes that be sorrowful: yet the patient man seeth, as St. Paul saith, life hid under these miseries and adversities, and sight under foul clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good conscience, and believeth God's promises to be his consolation in the world to come; which is more worth unto him, than all the world is worth besides: and blessed is that man in whom God's Spirit beareth record, that he is the Son of God, whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

"And to judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew: of the which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye shall in this time see this great consolation, and also learn much patience. Were there ever such

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troubles, as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? Was there since the beginning of the world such affliction? Who was then best at ease? The apostles, that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand; that is to say, your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself, and so be the people of the world. For when God saith, Trouble shall come, they will have ease. And when God saith, Be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were cast-a-ways. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice; never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent; but, at the latter day, there shall be absolute judgment, and sentence (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men; and yet, towards the end of the world, we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment (and I suppose, for my part, shortly death); now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus, our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen.

"October the thirteenth, A. D. 1553."

To a certain godly woman, instructing her how she should behave herself in the time of her widowhood.

"The grace of God and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy gospel. Amen.

"I thank you, dear sister, for your most loving remembrance; and, although I cannot recompense the same, yet do I wish, with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase, by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God; and that you diligently apply yourself to follow the same: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of St. Paul, It is lawful for the widow or maiden to marry to whom they list, so it be in the Lord; that is to say, to such a one as is of Christ's religion. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Whereof I will, when I have better leisure, (as now I have none at all,) further advertise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who stablish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord! Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

"Yours assured in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

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To all my dear brethren, my relievers and helpers in the city of London.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you, dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the hands of my servant William Downton, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you and for you, who hath moved your hearts to show this kindness towards me; praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your souls, as you preserve my body from hunger and other necessities which should happen unto me, were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed not one halfpenny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them, and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God; and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, wishing no further extremity to be used towards us. Yet, if the contrary seem best unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea, death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretches and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and licence of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will; and then, although both we and all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die—no, although the sword be drawn out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet, when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to God's will, and was content to kill his son, God then saved his son.

"Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey God's will, and for his commandment's sake to surrender our goods and our lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for God's cause, nor can any thing at length do us good that is preserved contrary unto God's commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom; for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his commandments. That can by no means be taken from us, which he would should tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means serve: for he that so doth, shall have as many changes as chance in the world. To-day with the world he shall like and praise the truth of God; to-morrow as the world will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man: to-day with Christ, and to-morrow with antichrist. Wherefore, dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward spirits and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man, (I say,) not after the manner of men, but after the infallible word of God.

"Refrain from evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world, in external service, the thing that is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must together concur in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teacheth. For if an honest wife be bound to give both heart and body to faith and service in marriage, and if an honest wife's faith in the heart cannot stand with an unchaste or defiled body outwardly; much less can the true faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external idolatry; for the

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mystery of marriage is not so honourable between man and wife, as it is between Christ and every Christian man, as St. Paul saith.

"Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our salvation both of body and soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him: for doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one, and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say our souls serve him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary for civil order and policy.

"But, alas! I know by myself, what troubleth you; that is, the great danger of the world, that will revenge, ye think, your service to God with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands. But, dear brethren, weigh of the other side, that your enemies and God's enemies shall not do so much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kingdoms of the earth. But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how sore and how fervently the sun shall trouble us in our labour; but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him, who can and will so moderate all afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him, than in Christ lie shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your souls and bodies.

"September the second, anno 1554.

"Yours, with my poor prayer,
JOHN HOOPER."

To a merchant of London, by whose means he had received much comfort in his great necessity in the Fleet.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity by your charitable means; but most rejoice that you be not altered from truth, although falsehood cruelly seeketh to distain her. Judge not, my brother, truth by outward appearance; for truth now worse appeareth, and more vilely is rejected, than falsehood. Leave the outward show, and see, by the word of God, what truth is; and accept truth, and dislike her not, though man call her falsehood. As it is now, so it hath been heretofore, the truth rejected and falsehood received. Such as have professed truth, for truth have smarted, and the friends of falsehood laughed them to scorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary success; the one having the commendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falsehood by God; flourishing for a time, with endless destruction: the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortal joys. Wherefore, dear brother, ask and demand of your book, the Testament of Jesus Christ, in those woeful and wretched days, what you should think, and what you should stay upon for a certain truth; and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your book, whether it be true or false. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to lose the treasure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray; and in Christ daily

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require help, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace, and defence, that the wickedness of this world prevail not against us. We began well, God preserve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at so much charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write I crave. Send me nothing till I send to you for it; and so tell the good men, your partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you.

"December the third, anno 1554.

"Yours, with my prayer,
JOHN HOOPER."

To Mistress Wilkinson, a woman hearty in God's cause, and comfortable to his afflicted members: afterwards dying in exile at Frankfort.

"The grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit, be with you. Amen.

"I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how Christianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourself to suffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger yourself to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf; and in suffering of transitory pains, you shall avoid permanent torments in the world to come. Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his displeasure, turneth at length to unspeakable pains; and the gains of the world, with the loss of his favour, is beggary and wretchedness. Reason is to be amended in this cause of religion: for it will choose and follow an error with the multitude, if it may be allowed, rather than turn to faith, and follow the truth with the people of God. Moses found the same fault in himself, and did amend it, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to use the liberty of the king's daughter, that accounted him as her son. Pray for contentation and peace of the Spirit, and rejoice in such troubles as shall happen to you for the truth's sake: for in that part Christ saith, you be happy. Pray also for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whose tuition and defence I commend you."

To my dear friends in God, Master John Hall and his wife, exhorting them to stand fast in the truth.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to show unto you such favour, that whatsoever trouble and adversity happen, ye go not back from him. These days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort ourselves in calling to remembrance the days of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thousands, died for the testimony of Jesus Christ, both men and women, suffering with patience and constancy as much cruelty as tyrants could devise, and so departed out of this miserable world to the bliss everlasting, where now they remain for ever; looking always for the end of this sinful world, when they shall receive their bodies again in immortality, and see the number of the elect associated with them in full and consummate joys: and, as virtuous men suffering martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this world with pains, by and by rested in joys everlasting; and as their pains ended their sorrows, and began ease, so did their constancy and steadfastness animate and confirm all good people in the truth, and gave them encouragement and lust to suffer the like, rather than to fall with the world

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to consent unto wickedness and idolatry. Wherefore, my dear friends, seeing God, of his part, hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true faith, wherein the apostles and evangelists, and all martyrs, suffered most cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for strength and perseverance, that through your own fault ye be not ashamed or afraid to confess it. Yet ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, nor antichrist with all his imps can prove it to be false. They may kill and persecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is short and miserable; happy be they that can spend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good men and women.

