

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

by  
**JOHN FOXE**

*Commonly known as*  
**FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS**

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**Portrait of Hugh Latimer**

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### 302. John Denley, Gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Pakingham.

*A discourse of the apprehension, examination, and condemnation of John Denley, gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Pakingham, martyred for the testimony of Christ's gospel.*



N the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, who though they were not spiritual men, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, and, as one would say, to heap up more coals to this furious flame of persecution, whether of a blind zeal or a parasitical flattery, I know not: amongst which one was Edmund Tyrrel, esq., and at that time a justice of peace within the county of Essex, an assister (as it seemeth) to cruel murderers of God's saints, who, as he came from the burning and death of certain godly martyrs, met with Master John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman, (both of Maidstone in Kent,) travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly friends as then they had in the county of Essex. And upon the sight of them, as he yet braggeth, first upon suspicion apprehended and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the queen's commissioners, directing also unto one of the same commissioners these his favourable letters in their behalf. The copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

"Sir, with most hearty commendations unto you, these shall be to advertise you, that I have received a letter from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and others of the king and queen's Majesty's commissioners, by a servant of the king and queen, called John Failes, for certain business about St. Osith's, the which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a letter from the council, to assist the sheriff for the execution of the heretics, the one at Raileigh, and the other at Rochford, the which was done on Tuesday last.

"And as I came homeward, I met with two men: even as I saw them I suspected them, and then I did examine them, and search them; and I did find about them certain letters which I have sent you, and also a certain writing in paper, what their faith was. And they confessed to me that they had forsaken and fled out of their country for religion's sake; and, since, they have been in many countries, by their confession, which I have sent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have understood) to send them to you, whereby you and others of the king and queen's commissioners there, might try them so that their lewdness might be thoroughly known; for I think these have caused many to trouble their consciences. So this hath been some let to me, wherefore I could not go about those matters expressed in your letters; but, to-morrow at noon, I intend by God's grace to accomplish your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the Holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beseech you to be so good, master, to discharge these poor men that bring these prisoners up, as soon as may be. And thus most heartily farewell.—From Ramsdon Park, the twelfth of June, 1555.

"By yours assured to command,  
EDMUND TYRREL."

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Forasmuch as in this letter mention is made of a certain writing in paper, found about them of their faith; what this writing was, and what were the contents of it, the copy thereof here ensueth.

"Christ is in the sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

"The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say, that Christ is corporally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

"For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"My belief in the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ.

"As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament, and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plentifully shed, for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you. In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

"I do understand, spiritually, that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting; and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, monisheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

"And thus we there have Christ present: in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

"Christ's body and blood are not contained in the sacramental bread and wine, as the papists have said, and as some yet do say, as ye read in these scriptures following: first read iii Matt. ix.; Luke v.; Matt. xxiv. and xxvi.; Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xiii.; Luke xxiii. in the end; John xiv. xv. xvi. xvii.; Acts i. iii. vii. ix.; Rom. viii.; Psalm viii.; 1 Cor. x. xi.; Exod. xii.; Col. i.; Ephes. i. iv.; Phil. i. ii.; 1 Thess. i. iv.; Heb. i. v. viii. ix. x. xii.; 1 Pet. iii.; Psalm xi. xlvii. ciii. x.

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"Christ's material body is not in all places, as these scriptures do testify hereafter.

"First read St. Matthew the last, Mark the last, Luke the last, John xi. xx. xxi. These places of the Scripture do plainly declare, that his body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the sacrament; nor in all places, as the papists have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

"Therefore, whosoever they be that do worship the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as these scriptures hereafter do testify; first in Exod. xx. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.; Lev. xix.; Deut. iv. vi. xxxii.; Psalm lxxx.; Isa. xlv.; Mal. ii.; Matt. iv.; Luke iv.; Acts xiv.; Rev. xiv.; Psalm xcvi.; 1 Cor. viii.; Ephes. iv.; 1 Tim. ii.; 1 John v.; Rev. xix. xxii.

"JOHN DENLEY."

Now to return to the commissioners again: they, receiving these prisoners aforementioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them unto Bishop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion; which how discreet and favourable it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequel of this, doth manifestly declare; for the twenty-eighth of June then next following, he caused the said Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber, within his house or palace, there examining them upon their confessions, (which Tyrrel had found about them,) objecting also unto them certain other articles of his own. To the which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others; and therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that Packingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the rest had not.

This done, the bishop used with them his accustomed persuasions, to the which Master Denley said, "God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count heresy, I take to be the truth" and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the fifth of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where these articles were objected against them.

"First, That the said N. now is of the diocese of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth.

"3. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this Church of England is any part or member of the said catholic church.

"4. That the said N. hath believed, and doth believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word; and therefore he (the said N.) hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

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"5. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular confession, used now in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

"6. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that absolution, given by the priest hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

"7. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that christening of children, as it is now used in the Church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it: likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and even-song, anointing or anointing of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

"8. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

"9. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

"10. That thou, Patrick Pakingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at the least, being within the house of the bishop of London at Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said twenty-third day of June, the year of our Lord 1555, didst unreverently stand in the said chapel having thy cap on thy head all the mass while; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread."

*The answer of John Denley and the rest, to the articles objected.*

"To the 1st article I answer, it is very true.

"To the 2d article I answer, that it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the Head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth preach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

"To the 3d article I answer, that I do believe, that this Church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof; for it is plain that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies: for Christ's testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, and also it appeareth by St. Paul, for he saith, that he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that speaketh with the tongue, profiteth himself; he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation. Also he saith, Even so likewise when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air; that is as much to say, in vain. Also he saith, Thou verily givest thanks well, but the

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other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: yet I had rather in the congregation to speak five words with understanding, to the information of others, than ten thousand words with the tongue. Also he saith, Let all things be done to edification. Also it is written in the Psalms, For God is King of all the earth: O sing praises unto him with understanding, &c. So it doth appear, that this Church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words be true, and also the Psalms: therefore this church is not builded upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

"To this 4th article I answer, and I do believe (as I have afore said) that the mass, now used in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ, in his holy supper, instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and riot to have them worshipped, and make an idol of them: for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath: thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. So it appeareth by this commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he saith, no similitude: therefore thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making curtesy, with other like superstition? You would make men to be so blind, that this is no worshipping. Peradventure you will object and say, You do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words be true, as undoubtedly they are: for he saith, But this man, after he hath offered one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his footstool.

"Also he saith, For Christ is not entered into holy places that are made with hands, which are similitudes of true things, but is entered into very heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us, &c. Also, But our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ, &c. For they themselves show of you, what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye returned to God from images, to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus which delivered us from the wrath to come, &c. Also, I went out from the Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father, &c. Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I Come to thee. And these places of the Scripture, with other more, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, &c.

"To this 5th article I answer, that I do believe as I have afore said, that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. Touching my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof, for our Saviour Christ saith, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden: I will ease you, &c. The riotous son saith, I will arise and go to my father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and I am no more worthy to be called thy son, &c. I said I will knowledge mine offences, and accuse myself unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest me the wickedness of my sin, &c. But I will reprove mine own ways in his

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sight: he shall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him. The son of Sirach saith, Who can be cleansed of the unclean? And there was but one of the ten lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks: he asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour: and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation; and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as a heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but unto such time as I do openly, in the congregation, acknowledge my fault. Then the minister hath power, by the word, to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, (chap. xiii.) and Matthew, (chap. xviii.) Other confession I know none.

"To this 6th article, I (the said John Denley) hare answered in the fifth.

"To the 7th article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him,—and others, also, which came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth in Matt. iii., Mark i., and Luke iii.: and in Acts viii., the chamberlain said, See here is water: what letteth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said, Here is water. We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor yet crysom, nor salt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water—and the water was not conjured, but even as it was afore. Also, Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized? &c. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of thenight, and washed their wounds; and so was he baptized, and all they of his household straightway: where ye see nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

"To the 8th article I answer shortly, that there be sacraments no more but two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,—except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

"To the 9th article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already, for it was found about me when I was taken; and also ye know my mind in the 4th article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

"By me.

JOHN DENLEY."

The first day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the consistory in Paul's church, where be proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and answers; and then, tempting them, sometimes with fair promises, otherwhiles with threatenings, which were always his chiefest arguments and reasons to persuade withal. In the end, seeing their unmovable constancy, upon the fifth of July

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he condemned them as heretics, and gave them unto the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; which was for Master Denley, Uxbridge; where, the eighth day of August, he was burned. And being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sung in it a psalm.

Then cruel Dr. Story, being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, whereupon, being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his singing, and clapt both his hands on his face. "Truly," quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, "thou hast marred a good old song."

The said John Denley, being yet still in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at the last his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the martyrdom of Master Denley, at Uxbridge, which was the eighth of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Pakingham at the same town of Uxbridge, about the twenty-eighth of the said month. This Pakingham was charged of Bonner (as ye heard in the tenth article before) for his behaviour showed in the bishop's chapel, who, at the mass time there standing, would not put off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. The said Pakingham also, being much laboured by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth.

### *The story of John Newman, martyr.*



OHN Newman first was apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton, suffragan, and others, at Tenderden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with Master Denley and Pakingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But, because his examination and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first, what his answer was by writing to the said suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall bear by the tenor of his own words, as follow:

"It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation nor corporal

presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but, if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it; and, if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's Grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and no other; and by their diligent setting-forth of it by the king's commandment, and the whole consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful Highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion nor violence; because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

*The examination and answers of John Newman, martyr, before Dr. Thornton and others.*

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench, (either the archdeacon or Faucet, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express,) beginneth, asking in this wise.

*Doctor.*—"How say you to this, This is my body which is given for you?"

*Newman.*—"It is a figurative speech; one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith, I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone, &c. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

*Doctor.*—"This is no figurative speech. For he saith, This is my body which is given for you; and so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech."

*Newman.*—"Christ saith, This cup is the new testament in my blood: if ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup."

*Doctor.*—"Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, 'Drink a cup of drink,' and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

*Newman.*—"Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other."

*Doctor.*—"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, 'Drink a cup of ale or beer;' and therefore it is no figurative speech."

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*Newman.*—"The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wheresoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

*Doctor.*—"Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye by the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

*Newman.*—"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth."

*Doctor.*—"Why, how then doth it feed?"

*Newman.*—"I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ."

*Collins.*—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

*Newman.*—"I grant it to be true; but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

*Collins.*—"Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ; but it was to his damnation."

*Newman.*—"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had both the devil and Christ in him at one time."

*Collins.*—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

*Newman.*—"Yea, and before too. What do ye think? Had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

*Collins.*—"Well, put case it be so: what say you to that?"

*Newman.*—"Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

*Collins.*—"We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

*Newman.*—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

*Thornton.*—"Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell? and ye will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him."

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*Newman.*—"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

*Thornton.*—"Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, he is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

*Newman.*—"Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places."

*Thornton.*—"No? do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

*Newman.*—"I do believe that God is almighty, and may do all that he will do."

*Thornton.*—"Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

*Newman.*—"I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled."

*Thornton.*—"What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; we speak but of things that God doth."

*Newman.*—"Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is?"

*Thornton.*—"Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him."

*Newman.*—"I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God; for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye will say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity, and so ye will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a body indeed."

*Thornton.*—"Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is; but, if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity."

*Newman.*—"I promise you, that it seemeth to me as great a heresy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man; and that were against all the Scriptures."

*Thornton.*—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother not opening the matrix. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone?"

*Newman.*—"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say."

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*Thornton.*—"Lo! how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other."

*Newman.*" The Scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angels of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men."

*Thornton.*—"Ah! fool, fool; that was because the woman should see that was risen again from death."

*Newman.*—"Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too."

*Thornton.*—"Well, let us not stand any longer about this: back again to the real presence. How say ye, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

*Newman.*—"I have answered you already."

*Thornton.*—"Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?"

*Newman.*—"No, I believe it not."

*Thornton.*—"Well, will ye stand to it?"

*Newman.*—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth."

*Thornton.*—"Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

*Newman.*—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, (God I take to witness,) but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my conscience; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man else: therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

"Thornton had many other questions which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest: as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength."

### *The Arguments of John Newman.*

"If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body.

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"The wicked receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not really in the sacrament."

"They which eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.

"The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.

"Ergo, the wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ."

*Argument.*

"They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit: He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit.

"The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness.

"Ergo, They have not Christ's body dwelling in them."

*Argument.*

"Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.

"Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, Do this in remembrance of me, &c.

"Ergo, Christ's body there, is imported to be absent."

"Marry they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them."

And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

*The faith of John Newman, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, who was by occupation a pewterer.*

"The Lord is the protector of my life. The just shall live by faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

"My faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible. And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden. He gave to Adam his commandments and precepts, and said, Whensoever thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die the death. Yet did man, for all this, disobey God his Creator, and after his sin, he fled from God, hid himself, and was in a miserable desperate case. But God, seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all posterity should riot continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's seed should break the

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serpent's head; whereby is meant, that Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, which by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the servant of righteousness, through the faith which he had in the promise of the woman's seed: so did Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, with faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's time. As St. Paul saith, They did eat all of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink: they did drink of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ that saveth us. And when the time was full come, God sent his Son, made of woman, that is, he took flesh of the Virgin Mary, and became man; not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, as some falsely feign, but a very natural man in all points, sin only excepted, which God and man is Christ, the promised woman's seed. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of thirty years and more; and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us the mystery of our redemption, that we, through faith, should eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith, to the end of the world. After this, Christ offered up his body on the cross to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thralldom of the devil, in the which we were, through sin original and actual. And with that one sacrifice of his body once offered on the cross, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified. He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his disciples for the space of forty days after he rose from death. Then, in the sight of all his disciples, he ascended into heaven: and as his disciples stood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into heaven, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come even as ye have seen him go into heaven. St. Peter also saith, that the heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began, be restored again; which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"I do believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is a holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, which holy church or congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places, whereof Christ warneth us; but as St. Paul saith, in heaven, where he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. They set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on the earth; for they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ, which is their life, shall show himself, then shall they also appear with him in glory.

"I believe that there is a communion of saints, even the fellowship of the faithful people which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mind. They follow Christ their Head; they love one another as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ; which church or congregation hath forgiveness of sins through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory: for as Christ, being their Head, hath entered pure and clean, so they, entering by him, shall be like him in glory.

"And I am certain and sure that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead; at whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings. He shall separate the good

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from the bad; he shall say to them which are his elect, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning; but to the others that have always resisted his will, he shall say, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.

"Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all, if I were in doubt of it. This faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praise God for his gifts!"

And thus have ye the martyrdom with the confession of this blessed man, and witness of the Lord's truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Likewise Richard Hook about the same season, and for the same matter, gave his life at Chichester.

**303. William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere.**

*The examinations, answers, and condemnation of six martyrs, in Kent, viz., William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere, before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.*

Mention was made a little before in the story of Master Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish men, who being, the same time with them, called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover, Nicholas Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins; yet notwithstanding, because the condemnation and execution of them were deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August, (coming therefore now to the time of their suffering,) we will briefly touch some part of their examinations and answers as we find them in the registers. The names of these were William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. What the articles objected to Master Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which articles they answered for themselves severally, in effect as followeth.

First William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it; and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the eleventh of July.

William Hopper first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the catholic church. After calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the sixteenth of July.

Henry Laurence examined the said sixteenth of July, and partly deferred to the second of August, answered to the articles objected against him, first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament, "because," saith he, "the order of the Holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament."

Moreover, the said Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and did reverence to the same: the said Laurence answering in these words, "What!" said he, "ye shall not need to put off your cap; for it is not so holy that you need put off your cap thereunto."

Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, &c.: adding, moreover, that as he had said before, so he saith still, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion; and contrary he knoweth not. At last, being required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, "Ye are all of antichrist, and him ye fol." And here his hand was stayed to write any further: belike he would have written out "follow," &c. And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the second of August.

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Richard Colliar above mentioned, having the sixteenth of August to appear, examined of the sacrament of the popish altar, answered and said, that he did not believe, that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine; and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked, to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he condemned the sixteenth of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm: wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright the same place and day, being the sixteenth of August, appearing, and required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered again, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid.

William Stere of the aforesaid parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said sixteenth day of August, where he, in the said chapter-house of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, that he should command his dogs, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no authority to sit against him in judgment, and asked where his authority was. Who then showed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he said. William Stere, denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick said also he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alleging that the archbishop of Canterbury (who then was in prison) was his diocesan, urged him to show his authority from the archbishop, or else he denied his authority to be sufficient. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not (he said) in the Scripture; and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

And moreover the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he said that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the judge that he was a bloody man, &c.) the sentence was pronounced against him; after which sentence being read, he said that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was, &c.

And thus these six heavenly martyrs and witness-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan and the archdeacon of Canterbury, Master Collins and Master Faucet, were burned all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes and one fire, about the latter end of August.

The copy of their sentence condemnatory, you may find above in the story of John Rogers; for the papists, in all their condemnations, follow one manner of sentence of course, commonly, against all that be condemned through their unmerciful tyranny.

### 304. The Persecution of Ten Martyrs Together, Sent By Certain of The Council To Bonner To Be Examined.



AFTER the burning of these six above named, next followeth the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord; not such saints as the pope maketh, or which are mentioned in *Legenda Sanctorum*, or in *Vitis Patrum*, or in the fabulous book *De Vita Sanctorum Wallensium*, &c.; but such as are spoken of in the holy *Apocalypse*, of whom it is written, These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb, &c. Thus these saints be not of the pope's making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the pope's making; of the pope's making (I say) in this respect, not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God

are tried and declared by the pope: so, as by afflictions of Satan, Job's patience was proved; by Pharaoh, God's power declared; and by Salinator, Tarentum was won (as Tully writeth); for except he had lost it before, Quintus Fabius could not have recovered it: so, in like manner, unless by antichrist good men had been destroyed, otherwise they had not been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these ten martyrs, sent by the commissioners, were, Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be replenished with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make ready despatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named to be sent with their letter directed to Bonner, bishop of London, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Essex; Thomas Fust, hosier; Robert Smith, painter; Stephen Harwood, brewer; George Tankerfield, cook; Elizabeth Warne; Joan Lashford of London, sacramentaries; all which we desire your Lordship to examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws: praying your Lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hand. And thus most heartily fare your Lordship well.—

From London this second of July.

"Your Lordship's loving friends.

Nich. Hare.

Will. Roper.

Rich. Rede.

Will. Cooke."

### 305. Elizabeth Warne.

*The history of Elizabeth Warne, widow; burnt at Stratford Bow.*

Now severally to prosecute the stories of these ten martyrs aforementioned, first we will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, who in this month of August was burnt at Stratford Bow, nigh unto London, widow, late the wife of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who also was burned in the end of the month of May last past, as before in his story is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow Churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Compter, (as is also above specified,) where she lay as prisoner until the eleventh day of June; at which time she was brought into Newgate, and remained there in the like case unto the second day of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners unto Bonner, bishop of London, who, the sixth day of the same month, caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace; and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as of common order be ministered unto the poor saints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chiefest ground and profitablest foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, for despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, "Do what ye will; for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer, she was, the twelfth day of the same month of July, adjudged and condemned as a heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the clergy's appointment) put to death, which thing was accomplished in her the same month above mentioned.

The chief procurer of this her death was Dr. Story, being (as it is thought) of some alliance either to her, (the said Elizabeth,) or else to her late husband: who, though he was, at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman, a very earnest suitor for her deliverance to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commissioners in matters of religion, (himself being as yet not made commissioner,) and had by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present, as Dr. Martin himself (the author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Story, obtaining now the room of one of the commissioners, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that devout catholic and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred, nor any other consideration, could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or else rid his poor church from such a hydra, as, thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

### 306. George Tankerfield

George Tankerfield of London, cook, born in the city of York, about the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, was in King Edward's days a very papist, till the time Queen Mary came in; and then, perceiving the great cruelty used of the pope's side, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case, at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or not: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which, according to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same. And so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry; and so he came no more to their doings. And not only that, but also this lively faith, saith he, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to convert and turn to the truth with him; and thus he began to be smelled out among them, till at last he was sent for as followeth.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick; and, on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to see the shooters. In the mean season came Beard home to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a banquet at the Lord Paget's. The wife, because of his apparel, (which was very brave,) took him to be some honest gentleman, and with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband, having a good hope he should now earn some money: and, lest this gentleman should be annoyed with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion to set him soft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband; who, when he heard it, said, "A banquet, woman! Indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh; but God's will be done." And, when he came home, he saw who it was, and called him by his name; which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, she, like a tall woman, would play Peter's part, and instead of a sword, took a spit, and had run him through, had not the constable, which Beard had sent for by his man, come in withal, who rescued him; yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, anno 1555, by the said Beard, yeoman of the guard, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, constable of St. Dunstan's in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley, knight, and by Dr. Martin.

Tankerfield, thus being brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the other above named, was brought to his examination before Bonner; who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and positions unto him; the copy and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may read above expressed.



**The Arrest of George Tankerfield**

"To these articles, as above rehearsed, he answered again, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, &c.: First, that he was not confessed to any priest five years past, nor to any other but only to God; and further denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any priest, for that he found it not in Christ's book, and took it only to be a council.

"And concerning the sacrament, commonly called, here in England, of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ; because that the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father.

"And moreover he said, that the mass now used in the Church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism and the supper of the Lord, &c. And to these assertions, he said, he would stand: and so he did to the end."

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his professed opinion, (which they called damnable and heretical,) he,

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notwithstanding, resisted all contrary persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form of words "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my Lord, can repel them by Scriptures; and I care not for your divinity, for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner then used (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover, that the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the bishop, spake to the people, saying, "Good people, beware of him, and such as he is; for these be the people that deceive you," &c.

These, with other words more, he spake; whereupon the bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

And so this blessed servant of God was had to St. Alban's, and there with much patience and constancy ended his life, the twenty-sixth day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victory.

*Certain notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer martyrdom at St. Alban's.*

"Imprimis, he was brought unto St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, Master Edward Brocket, esquire, and one Pulter of Hitchen, which was under sheriff.

"Item, their inn was the Cross-keys, where there was great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner: among the which multitude some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise some there were which said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions: and others, both old women and men, cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting of their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

"Item, there came unto him a certain schoolmaster, which retained unto Sir Thomas Pope, knight. This man had a certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming towards St. Alban's, as touching their sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, &c. And so he departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

"Item, when the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it ministered unto him by others in such manner as Christ commanded; and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord

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with all which were in the chamber with him. And after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, 'O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word,' &c. And when he had spoken these and such-like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

"Item, when some of his friends willed him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

"Item, he prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber: he had so, and then he, sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame; and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another way. The flesh said, 'O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needest not?' The spirit said, 'Be not afraid, for this is nothing, in respect of fire eternal.' The flesh said, 'Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing.' The spirit said, 'The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly fiends.' The flesh said, 'Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer.' The spirit said, 'This life is nothing unto the life in heaven, which lasteth for ever,' &c. And all this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day; and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly entreated of his host; and, considering that his time was short, his saying was, that although the day was never so long, yet at the last it ringeth to even-song.

"Item, about two of the clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place nigh unto the west end of the abbey church: unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

"Item, while the faggots were set about him, there came a priest unto him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said, 'I defy the whore of Babylon; I defy the whore of Babylon: fie on that abominable idol. Good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him.' And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and said, 'Good brother, be strong in Christ:' this he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, 'O sir, I thank you, I am so; I thank God.' Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him; the most part did so. And so, embracing the fire, he hathed himself in it, and, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain," &c.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

After the martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old women who did blasphemously say, that the devil was so strong with him and all such heretics as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, nor yet be sorry for their sins.

### 307. Robert Smith

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the fifth of November, in the first and second year of the king and queen, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard, of the queen's side, by the commandment of the council. This Smith first gave himself unto service in the house of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provost of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pound a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which, many times, rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre, he did practise and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at the coming of Queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

*The first examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Bonner, &c.*

"About nine o'clock in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house; and I, first of all, was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name."

*Bonner.*—"How long is it ago since the time that ye were confessed to any priest?"

*Smith.*—"Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God, to come to show my faults to any of that sinful number, whom ye call priests."

*Bonner.*—"Thou showest thyself, even at the first chop, to be a rank heretic, which, being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy."

*Smith.*—"Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet, I praise God, I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same, but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit."

*Bonner.*—"How long is it ago since ye received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?"

*Smith.*—"I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withal."

*Bonner.*—"Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?"

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*Smith.*—"I showed you before, it was none of God's ordinances, as ye use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet, nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be the body that ye spake of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth."

"Then, after many raging words and vain objections, Bonner said there was no remedy but I must be burned."

*Smith.*—"Ye shall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good; for your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame."

"Then, after much ado, and many railing sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination, 'Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shriven, I will tear this paper in pieces.' To which I answered, It would be too much to his shame to show it to men of discretion.

"After which answer I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined; and then, being again brought up before the said bishop, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these articles following."

*Bonner.*—"What say you to the catholic church? Do ye not confess there is one in earth?"

*Smith.*—"Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apostle saith, is builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone; which church, in all her words and works, maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority; and without, it doth nothing, nor ought to do; of which I am assured I am by grace made a member."

*Bonner.*—"Ye shall understand, that I am bound, when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation. Now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?"

*Smith.*—"It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to congregate in houses and privy places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God: and, seeing they had their matters redressed, being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?"

*Bonner.*—"Yea, their church was known full well; for St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife; whereby we may well perceive it was a known church, but yours is not known."

*Smith.*—"Then could you not persecute it as ye do: but as ye say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which ye

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persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know, their truth and conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season."

*Bonner.*—"Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when Paul wrote unto them; and so will I put in writing, shall I?"

*Smith.*—"I do marvel greatly, my Lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me: first, to make me confess that the Church of England is not the church of Christ: secondly, to say it is not known: thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop: for if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him."

"Well, friend," quoth one of my Lord's chaplains, "you are no innocent, as it appeareth."

*Smith.*—"By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain."

"Well," quoth my Lord, laughing, "tell me, how sayest thou of the church?"

*Smith.*—"I told you whereupon the true church is builded, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also in *omnem terram*, as it is written, Their sound is gone forth into all lands; and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more, which also communicate in that holy Spirit."

*Bonner.*—"What call ye catholic, and what call you church?"

*Smith.*—"Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity."

"Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake all one thing: whereof I praised God, and was sent again to a garden, where after a while, as my brother Harwood and I had been together, cometh one of my Lord's chaplains, that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were not a prisoner."

*Smith.*—"I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus."

*Doctor.*—"I do much desire to talk with you, lovingly, because ye are a man that I much lament," with many other sweet words.

"To which I answered, *Sub melle latet venenum*. And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught. To which the doctor answered, 'What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spat in his face?'"

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*Smith.*—"If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we, being his friends, throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then, by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall have a most plenteous salvation."

"Then started the doctor away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between our soul and the body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, the doors being shut?"

*Smith.*—"Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the door: for that mighty God that brought the disciples out of prisons, which yet, when search came, were found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him; and so can we not say ye do, neither is he in more than in one place at once. At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my Lord's hall, where we were baited of my Lord's band, almost all the day, until our keeper, seeing their disorder, shut us up all in a fair chamber, while my Lord went into his synagogue to condemn Master Denley and John Newman. Then brought they up my Lord Mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I, first of all, was called into the chamber, where my Lord intended to sup; where my Lord Mayor, being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was walking on every side: I, standing before them as an outcast. Which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt. But, after my Lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I said not as was written?"

*Smith.*—"That I have said, I have said; and what I have said, I do mean utterly."

*Bonner.*—"Well, my Lord Mayor, your Lordship hath heard somewhat, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death: yet nevertheless, forasmuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me 'Bloody Bonner,' whereas God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have stayed him from the consistory this day, whither I might have brought him justly; and yet here, before your Lordship, I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed despatch him out of trouble; and this I profess before your Lordship and all this audience."

*Smith.*—"Why, my Lord, do ye put on this fair visor before my Lord Mayor, to make him believe that ye seek not my blood, to cloak your murders through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his body? And not only of him, but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the queen's Majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints ye have showed so little mercy, shall it seem to my Lord and this audience, that ye show me more favour? No, no, my Lord. But if ye mean as ye say, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to answer you unto?"

*Bonner.*—"Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?"

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*Smith.*—"I have answered, that it is none of God's order, neither any sacrament, but man's own vain invention;" and showed him the Lord's institution.

"But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc est corpus meum*, to lay in my dish, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life; at which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my Lord's mouth, saying, 'I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things showed, that is to say, his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding.'"

*Smith.*—"Ye falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the showing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Saviour saith, So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me. And St. Paul saith, So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come. And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread."

"Then up rose my Lord, and went to the table, where my Lord Mayor desired me to save my soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried. At this I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the rest of my friends were examined; and so were we sent away with many foul farewells to Newgate again, my Lord Bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo."

*Another examination of Robert Smith before the said bishop, &c.*

"Upon Saturday at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth:—"

*Bonner.*—"Thou, Robert Smith, &c., sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth."

*Smith.*—"Ye have heard me both speak the contrary, and ye have written as a witness of the same."

*Bonner.*—"Yea, but I must ask thee this question: how sayest thou?"

*Smith.*—"Must ye of necessity begin with a lie? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same: but there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if ye will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven; and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus."

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*Bonner.*—"Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be shriven of the priest?"

*Smith.*—"It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday: but if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain."

*Bonner.*—"Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed so to say?"

*Smith.*—"I speak by experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For, first, it hath been, we see, a bewrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who, being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls' health."

"And, for ensample, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was some time a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience, through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave unto Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him; the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the council, how, by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Master Gresham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said, 'By the mass, if the queen's Majesty were of his mind, I should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied unto the same, and so should be thrown into the water.'

"To which I answered again, saying, 'I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation: for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly; record of Master Hun, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and said the same Hun to have hanged himself: and also a good brother of yours, a bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom because he saw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be snarled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers, and, bringing him before the people, said the rats had eaten him. Thus, according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions."

*Bonner.*—"Ah! ye are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths."

*Smith.*—"Yes, my Lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification; and this is no lie." Then made he his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such sums as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in Master Mordant, knight, and sat

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down to hear my examination. Then said my Lord, "How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of," &c.

*Smith.*—"I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church; but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them."

*Bonner.*—"Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?"

*Smith.*—"First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order."

*Bonner.*—"By the mass, this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard speak."

*Smith.*—"Well sworn, my Lord; ye keep a good watch."

*Bonner.*—"Well, Master Comptroller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee."

"By my troth, my Lord," quoth Master Mordant, "I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my Lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disalloweth therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no Christian man will deny."

*Smith.*—"That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants."

*Bonner.*—"I believe (I tell thee) that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned."

*Smith.*—"Ye shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my Lord, show me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?"

*Bonner.*—"By both."

*Smith.*—"Then the water died for our sins; and so must ye say, that the water hath life; and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my Lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?"

*Bonner.*—"Why, how understandest thou the Scriptures? Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And again, Suffer, saith our Saviour, these children to come unto me: and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou letttest them to come unto Christ."

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*Smith.*—"Whereas ye allege St. John, Except a man, &c., and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins, I will send you to St. Paul, which asketh of the Galatians, Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith? And there concludeth, that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now, if baptism preach to me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher, and not a Saviour. And whereas ye say, I let the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words, that ye let them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessity of water. For he saith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water; and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And so brought I out many other ensamples, to make manifest, that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in ensamples out of Scriptures for the same."

*Bonner.*—"Then thou makest the water of none effect: and then put away water."

*Smith.*—"It is not," saith St. Peter, "the washing-away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience consenteth unto God. And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in Acts viii., that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism, it is written that John had the Holy Ghost in his mother's womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the queen of Candace's servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghost before baptism. Yea, and although your generation have set at nought the word of God, and like swine turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and, to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked."

*Mordant.*—"By our Lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned."

*Bonner.*—"Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Master Mordant."

*Smith.*—"Well, my Lord, such catholic, such salvation."

*Bonner.*—"Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?"

*Smith.*—"Ye may call it the sacrament of misorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my Lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not so disfigure yourself as ye do."

*Bonner.*—"Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself, to anger thee withal:" and so sent for his barber, who immediately came. And before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went to answer to these articles.

*Bonner.*—"What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?"

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*Smith.*—"I say, they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse." Then went away Master Mordant, and my Lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to assay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, "Where were all you, in the days of King Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?"

*Doctor.*—"We were in England."

*Smith.*—"Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John. Ye show yourselves now as full of malice as ye may be; for ye have for every time a visor; yea, and if another King Edward should arise, ye would then say, 'Down with the pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels.'"

"Then was I all-to reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again to come before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession? To whom I answered, 'Look in mine articles, and they shall show you what I allow.'"

*Doctor.*—"Your articles confess, that you allow not auricular confession."

*Smith.*—"I allow it not, because the Word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it."

*Doctor.*—"Why, it is written, Thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences."

*Smith.*—"No more do I, when I confess them to Almighty God."

*Doctor.*—"Why, ye cannot say that ye can hide them from God; and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them."

*Smith.*—"Ye have made a good answer: then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him; for I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if ye confess you to the priest, and not unto God, ye shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them."

*Doctor.*—"What did they that came to John to be baptized?"

*Smith.*—"They came and confessed their sins unto Almighty God."

*Doctor.*—"And not unto John?"

*Smith.*—"If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove, yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation."

*Doctor.*—"Why, John was alone in the wilderness."

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*Smith.*—"Why, and yet the Scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as ye say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, because he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confession, ye never heard it allowed by the word; for the prophet David maketh his confession unto God, and saith, I will confess my sins unto the Lord. Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the forefathers, did even so. For the Lord hath said, Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, seek, with such-like; and this is the word of God. Now bring somewhat of the word, to help yourself withal." Then they raged, and called me dog, and said I was damned.

*Smith.*—"Nay, ye are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men; for here I have been baited these two days, of my Lord and his great bulls of Basan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the rest of his band."

"With this came my Lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him?"

*Smith.*—"Forsooth, ye are even as wise as ye were before ye were shaven."

*Bonner.*—"How standeth it, Master Doctors, have ye done any good?"

*Doctor.*—"No, by my troth, my Lord, we can do no good."

*Smith.*—"Then it is fulfilled which is written, How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

*Bonner.*—"Nay, naughty fellow; I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ."

*Smith.*—"Such gentlemen, such Christs; and as truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ."

*Bonner.*—"Well, wilt thou neither hear them, nor me?"

*Smith.*—"Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you."

*Bonner.*—"Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn."

*Smith.*—"And ye shall burn in hell, if ye repent not. But, my Lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not, with your doctors, come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace; for I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass."

"Then, after many railing sentences, I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it; that ye may see

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how the Lord hath, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard."

*The last examination of Robert Smith, with his condemnation in the consistory.*

"The twelfth of July I was with my brethren brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants; to which I answered, as followeth:"

*Bonner.*—"By my faith, my Lord Mayor, I have showed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company."

"At this word, which he coupled with an oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, said, 'My Lord, it is written, Ye must not swear.'"

*Bonner.*—"Ah, Master Comptroller, are ye come? Lo, my Lord Mayor, this is Master Speaker," pointing to my brother Tankerfield, "and this is Master Comptroller," pointing to me.

"And then, beginning to read my articles, he persevered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my Lord Mayor, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, 'No.' To whom I answered: 'My Lord Mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it and I told it, and then shall you hear the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is untrue.'"

*Bonner.*—"How say you, good Master Mordant, spake he not this here, as it is written? were ye not by?"

*Mordant.*—"Yes, my Lord; that it is: I heard him say it."

*Smith.*—"How heard ye me say it, and were not present when I spake it? Should such a man make a lie? It is manifestly proved that the prophet saith: Even as the king saith, so saith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again."

"And so was brought out my jailer for trial thereof, who there openly professed, that neither Master Mordant, nor the doctors before mentioned, were present when I spake it. At which Master Mordant, with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read and heard me affirm the same; which was also not true.

"Then proceeded my Lord, with the rest of mine articles, demanding of me, if I said not as was written. To which I answered, 'No:' and turning to my Lord Mayor, I said, 'I require you, my Lord Mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here, before your presence, answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have the probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said, or will say, be to be proved (as my Lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever ye shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same.'"

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*Mayor.*—"Why, Smith, thou canst not deny, but this thou saidst."

*Smith.*—"Yes, my Lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from, the same: but what I have spoken, I will never deny."

*Mayor.*—"Why, thou spakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar."

*Smith.*—"I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same; and if my Lord here, or any of his doctors, be able to approve either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error."

"Then spake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of those things, which they called heresy: to the which the bishop answered, 'By my troth, Master Speaker, ye shall preach at a stake.'"

*Smith.*—"Well sworn, my Lord, ye keep a good watch."

*Bonner.*—"Well, Master Comptroller, I am no saint."

*Smith.*—"No, my Lord, nor yet good bishop; for a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a dedicate vessel unto God. And are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemers, condemning innocents?"

*Bonner.*—"Well, Master Comptroller, ye are faultless."

*Smith.*—"My Lord Mayor, I require you, in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many of innocents that are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, which being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who, being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. For a city, saith our Saviour, that is builded on a hill, cannot be hid: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light; for all that well do, come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light."

"Then my Lord Mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried, with the bishop, Away with me."

"Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none: and at length my friends, requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had sentence; and then, being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man severally given. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, 'My Lord, ye fill the people's ears with phantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but, if ye were a true bishop, ye should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.'"

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*Bonner.*—"Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Master Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath here with great disdain forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?"

*Smith.*—"My Lord, if your chancellor shall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that ye have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon."

"Then began the sentence, *In Dei nomine*. To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience' sake. To the which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, 'Away with him.' Then I turned me to the mayor, and said, 'Is it not enough for you, my Lord Mayor, and ye that are the sheriffs, that ye have left the straight way of the Lord, but that ye must condemn Christ causeless?'"

*Bonner.*—"Well, Master Comptroller, now ye cannot say but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now I pray thee, call me 'bloody bishop,' and say, I seek thy blood."

*Smith.*—"Well, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation, do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden."

*Bonner.*—"Away with him! away with him!"

*Woodrofe.*—"Away with him! take him away!"

*Smith.*—"Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my Lord Mayor, forasmuch as here ye have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, that shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will."—And then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried away to Newgate.

"Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England! requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and spirit of boldness; who hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the eighth of August, by God's grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you.

"ROBERT SMITH."



**Smith and his Companions in Newgate**

Thus hast thou, good reader, not only to note, but also to follow, in this man, a singular example of Christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Master's cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so was he no less comfortable also in the prison among his fellows; which also is to be observed no less in his other prison-fellows, who, being there together cast in an outward house within Newgate, had godly conference within themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they, to their great comfort, used in that house together; amongst whom this foresaid Smith was a chief doer: whose industry was always solicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to dehort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his religion. Divers letters he wrote there in prison to sundry his friends, partly in metre, and partly in prose, And first in metre as followeth.

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"O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil."

"The God that giveth life and light, and leadeth into rest,  
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out the poor that are opprest,  
And keepeth mercy for the meek, his treasure and his store:  
Increase thy life in perfect love, both now and evermore.  
That as thou hast begun to ground in faith and fervent love,  
Thou may'st be made a mighty mount, that never may remove.  
That thine ensample may be showed among all thine increase;  
That they may live and learn the like, and pass their time in peace.  
Thy salutations that were sent, I heartily retain;  
And send thee seventy times as much, to thee and thine again.  
And now because I know the gold is fined in the fire,  
I send thee here a paper full, that thou dost most desire,  
In hope thou wilt accept it well, although it be but small,  
Because I have none other good, to make amends withal.  
For all thy free and friendly facts, which thy good will hath wrought,  
I send thee surely, for a shift, the thing that cost me nought.  
Abstain from all ungodliness, in dread direct your days,  
Possess not sin in any wise, beware of wicked ways.  
Hold fast your faith unfeignedly, build as you have begun,  
And arm yourself in perfect faith, to do as ye have done,  
Lest that the wicked make a mock, that ye have taken in hand,  
In leaving of the perfect rock, to build upon the sand.  
Beware these filthy Pharisees; their building is in blood:  
Eat not with them in any wise; their leaven is not good.  
Their salt is all unsavoury; and under good intents  
They maintain all their knavery, and murder innocents.  
They seek to sit in Christ his seat, and put him out of place;  
And make all means that may be made, his doings to deface.  
They keep him down with bills and bats, that made the blind to see:  
They make a god for mice and rats, and say the same is he.  
They show like sheep, and sweat like wolves, their baits be all for blood:  
They kill and slay the simple souls, and rob them of their good.  
The dark illusions of the devil have dimmed so their eyes,  
That they cannot abide the truth to stir in any wise.  
And if ye keep the perfect path, (as I have hope you do,)  
Ye shall be sure to have such shame, as they may put you to.  
For all that lead a godly life, shall surely suffer loss;  
And eke the world will seek their shame, and make them kiss the cross.  
Ye shall be killed all, saith Christ, your sorrows shall not cease:  
And yet, in your afflictions, I am your perfect peace.  
For in the world ye shall have woe, because ye are unknown;  
And for because ye hate the world, the world will love his own.  
Be fervent therefore to the death, against all their decrees;  
And God shall surely fight for thee against thine enemies.  
Commit your cause unto the Lord: revenge not any evil,  
And thou shalt see the wicked want, when thou shalt have thy will.  
For all afflictions that may fall, that they can say or do,  
They are not sure of the wealth, we shall attain unto.  
For I have seen the sinners spread their branches like a bay,

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And yet, ere one could turn his head, were withered clean away.  
Beware that money make ye not in riches to arise  
Against the goodness of the Lord, among the worldly wise.  
For many mischiefs it hath made, that may not be exprest;  
And many evils it hath begun, which may not be redrest.  
For money maketh many a one, in riches to rebel;  
And he that maketh gold a god, he hath a soul to sell.  
It maketh kings to kill and slay, and waste their wits in war,  
In leaving of the wolf at home, to hunt the fox afar.  
And where they should see justice done, and set their realm in rest  
By money they be made a mean to see the poor opprest.  
It maketh lords obey the laws, that they do ill and naught;  
It maketh bishops suck the blood, that God hath dearly bought;  
And where they should be faithful friends, and fathers to their flock,  
By money they do turn about, even like a weathercock.  
The priest doth make a money mean, to have again his whores,  
To put away his wedded wife, and children out of doors.  
It holdeth back the husbandman, which may not be forborne,  
And will not suffer him to sow, and cast abroad his corn.  
In like case it doth let again, when that the seed they sow;  
It choketh up the corn again, so that it cannot grow.  
The husband he would have a wife with nobles new and old:  
The wife would have the husband hanged, that she might have his gold.  
It maketh murderers many a one, and beareth much with blood:  
The child would see the parents slain, to seize upon their good.  
And though it be a blessed thing, created in the kind,  
It is a necessary e'il, annexed to the mind.  
For whoso playeth with the pitch, his fingers are defiled;  
And he that maketh gold a god, shall sorely be beguiled.  
Be friendly to the fatherless, and all that are opprest:  
Assist them always out of hand, and see them set at rest.  
In all your doings and your deeds let mercy still remain;  
For with the measure that ye mete, shall ye be mette again.  
Be always lowly in your life, let love enjoy her own:  
The highest trees are seldom sure, and soonest overthrown.  
The lions lack and suffer sore, in hunger and in thirst;  
And they that do oppress the poor, continue still accurst.  
The bee is but a little beast in body or in sight,  
And yet she bringeth more increase, than either crow or kite.  
Therefore beware in any wise, keep well your watch alway:  
Be sure of oil within your lamp, let not your light decay.  
For death despiseth them that lack, and hateth them that have,  
And treadeth down the rich and poor together in the grave.  
Exhort your children to be chaste, rebuke them for their ill,  
And let them not at any wise be wedded to their will.  
Laugh not with them, but keep them low; show them no merry cheer,  
Lest thou do weep with them also; but bring them up in fear,  
And let your light and living shine, that ye be not suspect,  
To have the same within yourself, for which they are correct.  
Be meek and modest in a mean: let all your deeds be done,  
That they which are without the law, may see how right ye run.

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Keep well the member in your mouth, your tongue see that ye tame;  
For out of little sparks of fire proceedeth out a flame.  
E'en so by baptism ye are born, to live with Christ again.  
Thus farewell, free and faithful friend: the Lord that is above  
Increase in thee a perfect faith, and lead thee in his love.  
And as I pray with perfect love, and pour out bitter tears  
For you and all that are at large abroad among the briers:  
E'en so I pray thee to prefer my person and my bands,  
Unto the everlasting God that hath me in his hands.  
That I may pass out of this pond, wherein I am opprest;  
Enclosed in a clod of clay, that here can have no rest.  
That as he hath begun in me his mercies many one,  
I may attain to overtake my brethren that be gone.  
That when the death shall do his worst where he shall point a place,  
I may be able like a man to look him in the face.  
For though he catch away my cloak, my body into dust,  
Yet sure am I to have a soul, when death hath done his worst.  
And though I leave a little dust dissolved out of blood,  
I shall receive it safe again, when God shall see it good.  
For my Redeemer, I am sure, doth live for evermore,  
And sitteth high upon the heavens, for whom I hunger sore:  
Even as the deer with deadly wounds escaped from the spoil,  
Doth haste by all the means he may, to seek unto the soil.  
Of whom I hope to have a crown, that always shall remain;  
And eke enjoy a perfect peace, for all my woe and pain.  
The God that giveth all increase, and seeketh still to save,  
Abound in thee that perfect peace, which I do hope to have!  
And I beseech the living God to hold thee in his hands;  
And wish thee, e'en with all my heart, the blessing of my bands;  
Which I esteem of higher price than pearl or precious stone,  
And shall endure for evermore, when earthly things are gone.  
For though the fire do consume our treasure and our store,  
Yet shall the goodness of the Lord endure for evermore.  
And where thou art a friend to him that is to me full dear,  
That God of might make thee amends, when all men shall appear,  
That hath showed mercy to the meek, and rid them out of pain;  
And thus the Lord possess thy spirit, till we do meet again.

"If thou wilt have a recompence,  
Abide still in obedience."

*The exhortation of Robert Smith unto his children, commonly set out in the name of Master Rogers.*

"Give ear, my children, to my words, whom God hath dearly bought:  
Lay up my law within your heart, and print it in your thought.  
For I your father have foreseen the frail and filthy way,  
Which flesh and blood would follow fain, even to their own decay.  
For all and every living beast their crib do know full well;  
But Adam's heirs, above the rest, are ready to rebel.