"December the twenty-second, anno 1554.

Your brother in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

To my dearly beloved sister in the Lord, Mistress Anne Warcop.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving token. I pray you burden not yourself too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hinderance to many. I did rejoice at the coming of this bearer, to understand of your constancy, and how that you be fully resolved, by God's grace, rather to suffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you grace to begin so infallible a truth, will follow you in the same unto the end. But, my loving sister, as you be travelling this perilous journey, take this lesson with you, practised by wise men; whereof you may read in the second of St. Matthew's Gospel. Such as travelled to find Christ, followed only the star; and as long as they saw it, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their journey. But when they entered into Jerusalem (whereas the star led them not thither, but unto Bethlehem) and there asked the citizens the thing that the star showed before; as long as they tarried in Jerusalem, and would be instructed where Christ was born, they were not only ignorant of Bethlehem, but also lost the sight of the star that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any case, whilst we be going in this life to seek Christ, that is above, to beware that we lose not the star of God's word, that only is the mark that showeth us where Christ is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Jerusalem stood in the way, and was an impediment to these wise men; so doth the synagogue of antichrist, that beareth the name of Jerusalem, which by interpretation is called the vision of peace, and amongst the people now is called the catholic church, stand in the way that pilgrims must go by through this world to Bethlehem, the house of saturity and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all Christian travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the pilgrims still in her, that they shall not come where Christ is at all. And to stay them indeed, they take away the star of light, which is God's word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the celestial star was hid from the wise men, when they asked of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these wise men, whilst they were learning of liars where Christ was. First, they were out of their way, and next they lost their guide and conductor, the heavenly star. Christ is mounted from us into heaven, and there we seek him (as we say); and let us go thitherward by the star of his word. Beware we happen not to come into Jerusalem, the church of men, and ask for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and lose also our conductor and guide, that only leadeth us straight thither.

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"The poets write in fables, that Jason, when he fought with the dragon in the isle of Colchis, was preserved by the medicines of Medea, and so won the golden fleece. And they write also that Phaeton, whom they feign to be the son and heir of the high god Jupiter, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the sun round about the world; but, as they feigned, he missed of the accustomed course: whereupon when he went too high, he burned heaven, and when he went too low, he burned the earth and the water. These profane histories do shame us that be Christian men. Jason, against the poison of the dragon, used only the medicine of Medea. What a shame is it for a Christian man, against the poison of the devil, heresy, and sin, to use any other remedy than Christ and his word! Phaeton, for lack of knowledge, was afraid of every sign of the zodiac, that the sun passeth by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himself in the sea. Christian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of such dangers as Christian men must needs pass by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

"Sister, take heed! you shall, in your journey towards heaven, meet with many a monstrous beast: have salve of God's word therefore ready. You shall meet husband, children, lovers, and friends, that shall, if God be not with them, (as God be praised he is, I would it were with all other alike,) be very lets and impediments to your purpose. You shall meet with slander and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you shall hear and meet with cruel tyranny to do you all extremities; you shall now and then see the troubles of your own conscience, and feel your own weakness; you shall hear that you be cursed by the sentence of the catholic church, with such-like terrors: but pray to God, and follow the star of his word, and you shall arrive at the port of eternal salvation, by the merits only of Jesus Christ: to whom I commend you and all yours most heartily.

"Yours in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

Unto these letters of Master Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex also another certain epistle, not of Master Hooper's, but written to him by a famous learned man, Henry Bullinger, chief superintendent in the city of Zurich: of whose singular love and tender affection toward Master Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of Master Hooper's life discoursed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye shall hear by this present letter, as followeth.

A letter of Master Bullinger to the most reverend father, Master John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ, my fellow elder and most dear brother in England.

"The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those who are in bands and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace though Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

"I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May of this present year, both written out of prison. But I, doubting lest I should make answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the

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duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole libels rather than letters; whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you: as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in prison, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you, and to your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophesy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass; especially when we did talk of the power of antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel, His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew, chap. x., by John, in chap. xv. and xvi., and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written, in 2 Tim. iii. Wherefore I do nothing doubt, by God's grace, of your faith and patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not asked for, nor come by chance; but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papists, those worshippers of antichrist, do persecute? All things touching salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his disciples; but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their antichrist, and to his institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that Elias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know, that he is the fulness of his church, and that perfectly: but if antichrist be king and priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ, or who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the apostle calleth the adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to use these disputations with you which are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being persuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

"Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ, and to defy antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son: but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome, by his power, the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome; promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence. For so again saith the angel of the Lord: If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath: and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore; and they shall have no rest, day nor night, which worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. To this he added by and by, I heard a voice saying to me, Write, Blessed be the dead that die in the

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Lord; from henceforth, or speedily, they be blessed: Even so, saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.

"Therefore, seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end. Consider that Christ, the Son of God, is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs are your fellow soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are men sinful and mortal, whose favour a wise man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and, besides that, our life is frail, short, brittle, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord; who grant unto you, and to all your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy! Commend me to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Dr. Cranmer, bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, and the good old father Dr. Latimer. Them, and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord's cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow ministers, the which do speak unto you the grace of God, and constancy in the truth.

"Concerning the state of our church. it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profess the faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise of our Lord

"The word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

"In the mean while the godly sustain grievous persecutions, and, with great constancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my household, with my sons-in-law and kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do all salute you, and pray for your constancy; being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to us Englishmen; students, both godly and learned. They be received of our magistrate. Ten of them dwell together; the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst others, Master Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at commandment; whereof I will write also to your wife, for understand she abideth at Frankfort.

"Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when and in what sort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus show pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the same with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally.

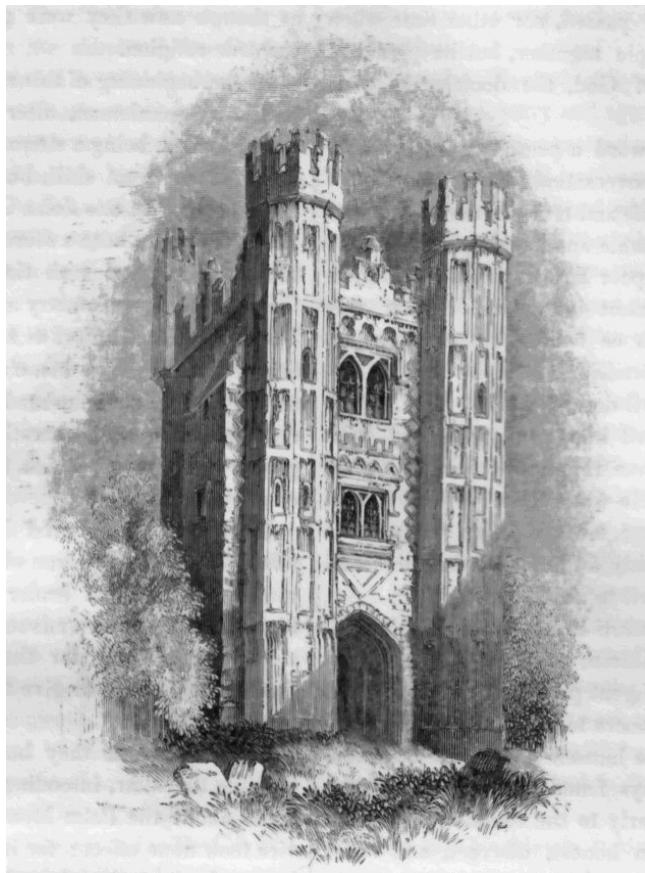
"The tenth of October, anno 1554. From Zurich.

"You know the hand, H. B."

267. Rowland Taylor.

The history of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who suffered for the truth of God's word, under the tyranny of the Roman bishops, the ninth day of February, A. D. 1555.

The town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney: by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number of that parish became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of St. Paul's Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people: and (what most is to be commended) they were for the more part faithful followers of God's word in their living.



Ancient Gateway, Hadleigh

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In this town was Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, parson; who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant, unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: but, contrarily, he forsook the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in Hadley, among the people committed to his charge; where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of Holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep. This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but, as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking sinful and evil doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge, or evil will; ready to do good to all men; readily forgiving his enemies; and never sought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider; insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop: a good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the Sixth. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever sembled and dissembled, both with King Henry the Eighth and King Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and, contrary to that they had all these two kings' days preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

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In the beginning of this rage of antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk of Hadley, which Foster had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry, conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the pope and his maumetry again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Averth, parson of Aldham, a very money mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open advouther and whoremonger, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin again the popish mass.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their mass again about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down: wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

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

When Dr. Taylor, who, according to his custom, sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ringing, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office: and, coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he, entering in, and coming in the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new-shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "Thou devil! who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that started up Foster, and with an ireful and furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, "Thou traitor! what dost thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?" Dr. Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such popish idolatry, to poison Christ's flock."

Then said Foster, "Wilt thou traitorously, heretic! make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?"

Dr. Taylor answered, "I make no commotion; but it is you papists, that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further,

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thou dost against the canon law, which commandeth, that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of mass: then started up John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, be not afraid, you have a superaltare, go forth with your business, man."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the church; and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, she kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury, that this popish idolater to this day doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the papists have ever yet used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that say, "The law of unrighteousness is our strength: come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear," &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry and aggrieved in mind; which when foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alleging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

Then said Dr. Taylor to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death; yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing."

Then said his friends, "Master Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth, both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the

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parson of Aldham, with others that came hither to bring again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should fly into another; we think, in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors."

"Oh," quoth Dr. Taylor, "what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with God's grace) to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall, with much more diligence and fruit, teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

"As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now; nor I shall ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood; so that all their doctrine, even from 'Christ's cross be my speed,' and St. Nicholas, unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies.

"Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me; and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

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

There was also in Hadley one Alcock, a very godly man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who, after Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English litany in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate; where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who, being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the bishop; and proffered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him.

But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto; but said, "O John! shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good Shepherd Christ, which not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and, with God's grace, will do. Therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me; and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose."

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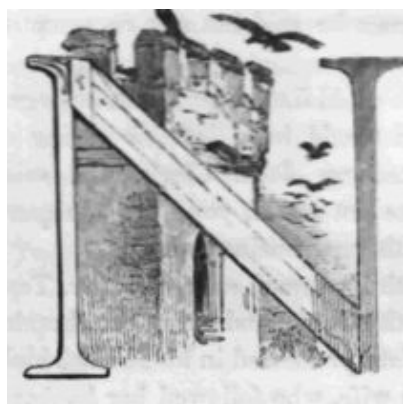
Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor of England. For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three devilish mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ; the which three be these.

First, they have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and left undone.

Secondly, it hath also puffed up many bishops, and other spiritual persons, into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they, by this means, knew the very secrets of princes, they, being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, afore the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometimes to the destruction of princes, and sometimes to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

The examination of Dr. Taylor.



OW, when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, all to reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villanous reproaches; all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him "My Lord," quoth he, "I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man; and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your Lordship hath sent for me."

Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I know who you are. Ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto that blessed King Henry the Eighth of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed King Edward the Sixth his son?"

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The bishop answered, "Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath: unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and, I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the catholic Church of Rome; and so I would thou shouldst do."

Dr. Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him."

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

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

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool."

"My Lord," quoth Dr. Taylor, "leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know, that he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of a council; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The bishop answered, "Ye are false, and liars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul. And again, Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies. And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"Thou art married?" quoth the bishop. "Yea," quoth Dr. Taylor, "that I thank God I am; and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom." Then said the bishop, "Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldst not suffer the parson of Aldham (a very virtuous and devout priest) to say mass in Hadley." Dr. Taylor answered, "My Lord, I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass."

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said. "Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament (and put off his cap): and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Dr. Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do; and confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and

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passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption; and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness showed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us."

"Thou sayest well," quoth the bishop; "it is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then answered Dr. Taylor, "Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we need any more propitiatory sacrifice: and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, 'Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion: a sacrifice of thanksgiving;' and therefore the fathers called it *eucharistia*: and other sacrifice hath the church of God none."

"It is true," quoth the bishop, "the sacrament is called *eucharistia*, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done." Then called the bishop his men, and said, "Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept."

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

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his; thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant mass-mongers, with their Latin babblings and apish ceremonies; who, like cruel wolves, spared not to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whispered against their popery. As for the godly preachers which were in King Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in King Ahab's

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days, they were privily kept in corners. As many as the papists could lay hold on, they were sent into prison; there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison called the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Master Bradford; which man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time; as even his adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Master Bradford, hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow. And so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other; insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

Dr. Taylor brought forth to be deprived.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the Arches, at Bow-church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him; where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming, by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound, on pain of damnation, to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him; but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

"You do me wrong then," quoth Dr. Taylor; and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself. But all prevailed not; for he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or sold, I wot not whether, to one Master Newcalle, whose great virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. Taylor, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners full well have proved.