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And all the creatures on the earth, full well can keep their way,  
But man, above all other beasts, is apt to go astray.  
For earth and ashes is his strength, his glory and his reign,  
And unto ashes, at the length, shall he return again.  
For flesh doth flourish like a flower, and grow up like a grass,  
And is consumed in an hour, as it is brought to pass  
In me the image of your years, your treasure and your trust,  
Whom ye do see before your face, dissolved into dust.  
For, as you see your father's flesh converted into clay,  
Even so shall ye, my children dear, consume and wear away;  
The sun and moon, and eke the stars, that serve the day and night,  
The earth and every earthly thing, shall be consumed quite.  
And all the worship that is wrought that have been heard or seen,  
Shall clean consume and come to nought, as it had never been.  
Therefore, that ye may follow me, your father and your friend,  
And enter into that same life, which never shall have end,  
I leave you here a little book, for you to look upon,  
That you may see your father's face, when I am dead and gone;  
Who, for the hope of heavenly things, while he did here remain,  
Gave over all his golden years, in prison and in pain.  
Where I, among mine iron bands, enclosed in the dark,  
But a few days before my death, did dedicate this work  
To you mine heirs of earthly things which I have left behind,  
That ye may read and understand, and keep it in your mind:  
That as you have been heirs of that which once shall wear away,  
Even so ye may possess the part which never shall decay,  
In following of your father's foot, in truth and eke in love;  
That ye may also be his heirs for evermore above.  
And, in example to your youth, to whom I wish all good,  
I preach you here a perfect faith, and seal it with my blood.  
Have God always before your eyes in all your whole intents:  
Commit not sin in any wise, keep his commandements.  
Abhor that arrant whore of Rome, and all her blasphemies;  
And drink not of her decretals, nor yet of her decrees.  
Give honour to your mother dear, remember well her pain;  
And recompense her in her age, in like with love again;  
Be always aiding at her hand, and let her not decay:  
Remember well your father's fall, that should have been her stay.  
Give of your portion to the poor, as riches do arise;  
And from the needy naked soul turn not away your eyes.  
For he that will not hear the cry of such as are in need,  
Shall cry himself, and not be heard when he would hope to speed.  
If God have given you great increase, and blessed well your store,  
Remember ye are put in trust, to minister the more.  
Beware of foul and filthy lust; let whoredom have no place;  
Keep clean your vessels in the Lord, that he may you embrace.  
Ye are the temples of the Lord, for ye are dearly bought,  
And they that do defile the same, shall surely come to nought.  
Possess not pride in any case, build not your nests too high,  
But have always before your face, that ye be born to die.  
Defraud not him that hired is, your labours to sustain,

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But give him always out of hand, his penny for his pain.  
And as ye would that other men against you should proceed,  
Do ye the same again to them, when they do stand in need.  
And part your portion with the poor, in money and in meat,  
And feed the fainted feeble soul, with that which ye should eat.  
That when your members lacketh meat and clothing to your back,  
Ye may the better think on them, that now do live and lack.  
Ask counsel also at the wise; give ear unto the end;  
Refuse not you the sweet rebuke of him that is your friend.  
Be thankful always to the Lord, with prayer and with praise;  
Desire you him in all your deeds, for to direct your ways;  
And sin not like that swinish sort, whose bellies, being fed,  
Consume their years upon the earth from belly unto bed.  
Seek first, I say, the living God; set him always before;  
And then be sure that he will bless your basket and your store.  
And thus if you direct your days according to this book,  
Then shall they say, that see your ways, how like me you do look.  
And when you have so perfectly, upon your fingers' ends,  
Possessed all within your book, then give it to your friends.  
And I beseech the living God, replenish you with grace,  
That I may have you in the heavens, and see you face to face.  
And though the sword have cut me off contrary to my kind,  
That I could not enjoy your love according to my mind,  
Yet do I hope, when that the heavens shall vanish like a scroll,  
I shall receive your perfect shape, in body and in soul;  
And that I may enjoy your love, and ye enjoy the land,  
I do beseech the living God to hold you in his hand.  
Farewell, my children, from the world, where ye must yet remain:  
The Lord of hosts be your defence, till we do meet again.  
Farewell, my love, and loving wife, my children and my friends:  
I hope to God to have you all, when all things have their ends.  
And if you do abide in God, as ye have now begun,  
Your course I warrant will be short; ye have not far to run.  
God grant you so to end your years as he shall think it best;  
That ye may enter into heaven, where I do hope to rest."

*Written at the request of a lady in her book.*

"If you will walk the way that Christ hath you assigned,  
Then learn this little verse, which I have left behind.  
Be fervent in the truth, although it bear the blame;  
And eke apply your youth, to stick unto the same;  
That when the age is come, and death begins to call,  
The truth maybe your staff to stay you up withal.  
And though it bring rebuke, and cause you kiss the cross,  
Yet is it a reward, to all that suffer loss:  
For here we do lay out the things that be but vain,  
But we are sure to reap the things that do remain.  
For all that ye do lose is but a sinful slime,  
And like unto a rose, that tarrieth but a time.

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But if ye carry Christ, and walk the perfect way,  
Ye shall possess the gold, that never shall decay;  
And all your father's goods shall be your recompence,  
If ye confess the word with double diligence,  
Not only for to hear his pure and perfect word,  
But also to embrace the fire, and eke the sword.  
And if ye keep this path, and do not run a-crook,  
Then shall ye meet the man that writ this in your book,  
In that eternal joy that always shall remain.  
Thus, farewell faithful friend, till we do meet again."

### *Legem pone.*

"Teach me, O Lord, to walk thy ways, my living to amend,  
And I shall keep it all my days, even to my life's end.  
Give me a mind to understand, so shall I never start;  
But I shall keep all thy precepts, even wholly with my heart.  
Make me to go a perfect pace in that I have begun;  
For all my love and my delight, is in thy ways to run.  
Incline my heart unto thy ways; set thou thereon my thought;  
And let me not consume my days, to covet that is naught.  
O quicken me in all thy ways, the world for to despise;  
And from all fond and foolish toys, turn thou away mine eyes.  
O plant in me thy perfect word, which is to me so dear;  
Lay up thy laws within my heart, to keep me still in fear;  
And rid me of that great rebuke which I do fear full sore,  
For all thy judgments and thy laws endure for evermore.  
Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts, is all my whole delight:  
O quicken me in all thy ways, that I may walk aright.

### *To his brother.*

"As nature doth me bind, because thou art my blood,  
According to my kind to give thee of my good,  
That thou may'st have in mind how I have run my race,  
Although thou bide behind but for a little space.  
I give thee here a pearl, the price of all my good,  
For which I leave my life, to buy it with my blood;  
More worth than all the world, or aught that I can note,  
Although it be yclad in such a simple coat.  
For when I had obtained this pearl of such a price,  
Then was I sure I gained the way for to be wise.  
It taught me how to fight, my flesh for to despise,  
To stick unto the light, and for to leave the lies:  
In sending out my seed with bonds and bitter tears,  
That I might reap with joy in everlasting years,  
And have, for all my loss, my travail, and my pain,  
A thousand times and more of better goods again.  
And for because the good that hath been got and gained,  
And that the Lord's elect hath evermore obtained,

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Is closed in this book which I do give to thee,  
Wherein I have my part, as thou thyself may'st see,  
In which I hope thou hast a stock also in store,  
And wilt not cease to fail till God hath made it more—  
I will thee to beware; be sure thou keep it well:  
For if thou do it lose, thy part shall be in hell.  
And here I testify before the living God,  
That I detest to do the things that are forebode.  
And as, in judgment, is my body to be brent,  
My heart is surely set therewith to be content.  
And sith it is his will to put in me his power,  
Upon his holy hill to fight against this whore,  
Full well I am content, if he allow it so,  
To stand with all my might the whore to overthrow.  
Even with a willing mind, the death I will outface:  
And as I am assured, the battle do embrace;  
That they which hear the truth, how I have past the pike,  
May set aside their youth, and learn to do the like.  
And though it be my lot, to let her suck my blood,  
Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good:  
For she is set to kill the things she thinks accurst,  
And shall not have her fill of blood until she burst.  
And when that thou shalt see, or hear of my decease,  
Pray to the living God, that I may pass in peace.  
And when I am at rest, and rid out of my pain,  
Then will I do the like for thee to God again.  
And to my woeful wife, and widow desolate,  
Whom I do leave behind in such a simple state,  
And compassed with tears, and mournings many one;  
Be thou her staying staff, when I am dead and gone.  
My mouth may not express the dolours of my mind,  
Nor yet my heaviness to leave her here behind.  
But as thou art my bone, my brother and my blood,  
So let her have thy heart, if it may do her good.  
I took her from the world, and made her like the cross;  
But, if she hold her own, she shall not suffer loss:  
For where she had before a man unto her make,  
That by the force of fire was strangled at a stake,  
Now shall she have a King to be her helping hand,  
To whom pertain all things that are within the land.  
And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,  
To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C:  
That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod,  
To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.  
And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,  
That thou art left behind a father in my stead.  
And thou, my brother dear, and eke my mother's son,  
Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done;  
And God shall be thy guide, and give thee such increase,  
That in the flames of fire thou shalt have perfect peace,  
Into eternal joy, and pass out of all pain:

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Where we shall meet with mirth, and never part again.

"If thou wilt do my daughter good,

Be mindful of thy brother's blood."

"To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his gospel, and to persevere in his truth unto the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"Be not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein, by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness is broken loose, and rageth in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist: against whom, see that ye be strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the truth's sake; knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are ye, that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet therefore yourselves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom ye suffer: for unto you do remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wise. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets do record, that in the sight of the Lord, precious is the death of his saints. Watch, therefore, and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now shall it appear, whether ye have builded upon the fleeting sand, or upon the unmovable rock Christ, which is the foundation of apostles and prophets, whereon every house that is builded, groweth into a holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that ye show yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your Captain, and ye be his soldiers, whose cognizance is the cross, to the which he willingly humbled himself even unto the death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here do remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body. It behoveth therefore every one that will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as ye have him for an ensample: and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, ye have his promise in Matt. xxviii. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality, and ye, brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the Head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the most danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.

"Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when ye shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you; for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth which was sent from the heavens to teach us: he shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us: what is he, then, that shall be able to confound us? nay, what tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not, with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell-fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of

his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the counsels of the ungodly to nought. He shall take them in their own net: he shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner shall they know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. Work they never so craftily, build they never so strongly; yet down shall their rabble fall, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God. The just shall see this, and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord, that so marvellously hath dealt with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then shall the fearful seed of Cain tremble and quake: then shall the mocking Ishmaelites be cast out of door: then shall the proud Nimrod see his labour lost: then shall the beast of Babylon be trodden under foot: then shall the scribes and Pharisees for madness fret and rage: then shall their painted wisdom be known, for extreme folly: then shall the bloody dragon be void of his prey: then shall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance: then shall they scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot, whom they now serve for filthy lucre, when no man will buy their wares any more: then shall the popish priesthood cry weal away with care, even when the Lord shall help his servants; which day is not far off, the day wherein the kingdom of antichrist shall have an end, and never rise any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and sure hope, cleaving unto the promises of God, which in their own time shall be fulfilled.

"Acquit yourselves like men, against the enemies of God, in all humbleness of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting, and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus once offered for all and for ever; who now sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time occupieth that blessed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be closed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from thence till the last hour. And as he never ceaseth to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not; so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not; and his manly shape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions except sin.

"And what he took of his blessed mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There were they coupled together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a wafer-cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven a very man, one only mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the propitiation for our sins. Be bold therefore to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and

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redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing; and not by deserving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witness.

"This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth have all the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel can ye then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readiest way to life. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now let, but that ye go forward as ye have begun? nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way; look not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God; and so run, that ye may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly pelf, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own selves: and in respect of that heavenly treasure ye look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile, in comparison of everlasting life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain that findeth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that man any thing, which of his carnal father and mother is forsaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, for mortal immortal, for transitory things permanent, is great gains to a Christian conscience?

"Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not, my brethren, mistrust not God, be of good comfort, rejoice in the Lord, hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow him which is your loadsman, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, yea, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the world, to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments of the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive, in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?

"Be strong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you be none, but the enemies of the cross of Christ, as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that searcheth the hearts of men, he hath found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison, proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apostles, call them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine,

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beasts; teaching us thereby to understand what their natural inclination is: to deceive, poison, and destroy, (as much as in them lieth,) the faithful and elect of God. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, which have conspired against him. He hath numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God shall be glorified in his saints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme: let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by these fruits shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheep's skins. For as he that in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a mean the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannously entreat his people; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, as also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon: where, when the people of God were in most extreme thralldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire: this shall be their final reward. Our duty is, the mean while, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

"Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed, to the great slander of his gospel, whereby the name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies: for the which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we should not be damned with the world. By this means seeketh he his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way seeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, this way useth his godly wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and ourselves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his name therefore. And as for these Balaamites which now do molest us, commit them to the hands of God; give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate; for he is in heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in heaven that made the seas calm, when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us: let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us: he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.

"Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be his: then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, which, with their pretended holiness, deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's Highness to espy them out what they be, and so to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poison the realm with pope-holy

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doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's Highness, and this her church and realm, from these proud prelates, which are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of conies.

"To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are, both body and soul; whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word: God will not be mocked; nay, they that dissemble with him deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as play on both hands, such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such, with their partakers, shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned unto joy."

### *Another letter sent to his wife.*

"The God and Father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and all thy parents and friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better than worse; looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks, therefore, desiring thee, of all loves, to stand in that faith which thou hast received, and let no man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands of everlasting life, which shall ever abide when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble, which is momentary and light, and, as St. Paul saith, not worthy of the things which shall be showed on us; that we, patiently carrying our cross, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I trust) find a mean for you, if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spoke at our departing, that as God hath found us and also elected us worthy to suffer with him, we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and in especial to your parents, keeping your matter close in any wise.

"Give most hearty thanks to my friend, which only for our cause is come to Windsor. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of gold for a token, and most entirely desire you to send me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours. Amen.

"From Newgate, the 15th of April.

"By your husband here and in heaven,  
ROBERT SMITH."

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This foresaid Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner, there bishop, the twelfth day of July, and suffered at Uxbridge the eighth day of August; who, as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before, to all them that were in prison with him, so now, also, being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body, dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life: "and," said he, "I doubt not but that God will show you some token thereof." At length, being well-nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so, bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

*A sententious letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his wife, full of godly instruction.*

"Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour.

"Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

"Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

"In hearing of good things join the ears of your head and heart together.

"Seek unity and quietness with all men, but specially with your conscience; for he will not easily be entreated.

"Love all men, but especially your enemies.

"Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

"Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

"Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

"Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

"Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of that he himself is faulty in, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs for himself.

"Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare, and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it

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will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

"Show mercy unto the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners, visit your own soul: for it is enclosed in a perilous prison.

"If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

"Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

"Your husband,  
ROBERT SMITH."

"If ye will meet with me again,  
Forsake not Christ for any pain."

*Another letter sent to his wife, Anne Smith.*

"The grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, strengthen, and stablish you in all things, that what his blessed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own salvation, and the good ensample to our posterity.

"I have received your letter, and, I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if God's marvellous goodness had not brought it to my hands by Peter the keeper, there might have risen a great trouble upon the same; for well ye know George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God, and, if he had gotten it, the council sure had seen it; but Peter, like an honest man, never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane-end, to my sister Tankerfield, that she may deliver them safe into my hand. We are very straitly kept, I praise God of his mercy: nevertheless Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you that ye wrote for. The two nutmegs that should have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I send now, and desire them to accept them as a poor prisoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveson sendeth you a penny; I pray you give him thanks for the same, and Dirick also. I have sent you, of that little that I have, two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and send you good speed. In any case keep yourself close: I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and desire them with you to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer; pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his sword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the epistle and exhortation; I have written all this fortnight for my Lady, yea, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the prison. The Holy Ghost keep you; I would ye could make a means, for your money, to send a cheese to Peter, for I find much kindness at his hands. Ye shall always hear of me at Tankerfield's house. All the congregation salute you. Fare you most heartily well.

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"I have not yet (tell my brother) spoken with the person. There hath come so strait a commandment, that no man might come to us, because Tooley cursed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

"Yours, and ever yours,  
ROBERT SMITH."

*Another letter sent to his wife.*

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and prevent your ways through his Holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works please God, and eschew evil, to his honour and your salvation, that they which see your conversation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly. Amen.

"I sent you by Master Alexander a purse with money. I have certain tokens for you, sent by my prison-fellows to you, that is, from Master Hawkes twelve pence, from Master Simson twelve pence, from his wife four pence, from Master Wats five new groats, from Master Ardeley twelve pence, from Master Bradford twelve pence, which men be all gone to death, except Master Bradford; he abideth still. There are also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Osmond, William Bamford. There are also condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, John Launder; and William Vassay is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his people, and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for God's sake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katherine in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but, like a good matron, keep your vessel in holiness. The peace of God rest with you for ever. Amen.

"My brother Iveson sendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three pence. John Launder sendeth you a piece of Spanish money. Father Herault, a piece of six pence. W. Andrews sendeth you a rase of ginger, and I send your mother one, and a nutmeg. I send Katherine comfits, for a token, to eat. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.

"Your husband,  
ROBERT SMITH."

*A letter sent to a friend.*

"The eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well-doing, and in perfect knowledge of Christ, that ye may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he so doth, but also teacheth others, that it is unhurtful to go to all the abominations, which now stand in the idol's temples. Nevertheless, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow sinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Christ: but look that, by going into the idol temple, ye defile not the temple of God; for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do; for if not going to church were without persecution, they would not learn you that lesson. But all

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things that are sweet to the flesh, are allowed of the fleshly. The Lord shall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity, and he that by the fleshly man is led in the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give thee his Holy Spirit. Amen.

"I have sent thee an epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

"Seek peace, and ensue it. Fear God; love God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

"Thy friend and all men's in Christ Jesus,  
ROBERT SMITH.

"Scribbled in much haste from Newgate the twelfth of May."

*Robert Smith to all faithful servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under persecution.*

"Content thyself with patience,  
With Christ to bear the cross of pain,  
Which can and will thee recompense,  
A thousand-fold with joys again.  
Let nothing cause thy heart to quail;  
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy sail,  
Put from the shore:  
And be thou sure thou shalt attain,  
Unto the port that shall remain  
For evermore."

**308. Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, and William Andrew.**

*The burning of Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust, martyred for the testimony of the gospel.*



ABOUT this time died also by cruel fire these two martyrs of God; that is to say, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fust at Ware; which both two, as they were about one time burned with the forementioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in sundry places, so were they also examined and openly condemned together with them. Their process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and others of the said company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous again to repeat the same; save that of Thomas Fust this is to be added, that whereas he, in his last appearing the twelfth of July, was moved by the bishop to revoke his opinion, thus he answered: "No," said he, "my Lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in God's book? I speak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I speak." This answer of him only I find noted by the registrar; although how slenderly these registrars have dealt in uttering such matters, (that is, in omitting those things which most worthy were to be known,) by their doings it is easy to be seen. But to be short, after their answers made, both he and Thomas Fust were, for their faithful perseverance, condemned together by the bishop in his accustomed pity, as heretics to be burned, and so (as before ye have heard) finished they their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of August and year abovesaid.

*The constant martyrdom of William Hale, burned at Barnet.*

Of the same company of these ten above recorded, which were sent up to Bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale of Thorp in the county of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest the twelfth of July, received with them also the sentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers-on: "Ah, good people," said he, "beware of this idolater, and this antichrist;" pointing unto the bishop of London. And so was he delivered to the sheriffs as a heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of August, he most constantly sealed up his faith with the consuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

*George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, and William Andrew, who all sickened in prison, and were buried in the fields.*

Ye heard before of ten sundry persons sent out of Newgate by Master Hare and other commissioners, to be examined of Bonner, bishop of London. Of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been showed; whose names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak

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that they were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, and there departed, and were cast out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it. The last that remained of this foresaid company was Joan Laysh or Layshford, the daughter-in-law to John Warne, and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs: but because she was reprieved to a longer day, her story and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

The like catholic charity was also showed upon William Andrew of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, A. D. 1555, by John Motham, constable of Maldon in Essex. The first and principal promoter of him was the Lord Riche, who sent him first to prison. Another great doer against him also seemeth to be Sir Richard Southwell, knight, by a letter written by him to Bonner, as by the copy hereof appeareth.

"Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that the Lord Riche did, about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the council one William Andrew of Thorp, within the county of Essex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth, and, as I am informed, hath infected a number in the prison with his heresy. Your Lordship shall do very well, if it please you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your Lordship, but, by occasion of other business, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore, knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with these few lines. And so, referring the rest to your virtuous consideration, I remain your good Lordship's to command, this twelfth of June, 1555.

"RICHARD SOUTHWELL."

This William Andrew, being twice brought before Bonner to examination, there manfully stood in the defence of his religion. At length, through strait handling in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life there, which else his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so, after the popish manner, he was cast out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

**309. Robert Samuel.**

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock in the county of Suffolk, and a little from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, did not only not cease day nor night to study how to bring those in thrall and captivity, that were honest and godly inclined to religion; but also, whatsoever they were that once came in his claws, they easily escaped not without clog of conscience, or else loss of life, so greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in King Edward's days a very godly and right faithful preacher of God's word, who, for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At the last, being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice, (as many other good pastors were beside,) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly be suffered so to do; at what time order was taken by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had married in King Edward's days, putting their wives from them, should be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This decree would not Samuel stand unto, for that he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife still at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At last Master Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in those quarters, foreslacked no time nor diligence, but eftsoons sendeth out his espials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they, bringing word to the officer, came immediately flocking about his house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night season, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did nothing withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried, through the malice of the wicked sort, to Norwich, where the said bishop, Dr. Hopton—whether he, or Dr. Dunnings, his chancellor—full like unmerciful prelates, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were men, in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for straitness and cruel tormenting the bodies of the saints among all the rest beside, and specially through the procuring of Dunnings. For although the others were sharp enough in their generation; yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no further. Neither did I ever hear of any besides these, which so far exceeded all hounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

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The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuel, as he had done with the other before, kept him in a very strait prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tiptoe he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to further torment, than that they would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose stomach, though it had been made of adamant-stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature? &c.

At the last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, who ministered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee; for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty." Which thing came even to pass accordingly; for speedily after he was burned, and from that time till he should suffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he to the end, as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions, he could utter, he said, besides this, but that shamefacedness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I would he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the Holy Scriptures already.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward heaven; of the which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and then the death of two honest women, which were brought forth, and suffered in the same town anon after.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck and kissed him, who, being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after, to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me: howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God; so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife, but both together now espoused to a new Husband, Christ.

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With these two was this maid aforesaid very familiar and well acquainted, who, on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's unjust proceedings, had this answer at her hands again: "I know well," saith she, "that it is lawful enough to fly away; which remedy you may use, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have besides a sort of young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly wives, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and had both into prison together, who, as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison: and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity; so at the length they both suffered after Samuel, in 1556, February the nineteenth, as shall be, by the Lord's grace, declared hereafter. And these, no doubt, were those two ladders, which, being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the thirty-first of August, anno 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine in the eyes of them that stood by, as bright and white as new-tryed silver, as I am informed by some which were there and did behold the sight.

*A letter or exhortation of Robert Samuel to the patient suffering of afflictions for Christ's cause.*

"A man knoweth not his time, but as the fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare, even so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near. Better it were to die (as the preacher saith) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woeful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, with 'seest me?' and 'seest me not?' yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesites, now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messias, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils, seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his holy word, the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

"O perilous abundance of goods, too much saturity of meats, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed, with so many souls, those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, so

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long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God without reprehension; but, brought once to wealth and prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater. And what made the covetous young man so loth to follow Christ, when he was bidden to forsake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be unto these false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the high-ways of confusion and perpetual perdition!

"We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance; yea, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these our troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that a remnant God hath in all ages reserved, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomit. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his, as St. Paul saith. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith. With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all and for ever.

"Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy you, both bodies and souls? Think you to be more sure than under your Captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God, and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable and brainless souls, which would, for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the devil, who is their god and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us which be of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the Cretians, Epicures, and such other beastly Belials and carnal people, pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: Yet shall they once, as the kingly prophet saith, run about the city of God to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect; but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

"Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and be celestial. We must be here, saith Paul, not as inhabitants, and home-dwellers, but as strangers: not as strangers only, but, after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed of our Governor to fight against

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the governor of the darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith; In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish: but as for you, (meaning the wicked,) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? For the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us say with Hezekiah, Play the men, and shrink not. Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is, saith he, with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you: and again, When you forsake him, he will forsake you.

"Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be sad, but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (Paul meaning the body) be destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have a building of God not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ; esteemed they cannot be: wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abide in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries; and, after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with poor Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend unto the kingdom of God his Father. But an unwise man, saith the psalmist, comprehendeth them not; neither doth the foolish understand them: that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they might be cut down and cast into the fire for ever. For, as Job saith, Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye, and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance,(as in Mark is said,) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

"Let us therefore, good Christians, be constant in obeying God, rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity, yet they cannot do it, but by God's sufferance and good-will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the gospel shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others more. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, which sit in the chair of perverse, pestilent scorners? to whom, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone, whereat they now, being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

"These are the days of vengeance, saith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And surely it shall be no less than a huge storm of evils that shall come upon us, because that a long

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and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of hosts; who, so many times and so many ways, have been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience and long-suffering, to amendment, and have nevertheless contemned the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's majesty unto anger.