Dr. Taylor brought again before Winchester and other bishops.

After a year and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by King Henry the Eighth and by King Edward, to be again revived by parliament; so that now they might, ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they lusted; and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them: when these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor, with certain other prisoners, who were again convented before the chancellor and other commissioners, about the twenty-second of January. The purport and effect of which talk between them, because it is sufficiently described by himself, in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said letter hereunder, as followeth.

"Whereas you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me, on Tuesday, twenty-second of January, so far as I remember: first, my Lord Chancellor said, 'You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's

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and queen's Majesties' favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm; from the which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive: for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ, to antichrist. 'For I do believe, that the religion set forth in King Edward's days, was according to the vein of the Holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline, so long as I live, by God's grace.'

"Then Master Secretary Bourn said, 'Which of the religions mean ye of, in King Edward's days? For ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my Lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?' I answered, My Lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name: and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was, after that, set forth by the most innocent King Edward, (for whom God be praised everlastingly,) The Whole Church-service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm: which book was never reformed but once; and yet, by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Didst thou never read the book that I set forth of the sacraments?'—I answered, that I had read it.

"Then he said, 'How likest thou that book?'—With that one of the council (whose name I know not) said, 'My Lord, that is a good question: for I am sure that book stoppeth all their mouths.' Then said I, 'My Lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of God's word in that book.'

"Then my Lord said, 'Thou art a very varlet.' To that I answered, 'That is as ill as *raca* or *fatue*.' Then my Lord said, 'Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow.'—To that I answered, 'I have read over and over again the Holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through; St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through, once; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my Lord, I professed the civil laws, as your Lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also.'

"Then my Lord said, 'With a corrupt judgment thou readest all things: touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written divers books.'—Then said I, 'My Lord, ye did write one book, De Vera Obedientia: I would you had been constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book.'

"Then my Lord said, 'Tut, tut, tut; I wrote against Bucer in priests' marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many years.'—To that I answered, I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realm against priests'

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marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws.'

"Then spake my Lord of Durham, saying, 'You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that Justinian writeth, that priests should, at their taking of orders, swear that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum*.'—To that I answered, that I did not remember any such law of Justinian. 'But I am sure, that Justinian writeth, In *Titulo de indicta Viduitate*, (in *Cod.*) that if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions, and oath taken and made against marriage: and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made to man.—Moreover, in the *Pandects* it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her patron shall lose *jus patronatus*, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?'—I answered, 'By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to Timothy, saith, It is a heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.'

"Then said my Lord Chancellor, 'Thou liest of Chrysostom. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, belie ever without shame both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.'—I answered, 'We read in the Decrees, that the four general councils—Nicene, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon—have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same Decrees, (which is one of the chief books of the canon law,) that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages: therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou falsifiest the general council; for there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives, which be married.'—Then said I, 'If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine: let the book be fetched!'

"Then spake my Lord of Durham: 'Though they be not there, yet they may be in *Ecclesiastica Historia*, which Eusebius wrote; out of which book the decree was taken.'—To that said I, 'It is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.'—I answered, My Lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher.'

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"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Nay, I call thee a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the catholic church?' And with that he rose.—And I said, 'By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church.'

"Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: and my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou shalt have judgment within this week:' and so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My Lord of Durham would, that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men."

And thus much was contained in the aforesaid letter of Doctor Taylor for that matter.

Besides this letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his, concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewise here to express as followeth.

"It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the Holy Scripture. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops, consenting to this sentence against me, be heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that bishops, priests, and deacons, may be married; knowing also that, by St. Paul's doctrine, it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul willeth every faithful minister to teach the people so, lest they be deceived by the marked merchants.

"These bishops are not ignorant, that it is not only St. Paul's counsel, and lawful, but God's commandment also, to marry—for such as cannot otherwise live chaste, neither avoid fornication.

"They know that such as do marry, do not sin.

"They know that God, before sin was, ordained matrimony, and that in Paradise, between two of his principal creatures, man and woman.

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

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

"They know that St. Paul giveth a great praise to matrimony, calling it honourable; and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whosoever have need of that God's remedy, for man's and woman's infirmity.

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"They know that if there were any sin in matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bed-company. But St. Paul saith, that the bed-company is undefiled.

"They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Jacob, David, &c., to talk with God; neither to the Levites', bishops', and priests' office, in the time of the Old Testament or the New.

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

"They know, by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that a vow is not an impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

"They know that St. Chrysostom saith, it is heresy to affirm that a bishop may not have a wife.

"They know that Ambrose will have no commandment, but counsel only to be given, touching the observing of virginity.

"They know that Christ, with his blessed mother and the apostles, were at a marriage, and [therefore] beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

"To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of priests, is true: and they know that the papists themselves do not observe, touching that matter, their own laws and canons, and yet they continue marked in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will. Amen.

"My second cause why I was condemned a heretic is, that I denied transubstantiation and concomitancy, two juggling words of the papists, by the which they do believe, and will compel all other to believe, that Christ's natural body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be joined thereunto; so that immediately after the words called 'the words of consecration,' there is no more bread and wine in the sacrament, but the substance only of the body and blood of Christ together with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christ, both God and man, ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same. This matter was not long debated in words: but because I denied the aforesaid papistical doctrine, (yea rather, plain, most wicked, idolatry, blasphemy, and heresy,) I was judged a heretic.

"I did also affirm the pope to be antichrist, and popery antichristianity. And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all and singular matters of Christian religion, and of salvation.

"I also alleged, that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's pre-eminence: for Chrysostom saith, that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm, were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both body and goods, in subjection to the kingly authority, who hath the sword

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in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to antichrist, from light to darkness, from verity to vanity.

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

"God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had Judge Hales. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmovably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting but that my dear God will perform and finish the work, that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen."

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

You heard in the former answers a little before, certain allegations touched of Dr. Taylor out of St. Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, touching the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Now ye shall hear the places of the said doctors cited and produced out of their own books, as here ensueth.

The places of the doctors alleged before, in Dr. Taylor's letter.

"This question was asked of St. Cyprian, 'What should be done with those religious persons, that could not keep their chastity as they had vowed.' He answered thus: 'Thou dost ask what we do judge of virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chastely, are afterward found in bed with a man. Of the which thou sayest, that one of them was a deacon. We do with great sorrow see the great ruin of many persons, which cometh by the reason of such unlawful and perilous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themselves unto Christ in faith, to live purely and chastely, then let them so remain without any fable, and strongly and stedfastly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or else cannot abide, then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of concupiscence: and let them give to the brethren and sisters none occasion of slander,' &c.

"Certain men do affirm, those men to be adulterers, that do marry after that they have vowed chastity. But I do affirm, that those men do grievously sin, the which do separate them,' &c.

"Chastity of the body ought to be desired of us: which thing I do give for a counsel, and do not command it imperiously. For virginity is a thing which ought to be only counselled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a precept."

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A brief recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's causes afore touched, for the reader more evidently to see how the papists do against their own knowledge, in forbidding priests' marriage.

"The pope's clergy, forbidding ecclesiastical persons to marry, do against their conscience and knowledge, as may well be proved by these causes hereunder following.

"First; they know that matrimony in the Old Testament, *de jure institutionis*, is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

"Secondly; they know that in the Old Testament, *de facto*, both priests, Levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others, had their wives.

"Thirdly; they know that matrimony was permitted and instituted of God, for two principal ends; to wit, for procreation, and avoiding of sin.

"Fourthly; they know that in the Old Testament God not only instituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but also induceth and appointeth men to marry and take wives, in these words: It is not good for a man to be alone, &c.

"Fifthly; they know that in the New Testament St. Paul permitteth the state of matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

"Sixthly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth, but also expressly willeth and chargeth men, having not the gift, to marry; saying, For avoiding fornication, let every man have his wife, &c.

"Seventhly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth and commandeth, but also commendeth and praiseth the state of matrimony, calling it 'honourable,' and the bed-company to be 'undefiled,' &c.

"Eighthly; they know that in the New Testament Christ himself not only was not conceived nor born of the Virgin before she was espoused in matrimony; but also, that both he and his blessed mother did beautify and honour the state of matrimony with their presence: yea, in the same began his first miracle.

"Ninthly; they know both by the Old Testament and New, that marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of God's commandment; for both Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old, yea, and barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him: and also to Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and others, their marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, bishops, and priests, in the time of both the Old Testament and of the New. Again, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and also to supply the office of apostleship.

"Tenthly; they know, both by the Old Testament and New, that sinful fornication and adultery depriveth man of God's favour and graces of the Holy Ghost, which graces especially be requisite in the men of the church.

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"Eleventhly; they know in their own secret conscience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this vow of chastity, nor they which take it, do observe the vow of chastity. Whereupon rise inconveniences more than can be expressed: but the Lord above knoweth all, besides the secret murders, peradventure, of many a poor infant, &c.

"Twelfthly; they know by St. Cyprian, and St. Augustine, that a vow is no impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

"Thirteenthly; they know that Chrysostom affirmeth it to be a heresy to say, that a bishop may not have a wife.

"Fourteenthly; they know that St. Ambrose will have no commandment, but counsel only, to be given touching the observing of virginity.

"Fifteenthly; they know that before the time of Pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of one thousand years after Christ, marriage was never restrained, by any forcible necessity or vow, from men of the church.

"Sixteenthly; they know that St. Paul calleth it the doctrine of devils, to forbid meats and marriage, which God hath left free, with thanksgiving, for necessity of man and woman."

After that Dr. Taylor thus, with great spirit and courage, had answered for himself, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their oath made before to King Henry and to King Edward his son, and for betraying the realm into the power of the Roman bishop; they—perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose; that is, to turn with them from Christ to antichrist—committed him thereupon to prison again, where he endured till the last of January.

Dr. Taylor the fourth time, with Master Bradford, and Master Saunders, brought before Winchester and other bishops.



IN the day and year aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, and Master Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham; and there were charged again with heresy and schism: and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors; or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation. When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, Master Bradford and Master Saunders, heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

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When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, "We doubt not, but God the righteous Judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist; and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ."

So was Dr. Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him "For ye have now another manner of charge," quoth the lord chancellor, "than they had before: therefore look ye; take heed to it."

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night; and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the said Compter in the Poultry a seven-night or thereabouts prisoner, the fourth of February, A. D. 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummery. Now, being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the said Bonner. And at his coming, the bishop said, "Master Doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother, holy church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto Master Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee ere I go." Quoth Dr. Taylor, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him; so he willed another to put them upon his back. And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, "How say you, my Lord? am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?" So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such-like devilish observances.

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said, "My Lord! strike him not, for he will sure strike again." "Yea, by St. Peter will I," quoth Dr. Taylor. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel." So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, "Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us!" [Note: This clause was originally a part of the Litany in the book of Common Prayer.] And in going up to his chamber, he still said, "God deliver me from you! God deliver me from you!" And when he came up he told Master Bradford, (for they both lay in one chamber,) that he had made the bishop of London afraid: "for," saith he laughingly, "his chaplain

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gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again; and, by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed."

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted unto him, and were, by the gentleness of the keepers, permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons and the keepers of the king's prisons: that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters; but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might. So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their coming-in afore supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany. After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his son Thomas, he said:

"My dear son, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: he ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee."

Then, turning to his wife, he said thus:

"My dear wife, continue stedfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it.—Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to you and to my children; whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry."

When he had thus said, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a book of the church-service, set out by King Edward, which he, in the time of his imprisonment, daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of Ecclesiastica Historia; and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last valed, as hereafter followeth.

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"I say to my wife, and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord! I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits: believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

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

"Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and verity.

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

"The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company; through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God and my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

"The fifth of February, anno 1555.

"The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?

"God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn?

"In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded."

On the next morrow after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor; and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watching all night in St. Botolph's church porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age, (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old,) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

"Now, when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?"—for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here;" and staid. The sheriff's men

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would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you; and let him speak to his wife" and so they staid.

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

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolsack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive: and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