"Now therefore, saith God, by the mouth of his prophet, I will come unto thee, and I will send my wrath upon thee. Upon thee, I say, O England! and punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and hast stirred up the coals: for thou wast once lightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God; yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas, O England! thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst nothing thereafter: Thou must therefore, saith he, suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and in the coals that thou hast kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, saith the Lord, namely, that thou shalt sleep in sorrow; yea, even so thou shalt. The plain truth telleth the tale; the immutable justice of the ever-living God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirm the same. The joy of our heart, saith Jeremy, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas, and weal away, that ever we sinned so sore: woe worth all abominations and wickedness; woe worth cloaked hypocrisy; woe worth our carnal liberty; woe worth our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, saith the Lord, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

"Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all hellish furies, and clean without hope at God's accounting day, which know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They must, saith St. John, needs abide and perish with their sins in death, and in eternal damnation. But we be the children of saints, as the elder Toby did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them which change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ye Christian afflicted brethren; for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weathercocks, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, My sheep hear my voice; I know them; they hearken unto me, and to no strangers; and I give them everlasting life, for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands: no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and stout brags, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have more pleasant and effectuous than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so can it neither harm nor hurt any one of his children, without his goodwill. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

"Let us therefore, with an earnest faith, set fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be sundered from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable,

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promising and giving us his faithful soldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us. It is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy; and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. Oh! that happy and merry last day, (I mean to the faithful,) when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit in seat with him, as he hath ascended and sitteth on throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then be with Christ glorified: now in the butcher's hands, as sheep appointed to die; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children, where we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, saturity of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys, and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. O happy souls! O precious death, and evermore blessed! right dear in the eyes of God: to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then, as saith Isaiah, The redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord; and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished. Yea, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

*Another letter written to the Christian congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declareth the confession of his faith.*

"The belief of the heart justifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe."

"Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; 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.

"Considering with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the unconstant and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and false slander of God's most holy word, these urgent causes in conscience do constrain me to confess and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience; that when they backbite you as evildoers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ."

"As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles. For it were not only sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, belie, or betray, the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to the defence of the same, seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles,

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to be sufficient and absolutely perfect to instruct and teach me and all the holy church, of our duties towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

"First and principally I do assuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or Divine essence, and infinite substance; which is both called, and is indeed God everlasting, unbodily, unpartible; unmeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, as well visible as invisible: and yet there be three distinct persons, all of one Godhead or Divine being, and all of one power, coequal, consubstantial, coeternal—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as Holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first person in the Trinity, first cause of our salvation, which hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ; which hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated us and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesu; in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary; so that there be in him two natures, a Divine nature, and a human nature, in the unity of one person inseparable, conjoined and knit in one Christ, truly God and truly man, the express and perfect image of the invisible God, wherein the will of God the Father shineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought to do, that he may please God the Father.

"Born of the Virgin Mary; truly suffering his passion; crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice, host, and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Christ Jesus.

"The same Christ went down to the hells, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, that he might there still reign, and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence shall come, &c.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and false doctrine, the devil, and all power of sin: which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, that she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true pastor Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congregation of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and in deed.

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"I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; who is made unto us, of God, that only sacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be sanctified.

"I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly establish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of Christ our Saviour, and first-fruits of the dead. Now that Christ our Head is risen, we, being his body and members, must follow our Head. Death, hell, and sin cannot sunder nor pluck us from him; for as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look, saith St. Paul, for Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body, by the same power and virtue wherewith he is able to subdue all things: even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first putrefied and brought as into a thing of nought; yet, after that, it springeth up freshly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty than it had before. The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour.

"Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe, the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, saith Christ, he that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life. It is Christ that died once for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die. It is he that swallowed up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing else, but for a little time separate our precious souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and so send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity, and joys eternal.

"As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which be in number two, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord: I believe them to be as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

"The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirmation of our acception into the grace and favour of God for Christ's sake. For his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is ours, given us of God; and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his, whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

"Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we should die continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness.

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"The other sacrament, which is the supper and holy Maundy of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe, so this sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to contemn the world for the life to come, when Christ shall appear, which now is in heaven, and no where else as concerning his human body.

"Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For, as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the minister, This is my body which is given for you; when I hear (I say) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth, I look not upon, neither do I behold, bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be rapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imaginations of our gross, fleshly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth; but with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, a hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind, do fully embrace, behold, and feed and look upon, that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion, fully digested into the bowels of my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings, and troubles; my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge-sake of Christ Jean my Lord and Saviour.

"Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for, through faith in Christ and for Christ's sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Thus am I assured and fully persuaded, and on this Rock have I builded, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen.

"Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his

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Father with the holy angels.  
"ROBERT SAMUEL."

### 310. William Allen, Roger Coe, and Thomas Cobb

*The martyrdom of William Allen, September, 1555.*

Next after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walsingham, labouring man, servant some time to John Houghton of Somerton. He, being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, answered, that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go on procession.

Then, being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church, he answered, that he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For the which, sentence of condemnation was given against him the twelfth of August, and he burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September, who declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his upright and well-tryed conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to the suffering, and there, being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

*The martyrdom of Roger Coe, of Melford in Suffolk, sheerman; first examined before Hopton, the bishop of Norwich, and by him condemned, August 12, anno 1555.*

Roger Coe, being brought before the bishop, first was asked why he was imprisoned.

*Coe.*—"At the justice's commandment."

*Bishop.*—"There was some cause why."

*Coe.*—"Here is my accuser; let him declare."

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament. Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a law. But Coe answered that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was? He answered how he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

"No," said his accuser, "nor will not. My Lord, ask him when he received the sacrament."

When Coe heard him say so, he said, "I pray you, my Lord, let him sit down and examine me himself."

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, "Coe, why will ye not receive?"

Coe answered him, that the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine, instead of the gospel and the belief of the same.

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*Bishop.*—"How prove you that?"

*Coo.*—"Our Saviour said, 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; and the bread and wine doth not so."

*Bishop.*—"Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and break it, and say, This is my body?"

"Yes," said Coo, and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

*Bishop.*—"You have said the truth."

Then Coo replied further, and said, "Christ willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said."

*Bishop.*—"How prove you that?"

*Coo.*—"It is written in the second of the Acts."

Then the bishop's chaplain said, it was true. The bishop asked him if he could say his belief.

Coo answered, "Yea," and so said part of the Creed, and then after he said, he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

*Bishop.*—"Is not the holy church to be believed also?"

*Coo.*—"Yes, if it be builded upon the word of God."

The bishop said to Coo, that he had charge of his soul.

*Coo.*—"Have ye so, my Lord? Then if ye go to the devil for your sins, where shall I become?"

*Bishop.*—"Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?"

*Coo.*—"It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, there shall come a people with the prince, that shall destroy both city and sanctuary. I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the king's laws.

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*Coo.*—"As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them."

*Bishop.*—"Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel."

*Coo.*—"If Shadrach, Meshech, and. Abednego had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God."

Then the bishop told him, that these twenty-two years we have been governed with such kings.

*Coo.*—"My Lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?"

*Bishop.*—"I durst not for fear of death."

"And thus they ended. But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever! Amen."

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A. D. 1555, in the month of September.

*Thomas Cob, butcher, of Haverhill in Suffolk, martyr.*

Over and besides this foresaid Roger Coo, William Allen, James Abbes of Stokenneyland, Robert Samuel, and others, in the same year, upon the twelfth of August, was also with them condemned Thomas Cob, of Haverhill, butcher, executed in the month of September aforesaid; who, being brought and examined by Michael Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no, he answered, that his body should be at the king and queen's commandment, so far as the law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, the said Thomas Cob, being condemned the same twelfth day of August, with the other his fellow martyrs, was burned in the town of Thetford, A. D. 1555, in the month of September.

**311. George Catmer, Robert Streater, .Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty; Thomas Hayward and John Goreway.**

Now from Norfolk and Suffolk, to return again into the diocese of Canterbury, we have to entreat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September was spilt for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel's cause; the names of the which five martyrs were these:—George Catmer of Hythe; Robert Streater of Hythe; Anthony Burward of Calete; George Brodbridge of Bromfield; James Tutty of Brenchley; who, upon the third day of August, were brought before Thornton, the foresaid bishop of Dover, and his complices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of their altar, auricular confession, and other such like.

To the which the said Catmer (being first examined) made answer on this wise: "Christ," quoth he, "sitteth in heaven, on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar. But he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol.

Next unto him was called forth Robert Streater, who, being also asked whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said that he did not so believe; "for you do maintain heresy and idolatry," quoth he, "in that ye teach to worship a false god in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God."

The like objection was articulate also against Anthony Durward, who also said, that their sacrament was made an idol.

After him was George Brodbridge demanded what he said to those articles; who answered, that he would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. "Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do," quoth he, "utterly defy them."

And last of all, did also James Tutty make and confirm their said former answers. And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as heretics, and so were they all, in one fire at Canterbury aforesaid, about the sixth day of September then next following.

*Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, martyrs.*

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in Queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet, notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm, but some good martyrs or other there shed their blood. And first, to begin with the diocese

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of Lichfield and Coventry, there we find these two to be condemned and also burned about the midst of the said month of September at the town of Lichfield; whose names were Thomas Hayward and John Goreway.

**312. Robert Glover, Gentleman, and John and William Glover, his Brothers.**



**Manor-house, Mancetter, the Residence of Glover**



o this present time and month of September, pertaineth also the memorable martyrdom of Master Robert Glover, gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry; of whose apprehension and troubles because I cannot well entreat, but I must also intermix some mention of his brother John Glover, forasmuch as this privy commission was chiefly sent down for the said John, and not for Robert Glover, (albeit it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended,) I thought therefore in one story to comprehend them both, in describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life. And first, to begin with John the eldest brother, who, being a gentleman born, and heir to his father, dwelling in the town of Mancetter, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues, which grace of God so working in him, he, with his

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two other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed, the same; much unlike unto our table-gospellers now-a-days.

And as touching this foresaid John Glover, it pleased God so to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did, yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mind this man felt and suffered, and that of so long time, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the said Robert was speedily despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his spirit inwardly, he felt and sustained, no speech outwardly is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, whom partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses was left in him. And doubtless I have greatly wondered oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him, who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched servant so far worn, with some opportune consolation now and then betwixt, it could not possible be, that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight. But this we see common among holy and blessed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are so terrified and perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge mountains; whereas on the contrary, others there be whom most heinous and very sore crimes indeed do nothing touch or stir at all.

The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a wondrous sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon the occasion of these words written in Hebrews vii.; For it cannot be, that they which were once illumined, and have tasted the heavenly gift, &c.; upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned verily against the Holy Ghost; even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself, what terrors, boilings, and convulsions turmoiled in the mean time in his woeful breast: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievousness thereof, unless he which hath experience of the like.

In comparing now the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, punishment, and flames, would not he willingly have suffered, to have had some refocillation and time of refreshing? who, in such intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation so long as he might, thinking with himself no less but that he must needs be thrown into hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Christ, he thought,

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did pity his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, because of the verity of the word, which said, It cannot be, &c.

And this I rehearse of him, not so much to open his wounds and sorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth alleviate the same, that we may bear it, but also turneth it to our further commodity than we can think: which well appeared in this good servant of God, (in no man more,) who, albeit, as we have said, he suffered many years so sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been seen, in such sort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead in this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celestial, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk any thing discrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his servants and officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of King Henry's reign, and continued a great part of the time of King Edward the Sixth.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforesaid, being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, eftsoons he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as might be. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things after his own secret pleasure, who, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God therefore, of his Divine providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so much overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his brother, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries, (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge,) should sustain that conflict; and even so it came to pass, as ye shall hear. For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Master John Glover, he sent forthwith a privy watch-word to the said John, to convey away himself; who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment.

But when the said John could in no place be found, one of the officers, going into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him incontinent brought before the sheriff; which sheriff notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet, nevertheless, being feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will, and so laid him fast

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while the bishop came. And thus much by the way of preamble, first, concerning the worthy remembrance of Master John Glover.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand, (that is, to consider the story and martyrdom of Master Robert Glover,) forasmuch as the whole narration of the same by his own record and testimony in writing was sent unto his wife, concerning the manner of his ordering and handling, it shall therefore seem best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit the said his own letter, the words and contents whereof here ensue as followeth.

"To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover,  
"The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and stedfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

"I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent unto me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice, (with tears, I say,) for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, a humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things; which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

"These your letters, and the bearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, which set more by their own pleasure and self in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others'. My prayer shall be, whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name; and, by the mighty power and inspiration of his Holy Spirit, so strengthen, stablish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together show forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen.

"So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting; forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we shall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never so many. And because God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do or not to do in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God; and that, as Christ saith, The word of God that he hath spoken shall judge in the last day: let your prayer be to this end specially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof.

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"And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time; call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you; endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry, (that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commandeth,) look not back (I say) nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

"They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, the church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

"Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples. Their church repelleth God's word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

"Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change, his blessed Testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture saith) with their own inventions, to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

"The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted; the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill, such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues never so excellent.

"Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, Search the Scriptures. But this church taketh away the word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

"The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.

"By these, and such-like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of

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God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness, to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church, whether men will or no; and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.

"Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters. It is a fearful thing, as St. Paul saith, to fall into the hands of God. Remember the prophet Elias, 'Why halt ye on both sides? Remember what Christ saith, He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me. And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the foreward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days, Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. Be afraid in nothing, saith St. Paul, of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation. Christ commandeth the same, saying, Fear them not. Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first, to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasure. But the Scripture saith, They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ. Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part nowadays be like to Æsop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant be they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which, being compared to it, be less in value than a barley-corn.

"If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, the foregoing of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment, before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

"But these and such-like, I thank my heavenly Father, (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Ghost, for his Son's sake my only Saviour and Redeemer,) prevailed not in me: but when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed; yet ere ever I came to the prison, by the working

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of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming unto me, 'What matter have you, Master Sheriff; to charge me withal?' He answered, 'You shall know when you come before the masters;' and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being showed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their bands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept for joy and gladness my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort: O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for thy gospel's sake?' And so, beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart; O Lord, thou showest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall let thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so ever thought I myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

"Not long after came unto me Master W. Brasbridge, Master C. Phineas, Master N. Hopkins, travailing with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: 'Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me withal, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds, as with bonds.'

"Secondarily, if I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise: I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

"And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Master Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took as it were a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so, when they had let their suit fall, my heart (methought) was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

"Afterward debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conscience (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to show themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and

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advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, He hath been a great boldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

"Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted, and persuaded all that professed God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist; so, the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the sumner: who being examined, denied it before their faces, (as one of my friends told me,) saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day!"

But now, because mention hath been made of the elder brother, I thought good to speak something of him; as well for that the order of this tragedy so requireth, as because his virtues and qualities were such as I could in no ways commit them to silence. This man's name was John Glover, something elder than Robert; a gentleman born, and heir to his father; a man of fair lands, but not so abounding in worldly goods and possessions, as nourished with heavenly cogitations and virtuous doings; the which, many years, had professed and acknowledged the blissful and gracious knowledge of the gospel, showing no less by his life and example the same: much unlike our gospellers, nowadays, which suppose the profession of the gospel to consist in words. But this man used another kind of professing of it far different, converting all his care that he might appear a gospeller, as well within as without; not so much that he should so seem before men, as that he might first frame his life correspondent and worthy his profession before God. He saw and perceived, as indeed it was, the sum of Christianity not to consist in stout disputations, contentions, reasonings, loud clamours, strong definitions, and ambitious pertinacity of mind, but rather in ordering and subduing affections in the quiet and silent mind, in good conscience and devout prayer; and laboured ever to this end, not so much to brag and talk of the gospel, as to show the same by example of his life: and therefore he gave not daily diligence to the reading of the gospel only, to collect thereof, as many do, common-places, but as well to be instructed, thereby, with good mind and conscience. He was a great student of divinity; the occasion whereof was not the desire of novelties, arguing and talking, or that he might seem the more learned to others, but that he himself might be the better for it; and also not so much to be the more instructed to the conflicts of idle contention, as to be the readier and meeter for the kingdom of Christ. To be short, he read the gospel of Christ, not so much to collect thereof any common-places, as to gather necessary matter of edifying, whereof he daily

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sucked those things which no less made for the confirmation of his faith and godly life, than for the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. And doubtless, by this his assiduous labour, he profited marvellously, as by the singular fruits and example of his life sufficiently is declared, whose mind was always upon our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his works; even so much, that he, contemning the world, and being all wholly possessed with the earnest zeal of godliness, was, in every place, as well abroad as at home, a lantern of godly living to all the rest; and also, being as one placed in heaven, and dead in this world, he both meditated and led a life altogether celestial; [it] being a world to see how that he abhorred the profane doings. No, nor yet his talk in any wise differed from his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed among his brethren, and committed the guide of the rest to his servants and officers, that the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath rest.

And besides these his great number of virtues, he was well learned, although his brother Robert was better seen in the literature which doth polish and bring a man to eloquence. But in those things which appertained to heavenliness and good conscience, he was far more exercised: like disposition and mind were in both; having wit and memory most happily grafted in them. And as concerning good zeal and love towards religion, whereunto they seemed by nature indifferently to be born, they were so matched and so like one to another, that a man could not tell who excelled the other; unless because Robert, as he was the bigger of stature, so he was a more earnest and mightier champion against the adversaries of truth: but yet John less feared peril, although this Robert suffered as a martyr; and was as much desirous of martyrdom as he, and more so. And, verily I cannot tell whether, in the case of felicity, John gave place to his brother Robert or no, who also might be counted a martyr, yea, and chronicled for a double martyr; for the said Robert was quickly, and out of hand, despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire. But this, the most blessed martyr of all, what more grievous passions, boiling heats of the fire of hell, so many years both in body and in soul he suffered and sustained, no tongue can express.

Being a young man I myself was once or twice with him; whom, as part by his talk I perceived, and part by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses, was left in him. And, doubtless, I have greatly wondered at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him; who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched sheep, so many times in distress, with continual consolation, it could not be possible that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments; and yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight.

But this we see commonly among holy and blessed men, that the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspect and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are pinched and vexed with very small sins as most grievous, when that (contrary) you may see very many whom the greatest crimes of the world do not once move or trouble. The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and then falling thence, as we commonly see, to his former trade of life, began to mistrust himself, as one that rashly and suddenly had forsaken his vocation, and thereupon was in belief that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost.

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But, thanks be to Christ our Lord, his continual Keeper, who suffereth not any man to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that not only they do not injure them, but oftentimes fall out to a further commodity than is looked for; which thing did appear as much in this John, as ever did in any one, who albeit, as we have said, suffered so many years sharp temptations, yet more happy were they to him than tongue can tell, which heaped so many and great virtues in him, with reconciliation of his tranquillity, and so vanquished him from all worldly affections of the same; insomuch that nothing could be more blessed and pure than his life, nothing more quiet or more fervent to Christ and his ways. Nor truly was it any marvel if this his ardent and vehement zeal toward the gospel of Christ, in this turbulent time of persecution, (as indeed it did not,) either could, or did, lie hid in him.

What needeth many words? As soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John so to be spread out of hand, he wrote to the mayor and officers to apprehend him as soon as might be: but it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, who disposeth all things according to his secret pleasure, and contrary to the expectation of man. And although this John took it more inwardly than any tongue can express, when he, being ever desirous of death, saw, in his stead, his brother to be carried to his death, yet doubtless it was provided by the singular grace and just providence of God; for he, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years, with so extreme and many torments, broken and dried up, would in no wise heap so many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch, neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been scorched and so consumed with the sharp sorrows of his mind, and had sustained so many darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God of his divine providence thought this too much, whose custom was never so to deal with his servants; and therefore he provided that Robert, either for his learning-sake or soundness of his strength, should stoutly suffer and sustain this conflict; and although there lacked no stomach in the other to suffer martyrdom, yet our Lord thought rather to use this man's stomach and knowledge in refuting the adversaries' arguments, and so to be more expedient to the cause of his salvation. But, howsoever the matter stood, Robert was taken in the stead of John, and that not without the singular will and love of God to either of them; for as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters, he sent forthwith a private watchword to John, to convey away himself, who, with his brother William, was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in spite of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment; who when he could in no place be found, one of the officers, going up into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him brought before the sheriff. And although the sheriff, favouring Robert and his cause, would fain have dismissed him, saying that "he was not the man for whom they were sent," yet was he feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him about his staying till the bishop's coming, carried him away against his will, and laid him fast till the bishop came. And this so much concerning John: now will I return to Robert's letters, from whence I have made some digression.

*Robert Glover's letter continued.*

"The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Master Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief jailer to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Master Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not

wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

"And so he parted from me, saying, I needed not to fear, if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts: that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience' sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered; without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain, (as their right companion Epulo did,) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

"When I came before the bishop in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself. I said to him, 'I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?' He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, 'Smally learned.' Master Chancellor, standing by, said, I was a Master of Arts. Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church. Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass. He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God."

*Bishop.*—"Who shall judge the word?"

*Glover.*—"Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul: methinketh ye should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had."

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him: but he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

"If you say black is white, my Lord," quoth Glover, "must I also say as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so?" Master Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop.

*Glover.*—"If you will be believed because you be a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Master Latimer, Master Ridley, Master Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops."

*Bishop.*—"Because they were heretics."

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"And may not you err," quoth I, "as well as they?" I looked for learning at my Lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward's time?

"I desired him to show me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time."

*Bishop.*—"Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics."

*Glover.*—"You be not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time." "My Lord making no answer to that, Master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying, he would at the end of his visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. 'Even where it pleaseth you,' said I to my Lord, 'I am content;' and so I was returned at that time to the common gaol again, from whence I came.

"On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure; which tidings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should, by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling, (which I looked for,) have died in the prison before I should come to my answer. But I rebuked immediately with God's word this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasy after this manner: 'What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshech, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in life nor in death; neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor the devil himself: much less one of his ministers shall be able to prevail against us.' With such-like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort; so that, hearing one say that they could not provide horses enow for us, I said, 'Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list; I am well content, for my part.'

"Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to Master Mayor, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge: the contents of which letter were these.

"I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the gaol, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of seven years and more; so that it is not like that I shall be removed

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without peril and danger of my life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge.

If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of person.

"Your prisoner in the Lord.

always mindful of you in my poor prayer.

ROBERT GLOVER.'

"But I received no answers of my letters to nor fro. I conjectured that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me despatched privily in prison, than to come openly to my answer. The manner of entreating and using me at my first coming to prison, did partly declare the same.

"Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horseback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at: and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and disannulling of, all such books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repose ourselves for our supper-time. We inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

"After supper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we entreated that upon sureties we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He was content at the first, as he seemed; but afterwards, Whether it was by persuasion, or rather (as it seemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to stare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease ourselves withal, he revoked his promise; and so by consent we were had to the prison, the multitude wondering at us. I willed Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy that showed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand:-

"He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of rooms, strong of building, and very cold, with small light; and there allowed he me a bundle of straw, instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing else to ease myself withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that, if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life; but Jephcot, and one Persey the bishop's man, which afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, 'This is a great extremity; God send us patience, and no more.'

"Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great

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sickness; nor yet paper, pen, nor ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily stole in.

"Within two days after, Master Chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my Lord, and to the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own; belike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

"Now thus the second time I answered Master Chancellor to his exhortation, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

"He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church."

*Glover.*—"The church showeth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God. This is no good reason in learning," said I to Master Chancellor, "for it is like unto this: John showed the people who was Christ; ergo, John was above Christ. Or else, I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king: Am I therefore above the king?"

"Master Chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the space of eight days, and till the bishop's coming: in the which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever. Amen.

"The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, or his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, *similiter obnoxii peccato*, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest; as Paul saith, Who gave first unto him? And also speaking to every man, What hast thou, that thou receivedst not? Likewise John, All have received of his fulness; they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. *Est Dominus omnium, dives in omnes et super omnes invocantes eum*. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. *Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum*: God is near, he is at hand, he is with all; with all, (I say,) and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully, in true repentance, call upon him; in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burden God (as it were) with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his

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aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample wise and large manner, than he can well wish or dare desire. His word cannot lie: Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee; and thou shalt praise me.