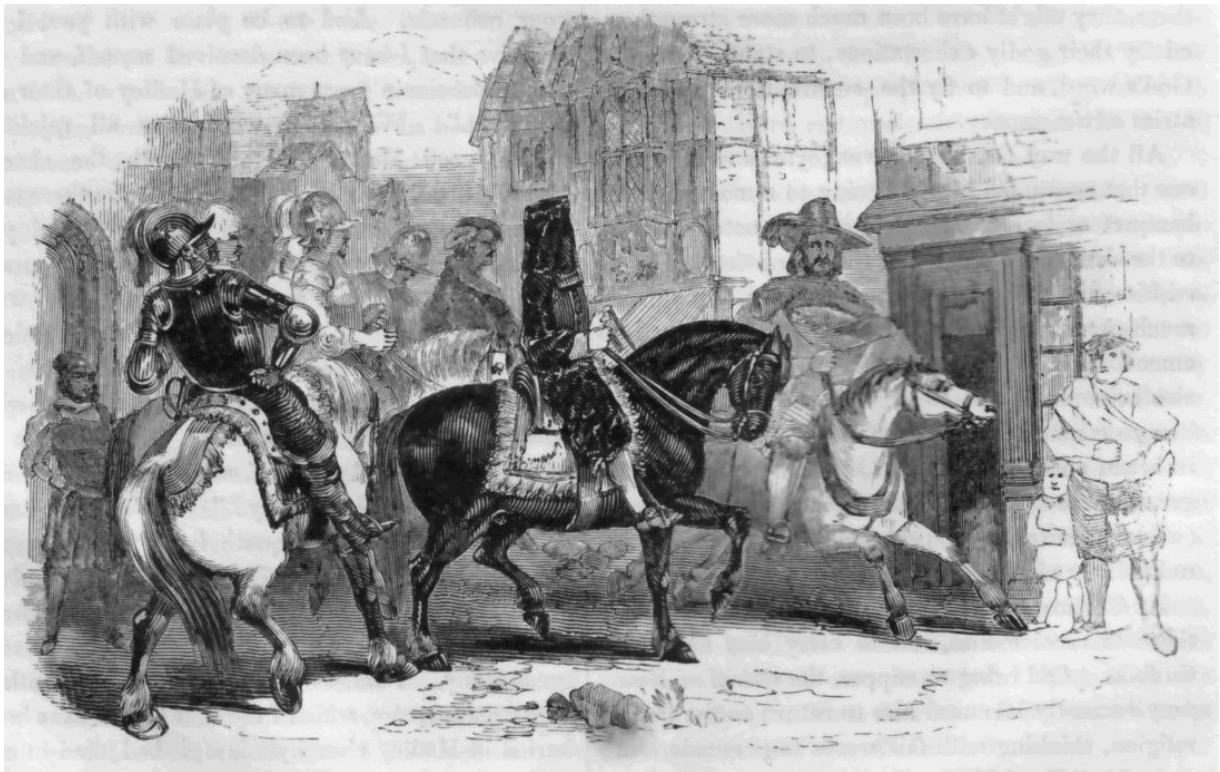
At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfulest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they were come almost at Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who beforetime had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met with them; and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, "Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty; "and came to him, and took him by the hand. "Soft, sir," quoth the sheriff, "he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him?" "I cry you mercy," said Arthur; "I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away. And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man: which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that

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they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared lest, if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand stedfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes) used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.



Dr. Taylor brought hooded through Brentwood

At Chelmsford met them the sheriff of Suffolk, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him; and said, "Good Master Doctor! we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a one as ye might be, if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom; wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, ye are a man of godly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years; and, without

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doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and me thinketh it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic Church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's Holiness to be the supreme head of the universal church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon; which, no doubt, ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good Master Doctor, of a good heart, and good-will toward you: and thereupon I drink to you." In like manner said all the yeomen of the guard, "Upon that condition, Master Doctor, we will all drink to you."

When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, "Master Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yea, good Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart! hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What! should ye cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry. At the last, "Good Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, what meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been deceived yourself, and think ye shall deceive many a one in Hadley?" "Would ye know my meaning plainly?" quoth he. "Yea," quoth the sheriff, "good Master Doctor, tell it us plainly."

Then said Doctor Taylor, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcass, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burnt to ashes: and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

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

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who, at Chelmsford, was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff staid there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sore to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon,

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"which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric, if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind; but upon the sure and unmovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmovable unto the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley; and, coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired, for somewhat, to light off his horse: which done, he leaped, and set a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. "Why, Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now?" He answered "Well, God be praised, good Master Sheriff, never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house.—But, Master Sheriff," said he, "shall we not go through Hadley?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O good Lord! I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I havemost heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord! bless them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and truth."

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

Coming against the almshouses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money which remained of that good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And, coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked, "Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive?" It was answered, "Yea, they are there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least,

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to call upon Sir Anthony Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the almshouses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessaries. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus showed he himself in all things an example to his flock worthy to be followed: and taught by his deed, what a great treasure alms is, to all such as cheerfully, for Christ's sake, do it.

At the last, coming to Aldham common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Now was his head knotted evil-favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the good bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee" with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

Then desired he licence of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council. "Well," quoth Dr. Taylor, "promise must be kept."

What this promise was, it is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore, they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was; especially this burning of the preachers: but they, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else (that they most feared) the people should more have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand stedfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience toward the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is, to obey God more than men; and, if need require it, to shed their own blood, rather than to depart from God's truth.

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Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away: which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him: but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

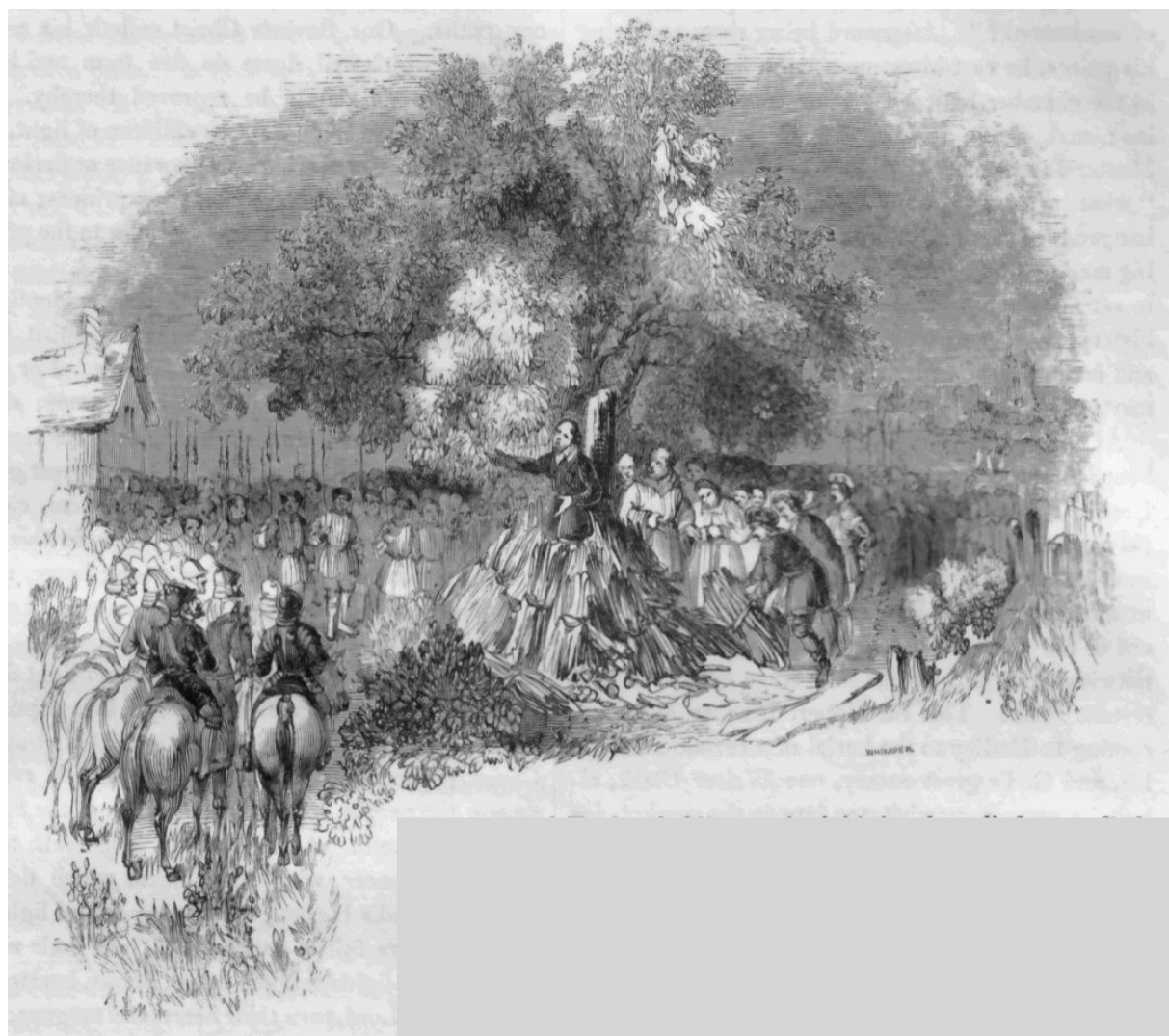
Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up faggots: but he refused to do it, and said, "I am lame, sir; and not able to lift a faggot." The sheriff threatened to send him to prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

Then appointed he one Mulleine, of Kersey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and and Warwick, who, in the commotion time in King Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; amongst whom also was one Robert King, a deviser of interludes, who albeit was there present, and had doing there with the gunpowder; what he meant and did therein (he himself saith he did it for the best, and for quick despatch) the Lord knoweth, which shall judge all: more of this I have not to say.

These four were appointed to set up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did: and this Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?"

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm Miserere, in English, struck him on the lips "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin: I will make thee." At the last they set to fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviours sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

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



Taylor burned at the stake

They that were present and familiarly conversant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, they never did see in him any fear of death; but especially, and above all the rest which besides him suffered at the same time, always showed himself merry in time of his imprisonment: as well before his condemnation, as after, he kept one countenance and like behaviour; whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of Master John Bradford, who then was in prison and chamber with him.

The same morning, when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning, (about three o'clock in the morning,) being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he sat up in his bed, and putting on his shirt, said these words, speaking somewhat thick, after his accustomed manner, "Ah, whoson thieves! ah, whoson thieves! rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour?" Afterward being risen and tying his points, he cast his arms about a bulk which was in the chamber between Master Bradford's bed and his; and, there, hanging by the hands, said to

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Master Bradford, "O Master Bradford," quoth he, "what a notable sway should I give if I were hanged!" meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man—These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those that shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given to this godly and blessed martyr.

At what time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called Sir Robert Bracher, a false pretended protestant in King Edward's days, and afterward a deadly enemy to the same religion; who was also one of them that so unmercifully thrust Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as she herself yet can testify; and notwithstanding the same now since became a protestant again. This Sir Robert Bracher aforesaid, coming to Hadley to the burial of a certain friend of his, and God's great enemy, one Walter Clark, albeit he came somewhat too late to the market, (as he said,) yet desirous to utter such popish pelf and packware as he brought with him, he opened there his baggage of pestilent doctrine, preaching in the same town of Hadley against justification by faith, of the corporal presence, of praying for the dead, and auricular confession; whereof Dr. Taylor having understanding by letters, writeth again to them of Hadley, directing his letter to his wife, in confutation of the said popish poisoned sermon; the copy of which letter we thought not unworthy here, in the end of this story, to be annexed, as under followeth.

"Dear wife, I pray God be ever with us, through Christ our only Mediator. Amen.

"I thank you for my cap; I am somewhat proud of it; for it is one step from the clergy in these days. I thank God my heart is clean divided from their proceedings: for I know that no man can serve two masters, specially if they agree no better than Christ and antichrist do. I am glad that Hadley can skill of such packing-ware as was brought thither the first day of May last past. Christ's sheep can discern Christ's voice from the voice of strangers, thieves, or hirelings. The pack-bringer was sorry that he came too late to the funeral market of his faithful friend. But here I will leave them both to God's judgment, and something touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his opening day. At the first he called the Scripture (as I hear) full of dark sentences, but indeed it is called of David, a candle to our feet, and a light to our paths. Our Saviour Christ calleth his word, the light, which evil doers do flee from and hate, lest their deeds should be reproved thereby. St. Paul would have us to walk as children of light, and in any wise not to continue in ignorance or darkness. But all we in the world pertain to two princes; either to the Father of light and truth, or else to the prince of darkness and lies.

"In these days preachers declare evidently of whom they are sent, and with what spirit they speak, and to what prince they belong. For they cry out against God's lights, sun, moon, stars, torches, lamps, lanterns, cressets, and candles, in God's book the Bible, provided of God's great goodness and mercy to avoid all foul darkness, clouds and mists, or dangerous doubtful ways, in this our journey to our heavenly Father's long home, mansion-houses, and dearly purchased heritage. Isaiah, God's faithful messenger, saith, Woe be unto them that call sweet sour, good evil, and light darkness! Therefore cometh my people into captivity, because they have no understanding. Our Saviour Christ pronounceth error and heresies to remain among the people, so long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good consciences, what they mean, which defame or accuse God's blessed word being full of light, as though it were full of darkness. These owls would have all day-lights scraped out of books,

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hearts, and churches. O Lord, turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkness, lest they go to the prince of darkness, and be cast into the pit of utter darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth!

"Now, touching the packs of wool, and the packs of cloth, I fear they were as all other wares be, transubstantiate into stocks; even his very finest packing stuff against only faith justifying, and for the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, for praying for souls departed, and for auricular confession. Abraham's justification by faith, by grace, by promise, and not by works, is plainly set forth both in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and in the third chapter to the Galatians; and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his son so long after his justification, must needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree justifying before men, and not of justification before God; for then had man to glory in; then did Christ die in vain.