"I answered the enemy also on this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of his truth. What then? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I also will be ashamed before my Father and all his angels. I might also, by like reason, forbear to do any of God's commandments.

"When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray: and so in like manner of all the commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

"At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a by-chamber next to my prison, to my Lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

"My Lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment: I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for our church, (as he called it,) it was not known, he said, but lately in King Edward's time.

"I profess myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone; and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning, (said I,) though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted. My Lord, on the other side, contended that they were the church."

*Glover.*—"So cried all the clergy against the prophets at Jerusalem, saying, 'The church, the church.'"

"And always when I was about to speak any thing, my Lord cried, 'Hold thy peace; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace:' calling me a proud, arrogant heretic.

"I willed my Lord to burden me with some specialties, and then to convince me with some Scriptures and good learning.

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"Then my Lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

"Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

"The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church? "The sacrament of baptism," said I, "and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper."

"No more?" said he.

*Glover.*—"To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ—to such, ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins."

"Here, interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

"He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession? I answered, No.

"Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. "I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, 'because,' said I, 'you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.'"

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and entreating in prison, and also of his conflicts had with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted him to finish that he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the records of his last examinations, wheresoever they are become.

Only this, which I could learn by relation of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report, that the said blessed servant of the Lord, Master Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpish, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness nor willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

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Whereupon, fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Austen, his friend above remembered, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him. Unto whom the said Austen, answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet, seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure; and therefore desired him, whensoever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should show some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same; and so departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Austen, and saying in these words, "Austen, he is come, he is come," &c., and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

*Here followeth the story how John Glover and William Glover were excommunicate and cast out after their death, and buried in the fields.*

Now that we have discoursed the story of Master Robert Glover, something also would be touched of his other two brethren, John and William Glover; who, albeit they were not called to finish their course by like kind of martyrdom in the fire, as the others did, yet, because for their constant profession of God's gospel unto the latter end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the story to be joined together, who, in one cause and the same profession, were not sundered one from the other.

And first concerning Master John Glover, the eldest brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, partly ye heard before described: now what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared; whose rage and malice, although God so restrained that they could little prevail against him so long as his life endured, yet, after his decease, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand. After the martyrdom of Master Robert Glover, although John Glover, seeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life for the great sorrow of his heart wherewith he was sore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, showing that in so doing he might entangle himself, but should do his brother no good: he thus in great care and vexation endured, yet, notwithstanding, rubbing out as well as he could, till at length, about the latter end of Queen Mary, there was a new search made for the said John Glover.

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Whereupon the sheriffs, with their under-officers and servants, being sent to seek him, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in his chamber by himself, the officers, bursting into the house and searching other rooms, came to the chamber-door where this John Glover was, who, being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door, amongst whom one of the said officers having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

In the mean time another coming by, (whose voice he heard and knew,) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Whereupon they, departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon, not long after, he left his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for. Thus, by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befell after his death, both to him and William his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembered; who, after that he was dead and buried in the churchyard without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway: the parson again answered that he had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the savour of him. "Well," quoth Dr. Dracot, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones, (for then the flesh will be consumed,) and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them; and then will I come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried." This was recorded by the parson of the town, who told the same to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Findern in Derbyshire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whose credible information we received the same.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these catholic children of the mother church, upon the body of William, the third brother; whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body unto the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the said church, (and yet is, as I hear say, to this day,) to stop the burial thereof, rode to the bishop, named Radulph Banes, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one Richard Morice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Wem, with others more, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary example of good Tobit, for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man putteth religion in not burying the dead: so that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the foresaid Bernard the curate with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter, being copied out word for word, here follow.

"Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and

religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all rites belonging to a Christian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that he should not be buried in Christian man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, nor speak, to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem, in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending, and letting, and procuring, that he be not buried either in the church, or within the wainables of the churchyard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril.

"At Eccleshall, this 6th of September, anno 1558.

"By your ordinary.

RADULPH, Coventry and Lichfield."



**William Glover's Body Dragged by Horses**

By the virtue of this foresaid letter, so it fell out, that they which brought the corpse thither, were fain at their own charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that scarcely any man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there was he buried.

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The witnesses of the godly end of the said William Glover, dying in the true faith and confession of Christ, were Master Nowell, dean of Lichfield, George Wilestone and his wife, Thomas Constantine, Roger Wydhouse, John Prynne, George Torpelley, &c.

The like example of charitable affection in these catholic churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Master Edward Burton, esq., who in the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church, (which was St. Chad's in Shrewsbury,) so that no mass-monger should be present thereat; which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, named Sir John Marshall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate, being therewith offended, said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of his friends, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, that God would judge him in the last day, &c. Then the priest "Judge God," saith he, "or devil; the body shall not come there." And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

**Note 1:** The following interesting extracts are from the preface to a Narrative of Glover, Mrs. Lewes, and Augustine Bernher, by the able vicar of Mancetter, the Rev. B. Richings.

"It appears that the manor-house, with a considerable estate, was purchased by Mr. John Glover, and was the property and residence of the Glovers, from about the year 1550 to 1677. The house, though somewhat modernized, is the same building which stood in the reign of Edward the Sixth. It is constructed of a frame-work of wood, which has not undergone the slightest alteration. If the plaster were removed, its massive timber would now be seen, and would exhibit the simple architecture of the times in which it was built. The interior, also, it may be observed, has not been so much altered as might be supposed, considering the lapse of time. The old oak staircase, so often trod by the Glovers, and down the very steps of which Robert Glover descended, for the last time, in the custody of the officers, still remains; and, most happily for the lovers of antiquity, it has escaped the painter's brush. Not so, unfortunately, the oak pannels with which the passages and the rooms were wainscotted, or those massy carved beams, which bisect each other, and attract the eye of every stranger.

"On removing to Mancetter, Mr. John Glover left a relative of his, in Baxterley Hall, which he had built, and which afterwards, for a century at least, was also a residence of the Glovers, who possessed large estates in that parish and neighbourhood. The names of "Hugo," who died in "1615," and "Hugo Glover, gentleman," who died in "1648," are recorded in Baxterley church; and from the same name, which may be seen on the tower of that church, with a shield, from which time has effaced the arms, we may conclude it to have been rebuilt by that family.

"Our martyr, Robert Glover, married a niece of Bishop Latimer, and had three sons and one daughter at the time of his apprehension. His eldest son, named Hugh, inherited the Mancetter property, as heir-at-law to his uncle, John Glover, who died at Mancetter, 1558.

"In the reign of Edward the Sixth, Baxterley Hall was built by Mr. John Glover, who, from the arms and badges carved upon the timber, was at that time a retainer to Lord Ferrers. He formerly held some official situation in Merevale Abbey [Founded by Robert, earl of Ferrers, A. D. 1148.]; to which house that famous assertor of the protestant religion, Bishop Latimer, resorted. As the journeys of this venerable old man were generally performed on foot, with few attendants, and in a plain dress—his New Testament fastened to his girdle, and his uncased spectacles suspended by a string of leather from his

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neck—we may imagine we see him entering the Abbey, ready prepared to open his Testament; that, from that sacred source, holding forth the word of life, he might make known that Saviour whose all-sufficiency was denied, and whose glory was obscured, by the idolatrous worship, the pagan ceremonies, and the antichristian tenets of popery. Bishop Latimer has been styled 'the apostle of England;' and his spiritual instructions so grounded Robert Glover in the truth of the gospel, that, rather than be moved away from it, he chose to lay down his life, and to suffer all the troubles and pains of a cruel martyrdom.

"It may be inferred, that not Robert only, but his brothers John and William also, were instructed by Bishop Latimer; and if but few sons could point to such a spiritual father, few fathers could boast of three such sons in the faith, or of three brothers more closely allied to each other, in their stedfast profession of the gospel.

"Robert Glover was burnt at Coventry on the fourteenth of September, 1555; and the venerable Bishop Latimer, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, at Oxford, [with Ridley, bishop of London] on the sixteenth of October following; so that they nearly finished their course together; being called to endure the same sufferings, and to receive the same reward—ven 'a crown of glory which fadeth not away.'

"But how soon are they forgotten on earth, whose 'names are written in heaven!' Though this pious family of the Glovers endured so much persecution for their profession of the gospel, yet in the History of Mancetter no mention is made of them, in their distinguishing character, as suffering Protestants during the cruel and calamitous reign of Queen Mary. The martyrdom of Robert Glover is not recorded in that work;—an omission only to be accounted for on the supposition that the author did not know that such an event had ever occurred. Whilst we bestow the grateful suffrage of our praise and admiration on those who have signalized themselves by their courage in the field, or by their mental superiority in the cabinet; whilst the cherished names of our senators and patriots are held in perpetual veneration, and pointed out as the proudest ornaments of our national monuments; the martyrs of our religion are too frequently consigned to forgetfulness and neglect. Their names are excluded from the circles of modern taste; or, if breathed in 'ears polite,' they are pronounced with distrust, or heard with fashionable indifference. Nevertheless, they were men who stood surety for our faith in the day of her battles; and in that cause, which they advocated and adorned, have transmitted to us a glowing record of their Christian fervour and heroic fortitude.—Whilst the prowess of the warrior has wrested the spear from political tyranny, the firmness of the Christian martyr has freed us from the still more oppressive grasp of spiritual despotism. It was his moral courage that first struck off the fetters of that blind superstition, which had so long shackled the minds and degraded the altars of our country; and it was his sufferings and death which paved the way for that blessed period from which we date the triumph of national freedom, and the ascendancy of the protestant faith."

**Note 2:** In Seeley's most valuable reprint, Manchester is made to have the credit of giving birth to Glover, but the Rev. J. Richings, the vicar of Mancetter, has satisfactorily proved that the scene of his own pastoral labours is the birth- place of the martyr.

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**Note 3:** The following is a copy of each of the monuments erected recently in Mancetter church, to the memory of Glover, and of Mrs. Lewes.

TO THE SACRED MEMORY  
OF  
ROBERT GLOVER.  
Martyr:

A Gentleman whose Family, for more than a CENTURY, resided in the manor-house of MANCETTER, and possessed extensive property in this Parish. But, above all, this pious Family were rich in Grace, and in the Knowledge and Love of CHRIST; and were well known for their devotedness to the PROTESTANT FAITH, when nothing awaited the profession of it but bonds, imprisonment, and death. What Persecutions befell his Brothers John and William, cannot be here recorded, ROBERT alone was called to endure the Sufferings and to receive the Crown of MARTYRDOM; and was burnt at COVENTRY A. D. 1555. For some days before his execution, this faithful witness for CHRIST was in great heaviness, fearing that the LORD had forsaken him; but the Promise, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," was so fulfilled to him, that, as he drew near to the stake, he was on a sudden so mightily replenished with holy comfort and heavenly joy, that, clapping his hands, he exclaimed to a Christian Friend, "HE IS COME—HE IS COME," whose coming gave him "the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

"THE NOBLE ARMY OF MARTYRS PRAISE THEE.  
THOU ART THE KING OF GLORY, O CHRIST."

TO THE SACRED MEMORY  
OF  
MRS. LEWES.  
Martyr:

A Lady who, having witnessed in the presence of her Persecutors a GOOD CONFESSION, sealed the truth with her Blood, and was burnt at LICHFIELD A. D. 1557. First led by the cruel Persecutions of the CHURCH OF ROME, to doubt whether it could be the CHURCH OF CHRIST, she was afterwards indebted to the pious Family of the Glovers for that more perfect knowledge of the Truth, which became dearer unto her than LIFE itself. Her love to CHRIST enabled her to bear with patience a very long and severe imprisonment; yea, she was not only willing to be bound, but also to die for the NAME of the LORD JESUS; meekly desiring that all the circumstances of her death might be so ordered, that her Friends might be comforted, her SAVIOUR glorified, and HIS enemies confounded. When chained to the stake, she manifested a cheerful serenity, and a countenance so unchanged as to astonish all who beheld her; and when the flames burst around her, standing unmoved, she only lifted up her hands towards Heaven, whither her triumphant spirit speedily ascended, entering into the presence and joy of her LORD.

"BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH, AND I WILL  
GIVE THEE A CROWN OF LIFE."

### 313. Cornelius Bungey

*Fellow martyr with Master Robert Glover.*

In the same fire with him was burned also Cornelius Bungey, a capper of Coventry, and condemned by the said Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. As concerning the articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

*Articles objected to Cornelius Bungey.*

"First, It was articulate against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

"Secondly, That by baptism sins be not washed away; because. he said, that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

"Thirdly, That there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism and the Lord's supper.

"Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar, was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

"Fifthly, That he, within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, &c.

"Sixthly, That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, &c.

"Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about," &c.

*His answers to the articles.*

"Unto the which articles he answered again: to the first he granted, and to every part thereof; meaning after the popish manner of absolution.

"To the second he granted first, and afterwards revoked the same.

"To the third also he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

"To the fourth, touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

"To the fifth, concerning the pope, likewise.

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"Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh."

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, the said Radulph the bishop read the sentence, and so committed him also, after condemnation of Master Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this foresaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same stake with the Christian martyr Master Robert Glover at Coventry, about the twentieth day of September.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Haverfordwest, Sir John Ygone being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of King Henry the Eighth: whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

### 314. William Wolsey and Robert Pygot.

After the suffering, of Master Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed martyrs, which were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxton, his suffragan, Robert Steward, dean of Ely, John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October the ninth, A. D. 1555; the names of which martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach, which William Wolsey being a constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the town of Wells, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed for those days, who extremely handled the same William Wolsey, and bound him to the good abearing, causing him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions holden within the isle of Ely: and so the said Wolsey, being despatched of his office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling-place, coming to dwell in the town of Wisbeach. Then being called again at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at the length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the jail at the assizes holden at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter week following, there repaired to confer with him, Dr. Fuller the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Young, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such a layman as he was to do. The said William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise "Good Master Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, written in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in."

"Yea," saith Dr. Fuller, "you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and Pharisees."

"Nay, Master Doctor," saith Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be."

"Away, Master Doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man." "Yet," saith Dr. Fuller, "I will leave thee a book to read, I promise thee, of a learned man's doing;" that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing, who was then bishop of Lincoln.

Wolsey, receiving the same book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifestly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At the length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller, resorting again to the prison-house to confer with the said Wolsey, did ask him how he did like the said book (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same): who answered him and said, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

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At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the book rased with a pen by the said Wolsey. The which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, "Oh! this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes holden at Wisbeach drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolsey, and speaketh unto him on this manner "Thou dost much trouble my conscience; wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee; and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

"Master Doctor," quoth Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law; and by a law I will be delivered."

Then, being brought to the sessions before named, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, thinking to him and all his friends, that he should have suffered there at that present time; but it proved nothing so.

Then Robert Pygot the painter, being at liberty, was there presented by some evil-disposed persons (sworn men, as they called them) for not coming to the church.

The said Pygot being called in the sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before Sir Clement Higham, being judge, who said unto him; "Ah! are you the holy father the painter? How chance ye came not to the church?" "Sir," quoth the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

"No, sir," said the judge "this is no church; this is a hall." "Yea, sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God."

"Ah, sirrah!" said the judge, "you are too high learned for me to talk withal; wherefore I will send you to them that be better learned than I;" straightways commanding him to the jail where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being broken up and ended, the said Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

In the mean time certain of their neighbours of Wisbeach aforesaid, being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came thither also a chaplain of Bishop Goodrike's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said unto the said Wolsey and Pygot, "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you. I promise you, not to pull you from your faith; but I both require and desire in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word; and I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus, with many other like words, he made an end, causing all that were there present to water their cheeks, contrary to the hope they all had in him; God be praised therefore.

Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the ninth day of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ were not present really in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereupon they would stand. Then said the doctors, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, "Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man."

"Ah," said Wolsey, "are you become a new man? Woe be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee."

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, "This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent, (as far as I perceive,) and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any evil opinion I find in him."

Then Christopherson called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following "I, Robert Pygot, do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the self-same that was born of the Virgin Mary;" and reading it to the painter he said thus, "Dost thou believe all this according as it is written?"

"No, sir," said the painter, "that is your faith, and not mine."

*Christopherson.*—"Lo, Master Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go; he is as much a heretic as the other." And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die: which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to the prison, where they did lie till the day of their death. At which day, one Peacock, bachelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chapter v., of one that had lived inordinately, by abusing his father's wife; likening the said Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, oftentimes saying, that such members must be cut off from the congregation; most maliciously reporting the said Wolsey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the Scripture.

So, his sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolsey being brought to the place of execution, and so bound to the stake with a chain, thither cometh one Sir Richard Collinson, a priest, at that time destitute of any bidding-place or stay of benefice, who said unto Wolsey, "Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the Holy Scripture: wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do err or find fault."

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*Wolsey*.—"I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the Holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians, to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report by me, God forgive them there-for." With that cometh one to the fire with a great sheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. "Oh," said Wolsey, "give me one of them;" and Pygot desired another; both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying Psalm cvi., desiring all the people to say Amen; and so received the fire most thankfully. The witnesses and informers hereof, were, Robert Scorted, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Best, &c.

Concerning the story of William Wolsey, I received moreover, from the university of Cambridge, by a credible person and my faithful friend, William Fulke, this relation, which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the reader, in order and form as followeth.

"There were burned at Ely two godly martyrs, the one called Wolsey, the other Pygot. In these two appeared divers opinions of one spirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his persecutors, if they could persuade him by the Scripture. The other (Wolsey) was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having πληροφοριαν [Greek: plerophorian] of the Spirit, and detested all their doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world; and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderful sore tormented in the prison with the toothache, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

"This Wolsey being in prison at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hodilo, beer-brewer in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed, as he appointed, part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six shillings eight pence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, smith, dwelling at Wellney in Cambridgeshire, within the jurisdiction of the isle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him [Wolsey] the book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth; desiring him to make haste after, as fast as he could.

"This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of money to one Master Laurence, preacher in Essex, (which then resorted often to his house,) to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings eight pence was delivered to 'Richard Denton with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this: I confess it is true, but alas I cannot burn.' This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cause of Christ, was afterward burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tuesday, being the eighteenth of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life; with two others that were in the same house.

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"Witnessed by  
Thomas Hodilo and William Fulke."

Not much unlike to this, was also the example of Master West, chaplain to Bishop Ridley, who, refusing to die in Christ's cause with his master, said mass against his conscience, and soon after died.

**315. Ridley and Latimer—Introduction.**



**Bishop Ridley**

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, both bishops, preachers, and martyrs of Christ; with their doings, conferences, and sufferings described.*



THE same year, month, and day, which the fore-said two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely, which was A. D. 1555, October sixteenth, followed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, Master Ridley, bishop of London, and Master Hugh Latimer, bishop sometime of Worcester, of whose famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can witness sufficiently; so it needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only to comprehend briefly, in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serveth to the due instruction of the reader, and maketh to the use of this present history, in declaring first their beginning and bringing up; then their studies and acts in the university; their preferments also by their studies to higher dignity; at last their trouble and travail in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of Master Ridley, whose story here ensueth.

Among many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred, for the true gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr. Ridley, I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beseeching thee (gentle reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire, who, being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who, at his return, was made chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and so from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London, in King Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he so travailed and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business; to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such

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pure order and chastity of life, (declining from all evil desires and concupiscences,) that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Now will I speak something further, particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that they, doing evil, should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him; and they to be his brother and sister, which used honesty, and a godly trade of life.

He, using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation; for duly every morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there, upon his knees, prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study, if there came no other business to interrupt him, where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts, talking, or playing at the chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read, a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially Acts xiii., reading also unto his household oftentimes Psalm ci., being marvellous

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careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr. Bonner. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, "Go for my mother Bonner;" who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, as divers times they were, "By your Lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said Dr. Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shipperside her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side, Bishop Bonner, being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of Bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother Bishop Ridley, but also curiously, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had.

And yet, being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid Shipperside, saying, that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, then the bishop of Worcester.

Hereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the disposition of these two natures; whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and spiteful disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treatises, it may appear that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's Book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with Bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm in that behalf: who now, by the grace of God, being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of King Edward,) and so long did much good, while authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the church, and proceedings of

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the gospel. But after that it so pleased the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of that stay, and call from us King Edward, that precious prince, as the whole state of the Church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies' hand; so this Bishop Ridley, after the coming in of Queen Mary, eftsoon, and with the first, was laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed: first in the Tower, then after, translated from thence with the archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer to Oxford, was with them enclosed in the common gaol and prison of Bocardo, while at length, being dissevered from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till the year 1555, and sixteenth day of October.

Furthermore, as touching his disputations and conflicts had at Oxford, and also of his determination had at Cambridge, also his travails in persuading and instructing the Lady Mary before she was queen, his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board, enough hath been said already. Beside this, other conferences he had in prison both with Dr. Cranmer and Master Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

### 316. Ridley and Latimer Debate with "Antonian."

*A conference had betwixt Master Ridley and Master Latimer in prison, upon the objection of Antonian; meaning, by that name, some popish persecutor—as Winchester; alluding thereby to the History of Victor, Book III. on African Persecutions.*

*Ridley.*—"In writing again ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day; for I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach; for surely except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.—Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me; wherefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes' or Antonius' soldiers."

*Antonian.*—"All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea, of the queen herself."

*Ridley.*—"Because no man that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the self-same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is, that the truth of the gospel might remain with us uncorrupt. And again, If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser. This is also another cause: lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-stock unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh! it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."

*Latimer.*—"Except the Lord help me, ye say. Truth it is: for without me, saith he, ye can do nothing; much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by travailing thus with me: you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge."

*Antonian.*—"What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? and from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say mass yourself?"

*Ridley.*—"I confess unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear, what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word, and they be these: the strange tongue; the want of the showing of the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins: to be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same."

*Latimer.*—"Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Be ye steadfast and unmovable, saith St. Paul: and again, *Persistite*, Stand fast: and how oft is this repeated, If ye abide, if ye abide, &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men."

*Antonian.*—"But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatian, and of the heretics called Catharists, that they would not communicate with the church."

*Ridley.*—"I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft-frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but, turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith according to St. Paul's rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they always reprov'd something for the which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing."

*Latimer.*—"I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort, with this saying of Hilary; The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's? I would you had that little book; there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, joineth strait withal, according to Jesus Christ—no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. 'Yea, sir,' quoth I, 'but in verity, not in popery. Better is diversity, than a unity in popery.' I had nothing again but scornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower."

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*Antonian.*—"But admit there be in the mass, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault: if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?"

*Ridley.*—"If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same,) yet, for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But, forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves or upon the church instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel."

*Latimer.*—"The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal: so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For, if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For, if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them, as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass: from thence groweth the grief."

*Antonian.*—"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity: without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough, He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover, Without the church, saith St. Augustine, be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."

*Ridley.*—"The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the Creed; this church I do reverence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon Israel which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: the sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that the church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. 'In times past,' saith Chrysostom, 'there were many ways to know the church of Christ; that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by

ministering the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the Scriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.' And in the end concluded, 'Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church.' To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we, being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed; for we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented."

*Latimer.*—"Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the queen's proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thyself from them that are such, saith St. Paul. From whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other doctrine, &c., he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations: but wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses: 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing; for they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ."

*Antonian.*—"That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, Dic ecclesi e, i. e. Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church if a man cannot tell which it is."

*Ridley.*—"The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; and also I have afore declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet, in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness: Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps."

*Antonian.*—"The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world; this church is the great house of God; in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes: this church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and

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that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c."

*Ridley.*—"I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But, as St. Paul saith of the Jew, Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c., neither yet all that be of Israel, are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the Head, standeth only of living stones, and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But, forasmuch as this church, (which is the second taking of the church,) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same, outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church, (which St. Augustine calleth the mingled church,) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church: so that the rule of Tichonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church; of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the Scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such time as the people would have stoned him); of Elias, of Jeremy; in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles; in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, what Lyra writeth upon Matthew; 'The church,' saith he, 'doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God.' Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. 'Evil men' (as it is in a gloss of the Decrees) 'are in the church in name, and not in deed.' And St. Augustine, contra Cresconium Grammaticum, saith, 'Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it; which church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness.' All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books; wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time

required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know, with Paul, Christ and him crucified. The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c., make me ever to forget that. Amen, amen."