"And whereas the sixth chapter of John was alleged, to prove that Christ did give his body corporally in his supper, even as he had promised in the said chapter, it is most untrue. For only he gave his body sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually, in his supper to the faithful apostles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody sacrifice for the life of the world upon the cross once for all. There, in his own person, in his own natural body, he bare all our sins. By whose stripes we are healed, as St. Peter proveth. Indeed receiving Christ's sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receive Christ's body and Christ's blood, even, as I said before, the apostles did.

"But the popish mass is another matter. The mass as it is now, is but one of antichrist's youngest daughters, in the which the devil is rather present and received, than our Saviour, the second person in Trinity, God and man. O Lord God, heavenly Father! for Christ's sake, we beseech thee to turn again England to the right way it was in, in King Edward's time, from this Babylonical, Jewish, spiritual whoredom, conspiracy, tyranny, detestable enormities, false doctrine, heresy, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments; from this evident and open idolatry, sacrilege, simony, blasphemy, superstition, hypocrisy, transubstantiate angel of light, and day-devil, kingdom of lies, foul vain schisms, sects, sedition, apostacy, gay sweet poison, honied and sugared viperous venom, wily wolfishness, Satanical subtlety, and abomination in the sight of God, and all such as put on the true spectacles of Holy Scripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, because I fear greatly, that many will be too much ready to go from Christ to antichrist, from the Bible, God's true service and religion, to Latin lying legends, portueses, mass books, and superstition. They say their church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of God's church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almost in all cases of true faith.

"But, to come again to the packer, rather than preacher, he bringeth St. Chrysostom, writing, *Ad Populum Antiochenum*, where he maketh a comparison between Christ's flesh, and Elias's cloak cast down to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot: at length he said, that Christ ascending up to heaven, took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him in earth.

"The meaning of it is, he did ascend with his flesh, and left a memorial cloak of the same body and flesh, which he calleth his flesh, as he in the sacramental phrase calleth bread his body,

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because it representeth his body; and as, in like manner of sacramental speech, a lamb was called the passover, the circumcision, God's covenant. He took up his flesh corporally, and left his flesh in mystery and sacrament spiritually. Or it may be said, that he left his flesh upon earth; that is, his mystical body, his faithful people; whom St. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones. In Genesis xlix. there is no word of Christ's sacrament: but there is a prophecy of Christ's passion wherein his foal was bound, that is, his body. And whereas he speaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as that is spoken of Christ in another place, where he saith, I alone did tread the wine-press; meaning thereby, that Christ alone suffered painful passion for the remission of sins, and for the consolation of his faithful soldiers.

"It is not true, that the packer said, that Christ's infinite power may make his body to be in a thousand places at once, as a loaf to be in a thousand bellies: for then may Christ divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and so consumed; and then might Scripture be false, appointing Christ's body to be but in one place. The articles of our faith tell us sufficiently where Christ's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever shall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally; neither ever was, is, can, or shall be eaten so with any corporal mouths, as the Capernautes and the papists most erroneously and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jesus Christ hath no other body natural than is made of the substance of bread, and is in a thousand places at once, as I have often said in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither shall our bodies rise again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are sure that our Saviour Christ's body is made of none other substance than of his mother the blessed Virgin Mary's substance. We are sure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much less of bread. Only he taketh on him the seed of Abraham, in all things like unto us, sin only excepted. And this is a comfortable doctrine to us Christians. believing stedfastly, as the true catholic faith is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock Christ's church is builded, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.

"I speak nothing now of auricular confession, and praying for souls departed: because I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpose. Sure I am that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for such his packware. He may say what he will of Hebricians and Grecians; and of flesh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, pass and repass, even what he will in such clouds and mists. He reproveth the Scriptures as full of darkness, and yet is full of darkness himself. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other strange places, for his round white cake; for that such his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the plain simplicity of Christ's supper. He glanced at priests' marriage. He might against that have brought as ancient a doctor as any be alleged out of Hebrew, for his mass and wafer-cake, that is 'Doctor Devil.'

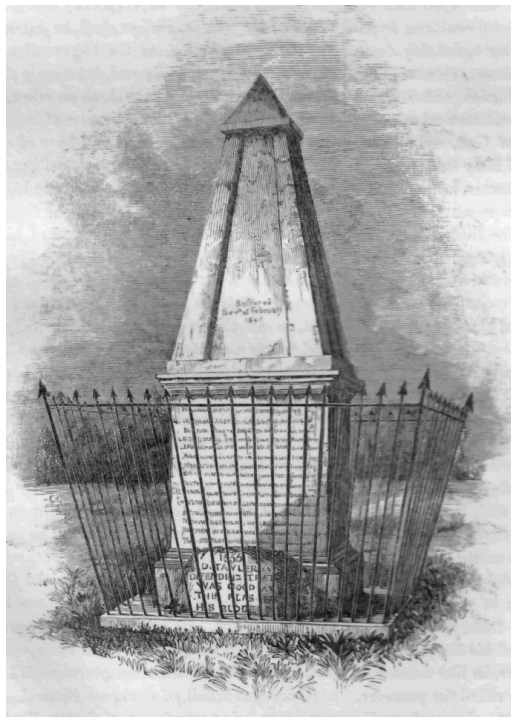
"I marvel that he did not confute and confound St. Paul for the sentences written above the altar, of the which he made mention in the pulpit. For he, and his fellows of Oxford, be so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can easily prove a man an ass, and all writers on the Bible ignorant, simple, full of errors, full of heresies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called catholics, faithful and true Christian people, defenders of the holy mother the church: but truly they take part with the prince of darkness, with antichrist, with Jezebel. They will not be called papists, Pharisees, Jews, Turks, heretics, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adversaries; and that in all

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the chief points of it: no, not then, when our Saviour Christ whipt such merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves. God give them grace to repent! God be thanked that the nobility something of late have spied and stopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! sooner bewitched than the foolish Galatians. We have now no excuse.

"We have undoubtedly seen the true trace of the prophetical, apostolical, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, lest we be led out of that way, society, and rule of religion. Now we shall show what countrymen we be, whether spiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, since the beginning of the world; God be praised there-for. If Hadley, being so many years persuaded in such truth, will now willingly and wittingly forsake the same, and defile itself with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichristianity thereunto belonging, let it surely look for many and wonderful plagues of God shortly. Though another have the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass begun there, I being present no more, I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked profanation of my late pulpit by such a wily wolf. God's love, mercy, goodness, and favour hath been unspeakable, in teaching us the right way of salvation and justification: let us all have some zeal; some care how to serve him according to his goodwill written.

The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Christ our only Advocate. Amen.
ROWLAND TAYLOR."



Taylor's Monument

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