*Latimer.*—"I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine, 'I would not believe the gospel,' &c., was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon; but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect; 'The church is not a judge, but a witness.' There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency; in the which after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first Christ ruleth; in the latter the devil beareth the swinge—and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter shall our Six Articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men, or no? St. Paul saith, The Lord knoweth them that are his. What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we knew, as well as he, who are his? Well, thus is the text: The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England which depart from iniquity? how many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy? how many of the rich men, or merchants? how many of the queen's councillors? yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small a room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded, (as they say,) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way."

*Antonian.*—"General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used: therefore, &c."

*Ridley.*—"Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then, undoubtedly, councils, gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift

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and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and Belial; so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, (that is, in spirit and truth,) can never agree together. But ye will say, Where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices,) what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better."

*Latimer.*—"As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say, than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have there seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the Six Articles; for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterwards the more part did repel the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same Articles now again, alas! another great but worse part hath restored. Oh, what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician but unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted."

*Antonian.*—"If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude, (I mean of them which ought to give voices,) then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined: but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard."

*Ridley.*—"Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his espouse the church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments; and further, not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he willeth his church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also at the Gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in the which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his word written; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? saith Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, Search the Scriptures. I remember

a like thing well spoken of Jerome: 'Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors.' And in another place, as I remember, in the same author: 'The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life.' But now methinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to show, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the Holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. Whatsoever things are written, saith Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God."

*Latimer.*—"There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer: neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But, in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this saying oft in their mouths: 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And 'it is the property of a wise man,' saith one, 'to dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.' In which sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. 'Wherefore forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things: seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kind of speeches mean: I speak after the manner of men; Ye walk after the manner of men; All men are liars: and that of St. Augustine, 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.'"

*Antonian.*—"If ye say, that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? for that councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church."

*Ridley.*—"From 'may be,' to 'be indeed,' is no good argument; but from 'being,' to 'may be,' no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometime erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the east parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council; and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name, (as they thought,) 'Homousians.' Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much dislike! But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may

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sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now, seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many. 'Who knoweth not,' saith he, 'that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when by some experience of things either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known.' Thus much out of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called the Bishop's Book, made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err. But me-thinketh I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics.' I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? 'Because,' saith he, 'they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion.' The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right so to be called. But, if it be so that all councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godliness, forasmuch as the mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God; forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such councils, as have approved such masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth.

"Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, 'without which neither can the councils,' saith he, 'be lawfully gathered, neither, being gathered, determine any thing concerning religion.' But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth, *De utraque potestate*, (that is, of both the powers,) doth clearly show. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevis, in the which St. Augustine was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea."

*Antonian.*—"St. Augustine saith, 'the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good.' Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be evil."

*Ridley.*—"I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife shall

be broken down. Now to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake: there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places; that is, if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."

*Antonian.*—"It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is contrary!' But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is clean contrary: therefore, &c. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus: In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; Paul, after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can show, that either the prophets, or Christ and his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' law."

*Ridley.*—"I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles; yet, notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved: for ye ought to have proved that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be showed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews, (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*,) although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and the bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit. Of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy? which plagues king Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill-altars? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word; for what was so much as that was, wherefore the false prophets ceased

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not to malign the true prophets of God? Therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c. How else, I pray you, can you understand that St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, (saith the Lord,) and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea, and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we do praise, saith St. Augustine, the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the laws of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, &c. But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully."

*Latimer.*—"Who am I that I should add any thing to this which you have so well spoken? Nay, I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be a helper unto me in time of need."

*Antonian.*—"Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, (I cannot tell what,) therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ, I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism, also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptism of Christ, or no? if it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me, how were you baptized? or whether will ye, (as the Anabaptists do,) that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?"

*Ridley.*—"Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue for the people's sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet, notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's supper is, and ought to be, given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain

substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's supper; of the which there is sufficient declaration made before."

*Latimer.*—"Where you say, 'I would wish,' surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, It is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue."

*Antonian.*—"Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately, bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means, can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which, in like cases, was wont to be the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons, that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

*Ridley.*—"O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he, which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, 'He that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law.' But these things ought to take place against him which refuseth to do that is right and just according to true godliness, not against him, which cannot quietly bear superstitions and the overthrow of Christ's institutions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God.

"To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken: for a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as be not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever love their country in truth, (that is to say, in God,) they will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man be then contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the stay

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only of their country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c.

"But this is the readiest way,' ye say, 'to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth: therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws.' Behold; Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers: for so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, Art thou he that troubleth Israel? The false prophets, also, complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? did they not, at the last, cry, If you let this man go, ye are not Cæsar's friend? The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high deputy? We have found this man, saith he, a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world, &c. But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you, but because they reprov'd before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation do well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, which professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince; but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and a helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the prince what is the prince's, and to God what is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: 'Set him,' saith he, 'in the bishop's seat, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.' Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, &c., he answered with a mild spirit, We are taught,' saith he, 'to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God: but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion."

"Hitherunto ye see, good father, how I have in words only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to be in use with armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tynedale where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in

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their hand, (you call them northern-gads,) especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their country. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers' sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith, and Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed? ever looking when our adversary, which like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour, shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore: for if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief should come he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Resist the devil, saith St. James, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully; and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain, Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever; Amen, Amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, methinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetic countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words: 'Trust not, my son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and beloved of you): trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speak: for it shall be given you even in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind, may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of a horse, &c.: but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy. I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, through his gracious aid, being not overcome, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

"Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now: blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant

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read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper, I give you good leave."

*Latimer.*—"Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armour, but also well-buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confusion in memory; and if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when and where occasion were given, and matter came to mind: for the law shall be their sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy, (namely now, when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roost,) but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, good my Lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal: neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them; when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; else ye know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies: you know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true: therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton, (as many men thought,) after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled: if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to do these things

Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency, is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, 'Peace, all things are safe,' when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread: but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort yourselves one another with these words.

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"Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me; pray for me, I say; pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their racking, writing, wrinching, and monstrously injuring of God's Holy Scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law: but I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be you stedfast and unmovable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel; and again, Harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life, saith the Lord."

### **317. The Letters of The Reverend Bishop and Martyr, Nicholas Ridley.**

*A letter sent from Bishop Ridley and his prison-fellows, unto Master Bradford and his prison-fellows, in the King's Bench in Southwark, anno 1554.*

"Well-beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all, with one heart, wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly-beloved companions which are in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren, and of their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was to us all to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c., I assure you, it is hard for me to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity.

"As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and therefore, with God's grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than ye say ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by God's grace, continue, &c. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumours is or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you, and all the rest of our foresaid companions, well in Christ.

"It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of Master Hooper's matter; but of the rest never a deal. We long to hear of Father Crome, Dr. Sands, Master Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our entreating doth change as sour ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiff's servant sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as Master Bailiffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumour in the town and country about, that we should have broken the prison with such violence, as that, if Master Bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made a scape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields; but now both they and we are restrained of both.

"My Lord of Worcester passed by through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the mayor's commandment, as the bailiffs did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us: afore, they might, that would see us upon the wall; but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, &c. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merry in God; all our cure and care is and shall be (by God's grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries,

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to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, nor any scholar, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of *Quondams*. For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good, and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall, by God's grace, one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come; for, before that day come, I fear me the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown, and trodden under foot; righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that love truly the truth.

"We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as ye know did visit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkinson and Mistress Warcup have not forgotten us, but, ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lack (for God be blessed, he ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us); but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.

"Yours in Christ.  
NICH. RIDLEY."

*A letter of Ridley, sent to a cousin of his.*

"God's Holy spirit be with you now and ever; Amen.—When I call to remembrance, beloved cousin, the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and are assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pitiful, (without speedy repentance,) that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but only lamenting the state of those, whom I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instruction. But alas! instead thereof we have persuasions to follow (I lament to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts; Amen. Commend me, &c.

"Yours.  
NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

*A worthy letter of Ridley to Master Bradford.*

"Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner, and his cross, against our ghostly enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan, methinketh I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his gospel, and his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts, and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this Satanical synagoge. These two, sir, are they, in my judgment: the one, his false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two, Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by these two he driveth down mightily (alas, I fear me) the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonous rotten posts he had so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect God. Wherefore John saith, not without great cause, If any know not Satan's subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withal.

"Sir, because these be his principal and main posts, whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little, God knoweth, that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford! let the wicked surmise and say what they list; know you for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's gospel's cause, against and upon the aforesaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother; and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord.—From Bocardo.

"Yours in Christ.

NICH. RIDLEY."

*Another letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford, and other his prison fellows, anno 1555.*

"Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace.

"According to your mind, I have run over all your papers, and what I have done (which is but small) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much ado to read that was written in your great leaves, and I ween some where I have altered some words, because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall be best done with these things, now ye must consider; for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father, and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it; for as you have been partner of the work, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Dr. Taylor, not

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for my earthly country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, and for Christ's sake, whom, I heard say, he did so stoutly in time of peril confess, and yet also for our country's sake, and for all our mother's sake; but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in our company, such blessed fruits of boldness in the Lord's cause, of patience and constancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come; Amen.

"As yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleased will and pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands: except, I say, it please our Father, it please our Master, Christ, to suffer them, they shall not stir one hair of your heads.

"My brother Punt (the bearer hereof, and Master Hooper's letters) would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind; that is, not to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent judges. We are, as ye know, separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the bailiffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongst us: and yet, as we hear, the scholars bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause.

"Now as concerning your demand of our counsel, for my part I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are minded to do; for I look for none other. But, if ye answer afore the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I think, that occasion afterwards may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise.

"Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able; but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This letter must be common to you and Master Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow, good Father Crome, I bless God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our Master, Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable service, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy, and all manner of true godliness. But what shall I need to say to you? Let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although, I said, the bailiffs and our hostess straitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us instead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you all: Amen, Amen.

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"As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money, and shirts, not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

"And yet I pray you do so much as to show them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do; for I know they be of Master Hooper's and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crazed; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

"NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

### *Another letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford.*

"O dear brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling: Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

"O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom, where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives. Oh! what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and which shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

"We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother! blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

"Your brother in Christ, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

"Brother, farewell."

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*To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons; but knit together, in unity of spirit and holy religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.*

"Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren; namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who, notwithstanding the rage of Satan that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboured to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; ye remain yet still unmovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan, by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh even the very stars out of heaven, whiles he driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and showeth and offereth to others the pleasant baits of the world, namely, riches, wealth, and all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication; yet blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the terrors, as also the vain flatterings and allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought: who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so stedfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

"In this faith stand ye fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived: such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth unto us that, for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened. In the mean season, abide ye and endure with patience as ye have begun: 'Endure,' I say, 'and reserve yourselves unto better times,' as one of the heathen poets said; cease not to show yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailing faith of the gospel.

"Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promises, for yet a very little, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry: and the just shall live by faith; but if any withdraw himself my soul shall have no pleasure in him, saith the Lord. But we are not they which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul. Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Fear not them which kill the body; the rest ye

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know: for I write not unto you as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth; and to this end only, that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to contemn our life, or shed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, either can we, receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. This is life eternal, saith St. John, that they know thee to be the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ. If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

"Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be ye not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your Captain, Christ; trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God there-for) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written, until of late years past.

"Let us be hearty, and of good courage therefor, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when ye are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed there-for: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.

"On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified: for what can they else do unto you, by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing that while, for Christ's cause, they vex and persecute us, they are like mad-men. most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they, acknowledging their

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blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us. confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in Spirit and verity: Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ: Amen.

"Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you."

*A letter of Bishop Ridley, wherein he confirmeth the brethren in captivity; translated out of the Latin.*

"To the brethren which constantly cleave unto Christ, in suffering affliction with him and for his sake.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you: Amen.

"Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this present any news to send to you; yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby ye might understand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Christ's cause, ye have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to stablish and confirm that thing, which when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine; that is to say, holding fast the word of life, ye shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and profit of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth and busily laboureth to darken the light of the gospel.

"And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardness, of the godly, and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

"Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath ingrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another; whereby also, being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us; whereby moreover he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body hath given, as it were,

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wholesome medicines and remedies: those, I say, were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language, so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the people redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

"Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together: but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute beast?

"Finally, I hear say, that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. O devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth; now he rageth. But what else do they, brethren, which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the gospel: Woe unto you which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them! you yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter to come in.

"And from whence shall we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit? Now, even now, out of doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

"Ye therefore, my brethren, which pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads; that is to wit, are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us is stronger than he which is in the world, and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the world; and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all, who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and

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therefore how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who then shall condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather, which is risen again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? The rest ye know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore: Amen."

*A letter of Bishop Ridley, answering to a certain letter of one Master West, sometime his chaplain.*

"I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded, that this world is but transitory, and, as St. John saith, The world passeth away, and the lust thereof. I am persuaded Christ's words to be true, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: and I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should let me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed sir, now it is time so to do; for, so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the loss both of body and soul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws. You say, you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

"You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so I assure you I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest, as you say, yet in the margin you write 'warily,' and in this world 'wisely;' and yet methought all sounding not well.

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Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

"To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me: for this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methinks I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house; which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power (but alas, now, when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away): this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

"This conscience doth move me also now to require both you, and my friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting-forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other, (I exhort you as my friends,) but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both, in God's name, Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St. John is true, All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth as is now, alas! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and

abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said, Christ yesterday and to-day; the same is also for ever.

"When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that the Common Prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you I never found man, (so far as I do remember,) neither old nor young, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? for what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse: for he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his word.

"I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, so long as I live! And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore, bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord, (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God,) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either, for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostata, indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all, my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say; for this may be the last time, peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

"From Bocardo in Oxford the eighth day of April, 1555."



aster Grindal, now archbishop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the city of Frankfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley, then prisoner, a certain epistle, wherein, first, he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant: secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the magistrates and rulers there towards them: thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certain other treatises and his disputations; whereunto Bishop Ridley answereth again in order, as followeth:

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*An answer of Bishop Ridley to Master Grindal's letter sent from Frankfort.*

"Blessed be God our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

"Dearly-beloved brother Grindal, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my reverend fathers and concaptives, (which undoubtedly are the glory of Christ,) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father, for his boundless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth cease to multiply his mercies, to strengthen us; and I trust, yea, by his grace I doubt nothing but he will so do for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Zurich, Frankfort, and otherwhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here, that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I assure you, it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory, and Cox, &c. Oh! that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but, I trust in God, they be all well. And sir, seeing you say, that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now, therefore, care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us: for whensoever God shall call us home, (as we look daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, come,) you, blessed be God! are enough, through his aid, to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies, ye say, ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except ye have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

"As for the treatise in English, 'Contra Transubstantiationem,' vix possum adduci ut credam operæ-pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid sit, nullo modo velim ut quid-quam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus, constituerit fieri, vobis Arius certo constiterit; and thus much unto your letters. Now, although I suppose you know a good part of our state here, (for we are forthcoming, even as when ye departed, &c.) you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close prisoner, and, after that, had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year; and then, because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in prison again.

"The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, Master Bradford, and I, were put all together in one prison, where we remained till almost the next Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, Master Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following, were our disputations at Oxford, after the which all was taken from us, as pen, ink,

&c. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

"Blessed be God, we three, at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched, for we were all three on one day, (within a day or two of our disputations,) of Dr. Weston, being the head commissioner, condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I do not doubt but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord! Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preserved above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered to the secular power, and writs, as we have heard say, given out for his execution, and called in again."

"Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea, not for the fear or pains of death. The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these: Ferrar the bishop of St. David's, Hooper the bishop of Worcester, Rogers, (tuus olim comprehendarius,) Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Master Saunders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now, this last day, Master Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

"West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, alas, hath relented, as I have heard; but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon after he died, and is gone. Grimbald was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he escaped not without some becking or bowing, alas, of his knee unto Baal.

"My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bullhead in Cheap, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shippside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.

"Of all us three concaptives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty, vel quia viro, in cujus ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit præfectus civitatis)—mulier vetula, morosa, et superstitiosissima, qua etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori vero plusquam obsequens. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidian consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihilo posse intelligere, quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum mala muliere in conjugio collocari. Recta ergo sapiens dixit, Uxor bona donum Dei; et iterum, Mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia à magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum: idque illi, si quando de mea nimia servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

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"At Cambridge (as I hear say) omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum Præfecti qui sinceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt; et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod et de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam idem passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero: and to tell you much naughty matter in few words, papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

"The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, alas, we did not serve him nor render unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold, and bare too much, alas, with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same. The people in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways which so wholly have displeased his sacred Majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"My daily prayer is, (as God doth know,) and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you, my dear brethen, that are fled out of your own country, because you will rather forsake all worldly things than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God, for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting-forth of his glory and of his gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same; that there arise no root of bitterness among you that may infect that good seed which God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally, that your life may be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake; and so, both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

N. R."

*To Augustine Bernher.*

Brother Augustine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Christ, specially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battle against his adversaries, and hath endued them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospel's sake, to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father, for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord, I

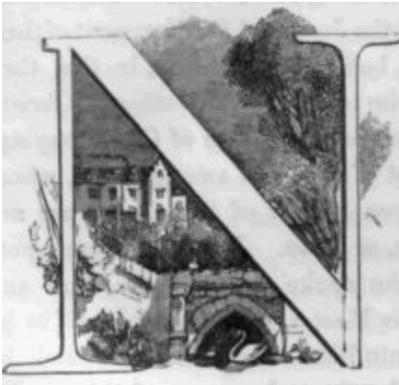
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perceive, calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he, for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously, hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey; that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the highway, *et sic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium*. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr, Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher of London. And now, because Grindal is gone, (the Lord, I doubt not, hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him,) I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church, to suffer for Christ whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper, I was constrained thus to write."

Besides these letters of Bishop Ridley, divers other tractations also were written by him, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely, among certain others, there remain in my hands certain notes answering to the two notable sermons of Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, &c.

### 318. Life of Latimer.

*Here beginneth the life, acts, and doings of Master Hugh Latimer, the famous preacher and worthy martyr of Christ and his gospel.*



Now consequently after the life of Bishop Ridley, with other his letters, which partly we have expressed, and partly we have deferred to our latter Appendix, follow likewise the life and doings of the worthy champion and old practised soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer; of whose acts and long travails even from his first years and tender age, to begin here to entreat.

First, he was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaster, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years, or thereabout; at which time his parents, (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters,) seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years he was sent to the university of Cambridge; where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water: and moreover that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar; with divers such superstitious fantasies. And in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as both his oration made, when he proceeded bachelor of divinity, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other works, did plainly declare. But especially his popish zeal could in no case abide in those days good Master Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge; most spitefully railing against him, and willing the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the professor of the gospel and true church of Christ, he was at length himself, by a member of the same prettily caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Master Thomas Bilney, (whose story is before described,) being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Master Latimer to have a zeal in his ways, (although without knowledge,) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might best win this zealous ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Master Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the school-doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with Master

Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the Paternoster, doth confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Master Bilney and others, and came also to Master Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor, to the rest of his brethren within the university, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom to begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his impious imps to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that Master Latimer made about Christmas 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the university of Cambridge, to envy against him, for that Master Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the chief trump in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better learn their duties as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas day: on which day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day; Tu quis es? &c. In delivering the which cards (as is above said) he made the heart to be trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best coat card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c.; meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c.; so that all these either were needless, where the other is present, or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

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*The tenor and effect of certain sermons made by Hugh Latimer in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1529.*

"Who art thou? These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not; wherefore they said unto him, Who art thou? Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

"Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ; and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo. By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, Who art thou? shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

"Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, Who art thou? This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, 'What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou earnest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of, by thyself?' Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise: I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell; except I have better help of another, than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following:

"Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's Grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of a simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's Grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasy: and, for because the king's Grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall

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take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

"This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will but be content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms; and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alonely by the negligence of this captain.

"Now the king's Grace, hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he, being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds of possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly: the said captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So, likewise, it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given alonely unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, Paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, i. e. the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

"Now then the King, seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for, likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for-him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again, we lost the same.

"The heirs of the captain of Calais, could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father, in the thousand pounds of possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice. Let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in Paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true

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justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! for he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in Paradise, into this corrupt world amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, insomuch that this evil nature is so diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness; and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our forefather Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, Who art thou?

"And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven, perceiving the frail nature of man, that he, by himself and of himself, could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so, at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind; and so left behind for our safeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelies, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, Who art thou? than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be thy answer of this question, Who art thou?

"The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath reviv'd us from death to life, and saved us that were damned; which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a Christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule: for likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good Christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

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"Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas: I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And whereas you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend, by God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the trump, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this trump with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

"Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the trump; you must mark also that the trump must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then, take ye this first card, which must appear and be showed unto you as followeth: you have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you of the new law, saith Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

"Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms, how they be spoken, and to what purpose; let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

"Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, Thou shalt not kill. Yet nevertheless, the last three parts do show unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet, for all Christ's exposition, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt, the Jews understood Christ well enough, when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue. Wherefore, seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we, in like manner, may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin, first, with the first part of this card, and then, after, with the other three parts: you must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, Thou shalt not kill, was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge, not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon; and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbours, so that they did not harm or meddle with their

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corporal bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

"Now, as touching the three other sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences: to be angry with your neighbour; to call your neighbour 'brainless,' or any such word of disdain; or to call your neighbour 'fool.' Whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly, one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother ire or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

"Now, to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour 'brainless,' or some other like word of displeasure—as a man might say in a fury, 'I shall handle thee well enough,' which words and countenances do more represent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word nor showed any countenance to declare his ire. Wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth that in him is, to kill his neighbour's soul in moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himself; and so this man is in danger of council.

"Now to the third offence, and last of these three: That man that calleth his neighbour 'fool,' doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that calleth his neighbour but 'brainless,' or any such words moving ire: for to call a man 'fool,' that word representeth more envy in a man, than 'brainless' doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you may understand now these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other.

"Now peradventure there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man 'brainless,' and to call his neighbour 'fool;' truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names; which offences must needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults, to have three degrees of punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire: these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences. Judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance. Council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater

degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour 'brainless,' or any such word, that declareth his ire and malice; wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour 'fool,' by reason that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it; that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

"Now you have heard that to these divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees; for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain shall be according: if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think, because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell. No doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient, enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with another. Yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms of judgment, council, and hell-fire. Whereas you might say, What was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them: these terms were natural and well-known amongst the Jews and the Pharisees; wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine. And these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of enquirance, the sessions of deliverance, and the execution-day. Sessions of enquirance is like unto judgment; for when sessions of enquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance, the judges go among themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon: execution-day is to be compared unto hell-fire, for the Jews had amongst themselves a place of execution, named 'hell-fire;' and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms.

"These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine, to thrust down these Turks and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bond and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards, who shall have the better. Let us play therefore on this fashion with this card.

Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, 'Who art thou?' The answer is, 'I am a Christian man.' Then further we must say to ourselves, 'What requireth Christ of a Christian man?' Now turn up your trump, your heart, (hearts is trump, as I said before,) and cast your trump, your heart, on this card; and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a Christian man, not to be angry, ne moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome him by true and lawful play. But, alas for pity, the

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Rhodes are won and overcome by these false Turks, the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

"The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that Christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed; which murder and killing one of another is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example, as thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of the father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames: if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants, and apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them; and so this way is a great number of Christian lineage murdered and spoiled.

"The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain; which is on this fashion: Although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well-disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences. The master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the other, of his faculty, doth admit him; or that he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay, if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering them.

"Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend. Every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teaching according to it, rebuking and punishing vice; not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God. You ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof. And so you may perceive that there be many a one that breaketh this card, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and playeth therewith oftentime, at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers. But who be those, now-a-days, that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own children unto their damnation; unless the great mercy of God were ready to help them when they repent there-for.

"Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalene; and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the

more we shall be forgiven; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven; as appeareth by this example following:

"Christ when he was in this world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon; this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner. Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner, named Mary Magdalene. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself; and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee, seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, 'If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him.' Christ, understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said unto him, 'Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee.' 'Say what you please,' quod the Pharisee. Then said Christ, 'I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both: which of these two debtors ought to love this man most?' The Pharisee said, 'That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him.' 'Likewise,' said Christ, 'it is by this woman; she hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her; she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me. And thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins: therefore, because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven.' So this proud Pharisee had an answer to delay his pride. And think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk, and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalene, their poor neighbour, with a high, disdainous, and solemn countenance. And being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalene under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that those Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

"I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalene. I doubt not but we be all Magdalenes in falling into sin, and in offending: but we be not again Magdalenes in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalenes, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it.; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, 'Who art thou?' to the which we might answer, that we be true Christian men and women: and then, I say, you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this card, Thou shalt not kill, without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks; and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory: Amen."

It would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men-at-arms.

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First came out the prior of the Black Friars, called Buckenham, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*, who thinking to make a great hand against Master Latimer, about the same time of Christmas, when Master Latimer brought forth his cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience cinque and quatre; meaning by the cinque, five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the quatre; by which his cinque quatre, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example, the ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God, might peradventure, hearing this, cease from his plough, Likewise the baker, when he heareth that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These with others more this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Master Latimer, hearing this friarly sermon of Dr. Buckenham, cometh again in the afternoon, or shortly after, to the church, to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham, the foresaid friar, prior of the Black Friars, with his Black-friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Then Master Latimer, first repeating the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckenham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the friar; so answered to his objections; so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear; well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least this requiring, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that neither the ploughman durst look back, nor the baker should leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the Scripture: which phrases, he said, were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonly used and known "and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech," saith he, "hath its metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls and in houses."

As for example, (saith he, looking toward the friar that sat over against him,) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation, lieth hid many times in these friars cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, Friar Buckenham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against Master Latimer.

Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a Grey Friar and a doctor, an outlandish man, called Dr. Venetus, who likewise, in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against Master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the people not to believe him, &c. To whom Master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, Thou shalt not kill, &c. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainless,) shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the life of our neighbour: with heart, when we be angry with him: with word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any opprobrious and unseemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (said he) or brainless, or such like, which are guilty of council: words of spite or reviling are, when we call him fool; which Christ saith is guilty of hell-fire, &c.

Thus Master Latimer, in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christ's words and the explaining of the same he had sufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wisdom; out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this world commonly are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of God's word, which count them here as mad-men, fools, brainless, and drunken: "so did they," said he, "in the Scripture call them which most purely preached and set forth the glory of God's word. But," said he, "what will be the end of these jolly fellows, or what will they say in the end? 'We mad-men, we mad fools, we, we ourselves,' &c. And that will be their end, except they repent." And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but also clean out of the university.

But what should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching likewise and barking against him? amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's College, whose scholar Latimer had been afore; Dr. Notaries, master of Clare-hall; Dr. Philo, master of Michael's-house; Dr. Metecalfe, master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe of the King's-hall; Dr. Bullock, master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe of Clement's hostel; Dr. Donnes of Jesus College; Dr. Palms, master of St. Nicholas's hostel; and Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelor of divinity, all three of St. John's College: also Brikenden, bachelor of divinity of the same house, and scholar sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were heads there of houses, so many impugnors did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Master Latimer at Barnwell Abbey, forbade him, within the churches of that university, to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Master Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the church

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by, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being upon Christmas even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and were commenced against him by Master Tyrell, fellow of the King's-hall, and so by the vice-chancellor presented to the cardinal, as in his story before hath been declared.

This Master Latimer, as you have heard, being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding and maugre the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the space of three years together, with such favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself, coming in and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same. So Master Latimer, with Master Bilney, after this, continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he with the said Bilney used much to confer and company together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretics'-hill. The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of Master Bilney.



**Latimer with King Henry VIII**

In a place of his sermons, Master Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two, and a certain woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembered. The history is this: it so chanced, that after Master Latimer had been acquainted with the foresaid Master Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and stedfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus: a child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption; which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial: but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced, with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and Master Latimer, by earnest inquisition of conscience, thought the woman not guilty. Then, immediately after, was he called to preach before King Henry the Eighth at Windsor, where, after his sermon, the king's Majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time Master Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened his whole matter to the king, and begged her pardon; which the king most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was Master Latimer, Mistress Cheke godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and Master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her; unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Then Master Bilney, being with Master Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and how women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, &c. So thus they travailed with this woman, till they brought her to a good trade; and then at length showed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act among many others at this time happened in Cambridge by Master Latimer and Master Bilney. But this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly some are touched before, such especially as concern Master Bilney, mention whereof is above expressed. But, as it is commonly seen in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withal, in much like sort it happened with Master Latimer; whose towardness the more it began to spring, his virtues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his adversaries began to spurn and kindle against him. Concerning these adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was Dr. Redman, of whom mention is made before in the reign of King Edward; a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well doing, that few poor scholars were in that

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university, which fared not better by his purse. This Dr. Redman being of no little authority in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of Master Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time, or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by persuasion to revoke the said Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom Master Latimer maketh answer again in few words. The sum and effect of both their letters, translated out of Latin, here followeth to be seen:

### *The sum of the epistle written by Dr. Redman to Master Latimer.*

"Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesus.—I beseech you heartily, and require most earnestly, even for charity's sake, that you will not stand in your own conceit with a mind so indurate, nor prefer your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men; and that more is, before the whole catholic church; especially considering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authentical writer. Nay, nay; I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which doth sometimes transform itself into an angel of light.

"Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked spirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for our own salvation. Lay down your stomach, I pray you, and humble your spirit, and suffer not the church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christ's coat-without-seam (as much as lieth in you) should be torn asunder. Consider what the saying of the wise man is, and be obedient thereunto: trust not your own wisdom.—The Lord Jesus Christ," &c.

### *The sum of Master Latimer's answer to Dr. Redman.*

"Reverend Master Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God."

After Master Latimer had thus travailed in preaching and teaching in the university of Cambridge about the space of three years, at length he was called up to the cardinal for heresy, by the procurement of certain of the said university, where he was content to subscribe, and grant to such articles as then they propounded unto him, &c.

After that he returned to the university again, where, shortly after, by the means of Dr. Butts, the king's physician, a singular good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the said Dr. Butts' chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last, being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the king, at the suit of the Lord Cromwell and Dr. Butts, was glad thereof, seeking by that means to be rid out of the court, wherewith in no case he could agree; and so, having a grant of the benefice, contrary to the mind of Dr. Butts, he would needs depart and be resident at the same.

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This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum, the name of which town was called West Kington, where this good preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there, in like sort, he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us, Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. It so chanced, that whereas he, preaching upon the blessed Virgin, Christ's mother, (whom we call our Lady,) had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed unto him:

"First, That he should preach against our Lady, for that he reprov'd in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, which so held together upon that blessed Virgin, as though she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole world.

"Item, That he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped.

"Item, That Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer.

"Item, That there was no material fire in hell.

"Item, That there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower."

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his reply and answer to the same, hereafter shall follow (by the Lord's assistance) when we come to his letters.

The chief impugnors and molesters of him, besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson sometime of Cambridge, Master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood; of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him, insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, January the twenty-ninth, A. D. 1531.

Against this citation although Master Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet all that notwithstanding, he was had up to London before Warham the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he, being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching, had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he, not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him to preach and do his duty, writeth to the foresaid archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his duty-doing, and that from no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion,

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much needful to be spoken against; which all may appear by his epistle sent to a certain bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed.

In this epistle, he maketh mention of certain articles or propositions, whereunto he was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copy and effect of those articles, or nude propositions, (as he calleth them,) be these:—

*Articles devised by the bishops, for Master Latimer to subscribe unto.*

"I believe that there is a purgatory, to purge the souls of the dead after this life.

"That the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living.

"That the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

"That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

"That it is profitable for Christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

"That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious.

"That they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

"That the keys of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they lived wickedly; and are by no means nor at any time committed to laymen.

"That men may merit and deserve at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

"That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again.

"That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the Christians, (except necessity otherwise require,) are to be observed and kept.

"That God in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

"That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

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"That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints, should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ, and his saints.

"That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the saints."

To these articles whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain. It appeareth by an epistle before written to the bishop, that he durst not consent unto them; where he writeth in these words, "His ego nudis sentiis subscribere non audeo, quia popularis superstitionis diutius duraturæ, quoad possum, authorculus esse nolo," &c. But yet whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel handling of the bishops, it is in doubt. By the words, and the title in Tonstal's Register prefixed before the articles, it may seem that he did subscribe. The words of the Register be these:—

"Hugo Latimerus, in sacra Theologia Bacchalauius in Universitate Cantabrigiæ, coram Cant. Archiepisc. Johan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaue concione apud Westmon. vocatus, confessus est et recognovit fidem suam sic sentiendo ut sequitur in his artic. 21 die Martii, anno 1531."

If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or else abide the bishop's blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed, preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for articles necessary of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this, by the way, is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used the same time, to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he showeth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, October the ninth, A. D. 1550: his words be these:—

"I was once," saith he, "in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed: for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now, at this time, the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end.

"There was amongst the bishops that examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end. Then, amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, 'I pray you, Master Latimer,' said one, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the

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chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it."

The question to him there and then objected was this "Whether he thought in his conscience, that he hath been suspected of heresy." This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger; but God, which alway giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there express.

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own letters hereafter following, may better appear.

*An inhibition made to Master Hugh Latimer, that he should not preach within the diocese of London.*

"John, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks and learned men, whatsoever they be, throughout our city and diocese of London, health, grace, and benediction, &c. Whereas we, by authority granted us by the law and provincial constitutions in this behalf, of late did inhibit and forbid one Hugh Latimer, a priest, for certain just and lawful causes specially moving us in this behalf, and specially for the pernicious errors already determined by the church in the decrees, and decretals, and provincial constitutions, by the which, through his crafty flattering, and, as it is said, fraudulent and pestiferous kind of preaching, he goeth about to corrupt and infect the people, and to seduce them from the approved and received doctrine of the church, that he should not preach within our city and diocese of London, in places exempt or not exempt, except he were licensed thereunto by special licence, under pain of the law. Nevertheless, as we have heard reported, the said Hugh Latimer, despising and contemning our inhibition, hath rashly presumed to preach the third day of this present month of October, without any licence, within our diocese of London; that is to say, within the precincts of the friars Augustines, to the violating and contempt of the law and our inhibition. Therefore we command you jointly and severally, firmly enjoining and charging you that for the causes before said, again the second time by our authority, you do inhibit and forbid, or cause the said Hugh Latimer peremptorily to be inhibited and forbidden; unto whom, also, by the tenor of these presents we do inhibit and forbid, that he do not presume to take upon him the office of preaching, and to preach within our city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, in places exempt or not exempt, until such time as, according to our just judgment, he have purged himself of his default, and be lawfully restored unto the office of preaching, and have obtained his letters testimonial according to the tenor and form of the canonical sanctions or provincial constitutions, in this behalf lawfully ordained; and that he really exhibit and show the same in what place soever he will hereafter preach, under the pain expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions. Also we command you and every of you, jointly and severally, that you do intimate and signify this inhibition aforesaid to be made and executed by our

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authority aforesaid, unto all and singular abbots and priors of religious houses, as well exempt as not exempt, to their presidents or vicegerents, whatsoever they be; and also to all and singular parsons, vicars, priests, the clergy and people, wheresoever they be within our diocese, albeit in places exempt: and specially to the famous man, Friar George Brown, professor of divinity, and prior of the house or convent of the friars Augustines of the city and diocese of London. For the same causes and by the said authority inhibiting all the aforesaid, that they, nor any of them, do not admit the said Hugh Latimer to preach within any of their churches, or within the precinct of any of their houses, or with any of them, under the pain and penalty expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions, until such time as he have purged himself as is before said; and that he do really exhibit unto them his sufficient letters testimonial upon his restitution, as is aforesaid.

"Given under our seal the second day of October, A. D. 1533, and in the third year of our consecration."

This inhibition was executed against the said Hugh Latimer upon a Sunday, the fifth day of October, in the year aforesaid, within the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, of the city of London, by Robert Hains, a learned man, &c. The which inhibition notwithstanding, the said Hugh Latimer preached the third day of October at afternoon, within the precinct of the friars Augustines of the city of London.

Thus have we discoursed, and run over hitherto, the laborious travails, the painful adventures, and dangerous hazards, and manifold plunges, which this true-hearted and holy servant of God suffered among the pope's friends and God's enemies, for the gospel's sake: in which so hard and dangerous straits, and such snares of the bishops, hard had it been for him and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, as he stirred him up, so have preserved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement partly of Dr. Butts, partly of good Cromwell, (whose story ye heard before,) he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester, who so continued a few years, instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit, as might be. As for example, in this thing, and in divers others, it did appear, that when it could not be avoided but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his diocese, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following:

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"Remember your promise in baptizing;  
Christ his mercy and blood-shedding:  
By whose most holy sprinkling.  
Of all your sins you have free pardoning."

"Of Christ's body this is a token.  
Which on the cross for our sins was broken.  
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,  
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers."

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was, in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese. But, as before, both in the university and at his benefice, he was tost and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons, so in his bishopric also, he was not all clear and void of some that sought his trouble: as, among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story, because he himself showeth in a sermon of his, before King Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these:

"In the king's days that dead is, a great many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth down and accuseth me of sedition, and that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as, if I should name, ye would not think. The king turned to me, and said, 'What say you to that, sir?'

"Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him; 'Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king, in the king's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

"Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue, to be a preacher before your Grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.'

"And I thank Almighty God, (which hath always been my remedy,) that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, The Lord directeth the king's heart. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night."

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Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop sustained in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time, not far from the diocese of Worcester, a certain justice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice, in purchasing of certain land for his brother, or for himself, went about to wrong or damnify a poor man, who made his complaint to Master Latimer. He first hearing, then tendering, his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman, exhorting him to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withal, (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault,) sendeth word again in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatenings words, &c. Master Latimer, hearing this, answered again by writing to a certain gentleman; the copy whereof among his letters hereafter followeth in the sequel of this story to be seen.

It were a large and long process to story out all the doings, travails, and writings of this Christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands; but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles. Then, being distressed through the straitness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign his pastorship. At which time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise with him his bishopric. And so these two remained a great space unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of King Edward of blessed memory. At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such a heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, first he was almost slain, but sore bruised, with the fall of a tree. Then, coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger; and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed King Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he, beginning afresh to set forth his plough again, continued all the time of the said king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk, (whose sermons be extant and set forth in print,) as also at London in the convocation-house, and especially before the king at the court. In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

In this his painful travail he occupied himself all King Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he, being a sore bruised man by the fall of a tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty-seven years of age, took so little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. A. D. 1547.



**Bishop Latimer Preaching**

Now to speak here of his indefatigable travail and diligence in his own private studies, who notwithstanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, was at his book most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, wherewith he admonished such as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of King Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be over-passed, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit, plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did so evidently foreshow and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues afore, which afterward ensued; that, if England ever had a prophet, he might seem to be one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the even did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed King Edward, not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down

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(by the means no doubt of Winchester) into the country, to call him up, of whose coming, although Master Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Careless, (whose story hereafter followeth, yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. At the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him.

"My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally," &c.

At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him; by whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Thus Master Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London, through Smithfield, (where merrily he said that Smithfield had long groaned for him,) was brought before the council, where he, patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was cast again into the Tower, where he, being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained most patient imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdom would never fall; yet he showed himself not only patient, but also cheerful in and above all that which they could or would work against him. Yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies; as it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he answered to the lieutenant, being then in the Tower: for when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved with cold, merrily bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

The lieutenant, hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner, and so coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before, how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive . him, &c. "Yea, Master Lieutenant, so I said," quoth he, "for you look, I think, that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold."

Many such like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Thus Master Latimer, passing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of

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Canterbury, and Master Ridley, bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as is before touched, the manner and order of which disputations between them and the university doctors, is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer, with his other fellow prisoners, was condemned after the disputations, and so committed again to the prison, and there they continued from the month of April above mentioned, to this present month of October; where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit Master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and, amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for.

First, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's Majesty that now is, whom in his prayer he was wont accustomedly to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to his comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof following after did declare; for the Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

First, concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly bishop Master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." And so afterward by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, the which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present, being godly, did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body so to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God most graciously granted his request, which was, that he might shed his heart blood in the defence of the gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again unto this realm, these present days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us; Amen.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was

moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorable and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Master Latimer.

The same God, which, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and Christian princess, and her subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him! And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travails of Master Latimer.

*Articles untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably imputed to me, Hugh Latimer, by Dr. Powell of Salisbury.*

"First, that 'our Lady was a sinner.'—Occasioned of some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed men, which gave so much to our Lady of devotion without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her: to prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved, I reasoned after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner: there is no mean. If she were a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners be: if she were no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or no. Now certain authors, (said I,) as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said that certain scriptures stand something to the same, unless they be the more warily understood and taken (as in Rom. iii. 10, 19): All have declined, that every mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the same chapter, All have sinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And so death passed through into all men and women, forasmuch as all have sinned. But to these scriptures I said it might be answered, that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or minish the verity of a universal exposition in Scriptures.

"And as to the doctors, I said, that others more say otherwise; and forasmuch as now it is universally and constantly received and applied that she was no sinner, it becometh every man to stand and agree to the same, 'and so will I,' quoth I, 'nor any man that wise is, will the contrary. But to my purpose, it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her saved, and Christ her Saviour, whether ever she was,' &c.

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"And to that, 'What need you to speak of this?' I answered, 'Great need: when men cannot be content that she was a creature saved, but as it were a Saviouress, not needing salvation, it is necessary to set her in her degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved.' Good authors have written that she was not a sinner; but good authors never wrote that she was not saved: for though she never sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but she might have sinned, if she had not been preserved: it was of the goodness of God that she never sinned; it had come of her own illness if she had sinned: there was difference betwixt her and Christ: and I will give as little to her as I can, (doing her no wrong,) rather than Christ her Son and Saviour shall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am sure that our Lady will not be displeased with me for so doing, for our Lady sought his glory here upon earth; she would not defraud him now in heaven: but some are so superstitiously religious, or so religiously superstitious, so preposterously devout toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: such are zeals without knowledge and judgment, to our Lady's displeasure.

"No doubt our Lady was, through the goodness of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, indued with singular gifts and graces from above, which, through the help of God, she used to God's pleasure, according to her duty; so giving us ensample to do likewise: so that all the goodness that she had, she had it not of herself, but of God, the author of all goodness; the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteously, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man, to save both man and woman, did choose her to his mother, which love he showed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodness, by the which she was the natural mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual sister of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christ's word, and keeping the same. It should not have availed her to salvation, to have been his natural mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father. By him she was his mother: by him she did the will of his Father: she the handmaiden, he the Lord. The handmaiden did magnify her Lord, the handmaiden would that all should magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory, Amen, &c.

"To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour our Lady; he is as able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin: he was then subject to Joseph, his father-in-law, his mother's husband; Joseph is now subject to him. He never dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preserved them from all sin.

"To say that Peter and Paul, David and Mary Magdalene, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for then Scripture doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preserved all that he could have preserved. For remembrance of all that fall and uprising, keepeth us in our fall from despairing: both are of God, to have not sinned, and to have forsaken and left sin. And as sure is this of heaven, as that; and this more common than that, and to us that have been sinners more comfortable.

"It hath been said in times past, without sin, that our Lady was a sinner; but it never was said, without sin, that our Lady was not saved, but a Saviour: I go not about to make our Lady a sinner, but to have Christ her Saviour. When mine adversaries cannot reprove the thing that I say, then they will belie me, to say the thing that they can reprove. They will sin to make our Lady no sinner, to prove that which no man denieth: such provers, and so cold probations, saw you never. It were better unproved, than so weakly proved. But they be devout towards

honouring of our Lady, as though there was no other honouring of our Lady; but do sin in having our Lady no sinner. I would be as loth to dishonour our Lady as they: I pray God we may honour her as she would be honoured; for verily she is worthy to be honoured. To make a pernicious and a damnable lie, to have our Lady no sinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleasure to our Lady, but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our Lady. They should both please and honour our Lady much better, to leave their sinful living, and keep themselves from sinfulness, as our Lady did, than so sinfully to lie, to make our Lady no sinner; which if they do not, they shall go to the devil certainly, though they believe that our Lady was no sinner never so surely.

"And for the Ave Maria they lie falsely; I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in Holy Scripture of St. Luke: but yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and show the good will of God towards her: and therefore it is called The Annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her, properly. Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer; and is it not the same thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria; so that we may salute our Lady with Ave Maria, as the angel did, though we be not sent of God so to do, as the angel was. So though we may so do, yet we have no plain bidding of God so to do, as the angel had: so that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unsaid, than we be; forasmuch as he was appointed of God to say it, and not we. But as I deny not but as we may say the Pater noster and the Ave Maria together, (that to God, this to our Lady,) so we may say them sunderly, the Pater noster by itself, and the Ave by itself; and the Pater noster is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; so that it is but a superstition to think that a Pater noster cannot be well said without an Ave Maria at its heel. For Christ was no fool, and when he taught the people to say a Pater noster to God, he taught them not to say neither Pater noster, neither Ave Maria to our Lady, nor yet Pater noster to St. Peter, as Master Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to say twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, is not to speak 'the word of God as the word of God.' And one Ave Maria well said, and devoutly, with affection, sense, and understanding, is better than twenty-five said superstitiously. And it is not like, but our Lady said many times the Pater noster, forasmuch as her Son Christ, whom she loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be said. Whether she made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, I will leave that to great clerks, as Hubberdin and Powell, to discuss and determine. She was not saved by often saying of the Ave Maria, but by consenting to the will of Him, that sent the angel to salute her with Ave Maria. Wherefore, if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable in the sight of God, yea, though they say the Pater noster, I doubt not but the salutation of the same be unpleasant to our Lady in her sight; for whatsoever pleaseth not her Son, pleaseth not her: for she hath delight and pleasure in nothing but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaseth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by customable sinful living, and yet we shall think great perfection and holiness in numbering every day many Ave Marias to our Lady. And so we think to make her our friend and patroness, and then we care not for God: for, having our Lady of our side, we may be bold to take our pleasure. For we fantasy as though the very work and labour of flumming the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not passing how they be said, but that they be said: if the Pater noster which Christ both made,

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and bade us say it, may be said to Christ's displeasure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Christ nor our Lady bade to be said, may be said to our Lady's displeasure, and better never once said, than often so said. So that I would have a difference betwixt well saying, and often saying, and betwixt that that Christ bid us say, and that that he bid not say. And whether Ave Maria be said in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powell? And if it be said alway there without a Pater noster, why may not Pater noster be said here without Ave Maria? and whether doth our Lady say it in heaven or no? which thing I speak not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it; so that by occasion of false faith and trust that ye have in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy living, which will serve at length, when superstitious greeting will neither serve nor stand in strength. It is meet that every thing be taken, esteemed, and valued as it is.

"We salute also and greet well the holy cross, or the image of the holy cross, saying, 'All hail, holy cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious talent of the world:' and yet who will say that we pray properly to the holy cross? Whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more than this pulpit: therefore we do salute it, not properly pray to it.

"The angel spake also to Zachary, before he spake to our Lady: Be not afraid Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee forth a child, which shall be called John, and great joy and gladness shall be at his birth, and he shall be great, and full of the Holy Ghost from the womb of his mother, &c.

"What if a man should say these words every day, betwixt the Pater noster and the Ave Maria, in the worship of St. Zachary, which I think is a saint in heaven, and was, ere ever our Lady came there, and therefore to be honoured: I think he might please and honour St. Zachary, as well some other way, and better too, though they be words sent from God, spoken of an angel, and written in Holy Scripture of the evangelist Luke.

"And yet if it were once begun and accustomed, I warrant some men would make it more than sacrilege to leave it off, though the devil should sow never so much superstition by process of time unto it.

"Christ made the Pater noster for a prayer, and bid his people say it to his heavenly Father, one God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and Comforter, one worker and doer of all things here in this world, saying unto us, So, or after such manner, shall ye pray, Pater noster, &c. God sent his Son amongst other things to teach his people to pray: God sent his angel to greet our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the angel said to the people, This shall ye pray, Ave Maria. When the apostles said to Christ, Teach us to pray; Christ said, When you pray, say, Pater noster: he said not, When you pray, say, Ave Maria. I ween Christ could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powell and Master Hubberdin. I say that the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster: Dr. Powell saith it shall endure after the Pater noster. I can prove my saying by Scripture; so cannot he his. Yet as it is no good argument, the Ave Maria was before the Pater poster, ergo it is properly a prayer; so it is no good argument, the Ave Maria shall last after the Pater noster, ergo it is properly a prayer; without the antecedent be impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a fantastical brain.

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"Who was ever so mad as to think that words of Holy Scripture could not be well said? And yet we may not be so peevish as to allow the superstitious saying of Holy Scripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to superstition and idolatry. God give me grace to worship him and his, not after our own curiosity, but according to his ordinance, with all humility!

"St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wise to be dishonoured: so that we may leave unsaid that that the angel said, without dishonouring him. It is not necessary to our salvation to make an ordinance of honouring him with saying as the angel did. It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not do: if the other be presumption, I had rather presume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to presume into the office of an angel without God's bidding. It is a godly presumption to presume to do the bidding of God.

"Here I neither say, that our Lady was a sinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Maria.

"*Saints are not to be honoured.*—I said this word 'saints' is diversely taken of the vulgar people; images of saints are called saints, and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now, by honouring of saints, is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints—so saints are not to be honoured; that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

"They can neither help me nor mine ox; neither my head nor my tooth; nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I showed the good use of them to be laymen's books, as they be called; reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c.

"And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilded and decked, that the quick image of God (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ reputeth it done to himself) lack necessaries, and be unprovided for, by that occasion; for then the layman doth abuse his book.

"A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiously gilded; and in the day-time, a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

"Now I say, there be two manner of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of intercession; and I said, that these saints, that is to say, images called saints, be mediators neither way.

"As touching pilgrimages, I said, that all idolatry, superstition, error, false faith, and hope in the images, must be pared away, before they can be well done; household looked upon, poor Christian people provided for, restitutions made, all ordinance of God discharged, or ever they can be well done: and when they be at best, before they be vowed, they need not to be done. They shall never be required of us, though they be never done; and yet we shall be blamed when they be all done: wives must counsel with their husbands, and husbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

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"And yet idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x., where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Christ, which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry; and expositors add to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act; which is plain against Master Hubberdin, and the parson of Christ's Church, which went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

"As touching the saints in heaven, I said, they be not our mediators by way of redemption; for so Christ alone is our mediator and theirs both. So that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, &c.

"But by way of intercession, so saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no spurs, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet we may call upon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all. So that though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourselves, without making suit first to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer; so that whatsoever we ask the Father in the name of Christ his Son, the Father will give it us: for saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them. Scripture doth set saints that be departed before our eyes for ensamples, so that the chiefest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christ, &c.

"God biddeth us come to him with prayer; and to do his bidding is no presuming, it is rather presuming to leave it undone, to do that that he biddeth us not do, &c. We must have saints in reverent memory; and learn at God's goodness towards them to trust in God; and mark well their faith toward God and his word, their charity toward their neighbour, their patience in all adversity; and pray to God which gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for which like doings we shall have like speedings: they be well honoured when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in Him that made them saints; and as they were saints, so may we be saints; yea, there be many saints that never prayed to saints: and yet I deny not but we may pray to saints, but rather to Him, which can make us saints, which calleth us to him, biddeth us call Upon him, promiseth help, cannot deceive us and break his promise. When we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantastical imagination, but even after his own most wise ordination, whom to honour is not to dishonour saints; therefore they lie that say, that I would not have saints to be honoured, &c.

"*There is no fire in hell.*—I never knew man that ever said so. I spake of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some, that it is a spiritual fire, or at leastway a spiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm. Now because they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some, that it is a corporal and natural fire: some have thought diversely, before the resurrection without body, and after with body: some, that the soul without body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; some, both in and of the fire. The scholastical authors think, that the souls before the resurrection, because they be spiritual substance, do not receive the heat of the fire

into them, which is a sensible and a corporal quality; so that Athanasius calleth their pain *tristitiam*, a heaviness or an anguish: and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that though they be alway in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat; but it is when their bodies be there: but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them; for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them; for then they should be known by heat of the fire.

"I am certain, saith St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell; but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell, but he that is of God's privy council: I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he shall find no fire in hell. Chrysostom saith, that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell; there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarry and abide for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

"*There is no purgatory after this life.*'—Not for such liars that will bear me in hand to say what I said not. I showed the state and condition of them that be in purgatory. Then I denied it not, that they have charity in such sure tie that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmur nor grudge against God; cannot dishonour God; can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God; cannot be dis severed from God; cannot die, nor be in peril of death; cannot be damned, nor be in peril of damnation; cannot be but in surety of salvation. They be members of the mystical body of Christ as we be, and in more surety than we be. They love us charitably. Charity is not idle: if it be, it worketh and showeth itself: and therefore I say, they wish us well and pray for us. They need not cry loud to God: they be in Christ, and Christ in them: they be with Christ, and Christ with them. They joy in their Lord Christ alway, taking thankfully whatsoever God doth with them; ever giving thanks to their Lord God; ever lauding and praising him in all things that he doth; discontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

"And forasmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and sisters to our Saviour Christ, even in God's favour, even have Christ with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son; and we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancour, hatred, one toward another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adversaries to Christ, hated of God, his angels, and all his saints; they in their state may do us more good with their prayers than we in this state. And they do us alway good, unless the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer said in charity, is more fruitful to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God, than said out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us; which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not.

"I had rather be in purgatory, than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat; in that I could not: in this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; in that I could not: in this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if extreme necessity be *periculum pereundi*, peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth: if we be not bounden, *per præceptum*, to help but them that be in extreme necessity, we see not

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who needeth in purgatory; but we see who needeth in this world. And John saith, If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be, in extreme necessity,, both in body and soul; in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be holpen ourselves, under pain of damnation. Here, for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, weary ourselves; which inconveniences shall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am sure the souls in purgatory be so charitable, and of charity so loth to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them, which might occasion the dishonour of God, &c.

"Therefore howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thousand pound to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me of God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference betwixt that that may be done, and that that ought to be done; and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, and my devotion moveth me another way, whether way should I go? I may, by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make any foundations for myself with other men's goods. Goods wrongfully gotten must needs home again; must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, they be poor men's goods. Debts must needs be paid; creditors satisfied and content; God's ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world discharged; all affections and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our soul-priests sing till they be blear-eyed, say till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning of God's forbiddings.

"He that purgeth all errors of false opinions, all unlustiness to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell and purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath set aside restitutions, and brought poor Christians to extreme beggary, replenished hell, and left heaven almost empty.

*"In purgatory there is no pain:"*—that can break their charity; that can break their patience; that can dissever them from Christ; that can dissever Christ from them." That can cause them to dishonour God; that can cause them to displease God; that can cause them to be displeased with God; that can bring them to peril of death.

"That can bring them to peril of damnation; that can bring them to extreme necessity; that can cause them to be discontent with God; that can bring them from surety of salvation:—and yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

"Howbeit, if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a good part; if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or *scala cæli* of a groat, can despatch for altogether, it is not so greatly to be cared for. I have not leisure to write at large; and I wrote before such things, which in this haste come now to mind.

"They that can reclaim at this, that the souls in purgatory do pray for us—if they could get as much money for the prayer that the souls in purgatory say for us, as they have done for

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that that they have said for them, they would not reclaim. You know the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them so swell. They that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this: Christ's blood is not sufficient without blood of martyrs.

"Nor at this: Magdalene did not know Christ to be God, before his resurrection.

"Nor at this: There can be no idolatry.

"Nor at this: Rome cannot be destroyed.

"Nor at this: The pope is lord of all the world.

"Nor at this: Whatsoever he doth is well done.

"Nor at this: Pater noster is to be said to St. Peter.

"Nor at this: Pater noster is but a beggarly prayer.

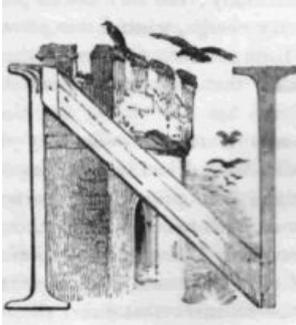
"Nor at this: Ave Maria is infinitely better.

"Nor at this: Twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster.

"Nor at this: It was not necessary Scripture to be written.

"Nor at this: He that leaveth father and mother, maketh for our pilgrimage. With many more."

### 319. Letters of Master Latimer.



OW, after these things thus finished and discoursed pertaining to the story of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in English and Latin, lack of space and place at this present will not permit: nevertheless certain we will take, and first concerning the articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the priests of the country about his benefice at West Kington; which he writeth thereof to Master Morice, the copies whereof follow.

*A letter of Master Latimer to Master Morice, concerning the articles written, which were falsely and untruly laid against him.*

"Right worshipful and mine own good Master Morice, *salutem in Christo Jesu*.—And I thank you for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore showed unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me, so poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine inability, &c. Master Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been entreated at Bristol, I mean of some of the priests, which first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things while I was with them. When I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me so greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishop's licence, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated Master Mayor's appointment, pretending that they were sorry for it; procuring also certain preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powell, with other more, whom when I had brought before the mayor and the wise council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing. So that they had place and time to belie me shamefully; but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge, when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and assuage their malice that they have against the truth and me, &c.

"*Our Lady was a sinner!*—So they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reprove certain, both priests and beneficed men, which do give so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved. I did reason after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner. If a sinner, then she was delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin; so that without him neither she, nor none other, either be, or could be saved. And, to avoid all offence, I showed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures which make all generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostom and Theophylact, which make her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot

reprove that thing that I do say, then they will belie me to say that thing that they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.

*"Saints are not to be worshipped."*—So they lied when I had showed divers significations of this word 'saints' among the vulgar people. First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them—for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well used, when they be applied to that use that they were ordained for, to be laymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c.

Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them—I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption, (for so Christ alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us,) yet by the way of intercession.

*"Pilgrimage."*—And I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; superstition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's ordinance for doing of the thing; debts must be paid, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of man, to be done. And wives must counsel with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

*"Ave Maria."*—As for the Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I said it was a heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed Lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and show unto her the goodwill of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper prayer, and bade us say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty Ave Marias withal: and I denied not but that we may well say Ave Maria also, but not so that we shall think that the Pater noster is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well said without Ave Maria. So that I did not speak against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater noster too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a prayer.

*"No fire in hell."*—Whoever could say or think so? Howbeit good authors do put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say cannot receive a corporal quality; and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. For as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is, a living beast, but it is a metaphor; but that is neither to nor fro: for a fire it is; a worm it is; pain it is; a torment it is; an anguish it is; a grief, a misery, a sorrow; a heaviness inexplicable, intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of God's privy council, saith St. Augustine? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea, none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; which be two effects of extreme pain—rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

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"*No purgatory.*"—He that showeth the state and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it, than in Lollards' Tower, the bishop's prison, for divers skills and causes.

"First, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel: there I could not.

"Item, In this I might be in extreme necessity: in that I could not if it be peril of perishing.

"Item, In this I might lack charity: there I could not.

"Item, In this I might lose my patience: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be in peril and danger of death: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be without surety of salvation: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might dishonour God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might murmur and grudge against God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might displease God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be displeased with God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual prison, as they call it: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be craftily handled: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be discontented with God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be a member of the devil: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be an inheritor in hell: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain: in that I could not.

"Item, In this my Lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night: in that they could not.

"Item, In this they might strangle me, and say that I hanged myself: in that they could not.

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"Item, In this they might have me to the consistory, and judge me after their fashion: from thence they could not.

"Ergo, I had rather to be there than here. For though the fire be called never so hot, yet if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and *scala cæli* altogether, I will never found abbey, college, nor chantry for that purpose.

"For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from surety of salvation; that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me; I care the less for it. John Chrysostom saith, that the greatest pain that damned souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which pain, he saith, is greater than many hells; which pain the souls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

"Consider, Master Morice, whether provision for purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made; Christian people (whose necessities we see; to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himself; to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourself) are neglected and suffered to perish; last wills unfulfilled and broken; God's ordinance set aside; and also for purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we have trifled away the ordinance of God and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, diriges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of heresy with them? so that they may pill with pilgrimage and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage shall fall away from them, which had rather have profit with abuse, than lack the same with use; and that is the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory; so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

"I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own but Christ's glory, I had rather have the suffrage of Jack of the scullery, which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his mass. And that is as good of another simple priest as of him. For, as for authority of keys, it is to loose from guiltiness of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christ's word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foss-way, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hayles.. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Christ's body, shed upon the mount of Calvary for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and in state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth Bolden them to many things. For you would wonder if you should commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they

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have: for as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Christian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth requite them for the time.

"I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romans, We being justified by faith, have peace with God. If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul, that is true faith that his blood was shed for me, &c.

"Another in the Epistle of John: We know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren. But I read not that I have peace with God, nor that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hayles. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body, when they scourged him and nailed him to the cross, did see it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we see the self-same blood in form of wine, when we have consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hayles without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

"Christ hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth suffer the devil to use his crafty fashion for our trial and probation. It were little thankworthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ, when he had taught truly, by and by bade beware of false prophets, which would bring in error slyly. But we be secure and uncareful, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bug, &c.

"Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget myself ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, &c.

"As for Dr. Wilson, I wot not what I should say; but I pray God indue him with charity. Neither he, nor any of his countrymen, did ever love me, since I did inveigh against their factions and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That is the bile that may not be touched, &c.

"A certain friend showed me, that Dr. Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holderness; and from thence he will go a progress through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristol. What he intended by this progress, God knoweth, and not I? If he come to Bristol, I shall hear tell, &c.

"As for Hubberdin, no doubt he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *servus hominum*; for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily, in my mind, they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and Christian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miss the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men think, will defend him; I pray

God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter against me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to rid us both together, and so they would think him well bestowed, &c.

"As touching Dr. Powell, how highly he took upon him in Bristol, and how little he regarded the sword, which representeth the king's person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Christ's commandment to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signify, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit Master Mayor, as he is a profound wise man, did twit him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholden to him; for, to occasion the people to them, he alleged this text: Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife, &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king's Grace to command me to preach before his Highness a whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they belie me, saying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me; I cannot make an end."

*A brief digression touching the railing of Hubberdin, against Master Latimer.*

Forasmuch as mention hath been made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realm to deface and impeach the springing of God's holy gospel, something would be added more, touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold; who, in all his life, and in all his actions, (in one word to describe him,) seemeth nothing else but a right image or a counterfeit, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisy. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, (although he little deserved to be spared, which never spared to work what villany he could against the true servants of the Lord,) this shall be enough for example's sake, for all Christian men necessarily to observe, how the said Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tyndale, Latimer, and all other like professors, after his hypocritical open alms, given out of other men's purses, his long prayers, pretended devotions, devout fastings, his woolward-going, and other his prodigious demeanour,—riding in his long gown down to the horse-heels like a Pharisee, or rather like a sloven dirted up to the horse-belly,—after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leapings, with other like histrionical toys and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretics: at last, riding by a church side, where the youth of the parish were dancing in the churchyard, suddenly this Silenus, lighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dancing came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fit of mirth to give them a sermon of dancing. In the which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Jerome and Gregory, Chrysostom, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them); at last, to show a perfect harmony of all these doctors together—as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe—first he calleth out Christ and his apostles; then the doctors and ancient seniors of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together, with "pipe up Hubberdin." Now

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dance Christ; now dance Peter, Paul; now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome. And thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stamp and took on I cannot tell, but "crash," quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience; where altogether he brake not his neck, yet he so brake his leg the same time, and bruised his old bones, that he never came in pulpit more, and died not long after the same. Whereupon when the churchwardens were called, and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves, that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing, &c. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

Amongst many other impugnors and adversaries, whereof there was no small sort which did infest this good man in sermons; some also there were, which attempted the pen against him. In the number of whom was one Dr. Sherwood, who, upon the same occasion of preaching of the Virgin Mary, (or as they thought, against the Virgin,) did invade him with his pen, writing against him in Latin.

Besides Latin letters, other letters also he wrote in English, as well to others, as namely to Sir Edward Baynton, knight, which letters, because they do contain much fruitful matter worthy to be read and known, I thought here presently to insert; which albeit may seem somewhat prolix in reading, yet the fruit thereof, I trust, shall recompense the length of them.

*A letter sent by Master Latimer, parson of West Kington, in the county of Wiltshire, to Sir Edward Baynton, knight.*

"*Salutem in Christo.*—Right worshipful sir, I recommend me unto your Mastership with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable, and so mindful, remembrance of me so poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by Master Bonnam, perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveth me to do, in case I must needs come up: which your goodness towards me with all other such like to recompense, whereas I myself am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of your Mastership, neither of any man else, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all. In very deed Master Chancellor did show me that my Lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made answer that he was mine ordinary, and that both he might and should reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my Lord of London. And I would be very loth, now this deep winter, being so weak and so feeble, (not only exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the cholic and the stone,) to take such a journey; and though he might so do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound so to do. Notwithstanding I said, if he, to do my Lord of London pleasure, to my great displeasure would needs command me to go, I would obey his commandment, yea, though it should be never so great a grievance, and painful to me; with the which answer he was content, saying he would certify my Lord of London thereof, trusting his Lordship would be content with the same: but as yet I hear nothing from him. Master Chancellor also said, that my Lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with me, for that I did contemn his authority, at my last being in London.

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"Forsooth I preached in Abb-church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his diocese or no, intending nothing less than to contemn his authority: and this I did not of mine own seeing, or by mine own procuration, but at the request of honest merchantmen, (as they seemed to me,) whose names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, lest, if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to hear godly preaching should return to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and, to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certain; but they showed not only themselves, but also many others to be very desirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the word of God, and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twice or thrice, till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not only content, but also desired me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishop's seal to show for me, but only a licence of the university; which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and, when I should go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; so that I had not been alone uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I should have said nay. Now all this supposed to be truth, (as it is,) I marvel greatly how my Lord of London can allege any contempt of him in me.

"First, he did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any suit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely that the curate would so little have regarded my Lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my Lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myself, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my Lord, that he might admit whom he would, or else, (and rather,) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my Lord himself, or some others pertaining to him, were appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fair and friendly, and also the rather to go. For I preach nothing, but (if it might be so) I would my Lord himself might hear me every sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gainsaying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a curate; yet hear I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate.

"I marvel not a little, how my Lord bishop of London, having so broad, wide, and large a diocese committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have leisure for preaching and teaching the word of God, *opportune, importune, tempestive, intempestive, privatim, publice*, to his own flock, *instando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate et doctrina*: have leisure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure; so intermixing and inter-meddling himself with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as some men say my Lord doth, gather up my Joyce, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor yet other where, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

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"In very deed I did monish judges and ordinaries to use charitable equity in their judgments towards such as be accused, namely, of such accusers which be as like to hear and bewray, as other be to say amiss; and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wrest them in another sense than they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses be false before God, as St. Jerome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses; much less those which procure such witnesses against any man: nor do I think judges now-a-days so deeply confirmed in grace, or so impeccable, but that it may behove and become preachers, to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the Epistle which I declared, (Rom. vi.) wherein is this sentence, Ye Christian men that believe in Christ, are not under the law.

"What a saying is this, (quoth I,) if it be not rightly understood; that is, as St. Paul did understand it? for the words sound as though he would go about to occasion Christian men to break law, seeing they be not under the law: and what if the pseudo-apostles, adversaries to St. Paul, would have so taken them, and accused St. Paul of the same to my Lord of London? If my said Lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he should have escaped, and the false apostles have been put to rebuke; if he would have rigorously followed *utcunque allegata et probata*, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good St. Paul must have borne a faggot at Paul's Cross, my Lord of London being his judge. Oh! it had been a godly sight, to have seen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Cross, my Lord of London (bishop of the same) sitting under the cross. Nay, verily, I dare say, my Lord should sooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that Christian men might break law, and do whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law; but he did mean, that Christian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would; .because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to say, able to fulfil the law to the pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after St. Paul's meaning, is to be weak to satisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do withal, though his adversaries would not so take it?

"But my Lord would say, peradventure, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwise than they mean therein. *Bona verba*: as though St. Paul's words were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romans, where he saith, Our unrighteousness commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousness of God; which sounded to many as though they should be evil that good should come of it, and by unrighteousness to make the righteousness of God more excellent. So St. Paul was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing so; but showed the inestimable wisdom of God, which can use our naughtiness to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodness; not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my Lord will not think, I dare say, that St. Paul was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evil offence of the people; but rather he will blame the people, for that they took no better heed and attendance to Paul's speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pity the people, which had been so long nurseled in the doctrine of the Pharisees, and wallowed so long in darkness of man's traditions, superstitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightness of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by St. Paul. Nor do I think that my Lord will require

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more circumspection, or more convenience to avoid offence of errors in me, than was in St. Paul, when he did not escape malevolous corrections, and slanderous reports of them that were of perverse judgments, which reported him to say whatsoever he appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to follow of his saying.

"But what followeth? So they report us to say, saith St. Paul; so they speak evil of us: but such, whose damnation is just, saith he. And I think the damnation of all such that evil report preachers now-a-days, likewise just, for it is untruth now and then. Yea, Christ himself was misrepresented, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his words. First he said, Destroy you; they made it, I can destroy: he said, this temple; they added, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inverted his words, and also added unto his words, to alter his sentence; for he did mean of the temple of his body, and they wrested it to Solomon's temple.

"Now I report me, whether it be a just fame raised up and dispersed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of persons which can make no credible information: first, adversaries, enemies: secondly, ignorant and without judgment: thirdly, whisperers and blowers in men's ears, which which will spew out in hudder-mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of such is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make process against any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil spoken of, of them that be naught themselves, and to be commended of the same is, many times, no little reproach. God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speak well one of another!

"Me seemeth it were more comely for my Lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a preacher himself, having so great a cure as he hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himself. If it would please his Lordship to take so great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little bishopric at West Kington, whether I were present or absent myself, I would thank his Lordship heartily, and think myself greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodness would go so far to help to discharge me in my cure, or else I were more unnatural than a beast unreasonable; nor yet would I dispute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority so to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my parishioners.

"As for my Lord, he may do as it pleaseth his Lordship. I pray God he do always as well as I would wish him ever to do: but I am sure St. Paul, the true minister of God, and faithful dispenser of God's mysteries, and right exemplar of all true and very bishops, saith in the first chapter to the Philippians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby so to grieve him withal, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his authority into contempt; some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: Notwithstanding, saith he, by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth, (as ye would say, for truth's sake,) so that Christ be preached and showed, I joy and will joy: so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christ's doctrine, to the edification of Christian souls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation, and dignity; considering

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right well, (as he said,) that what authority soever he had, it was to edification, and not to destruction.

"Now I think it were no reproach to my Lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached *quovis modo*—yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, despite, and contempt of his Lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt)—than when the preaching cannot be proved justly, to demand of the preacher austerely, as the Pharisees did of Christ, *qua autoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam autoritatem?* As my authority is good enough, and as good as my Lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his Lordship to be so good a lord unto me. For the university of Cambridge hath authority apostolic to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one: and the king's Highness (God save his Grace!) did decree that all admitted of universities should preach throughout all his realm as long as they preached well, without restraint of any man, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Durham, with such other not a few, standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to condemn my Lord of London's authority were no little fault in me; so no less fault might appear in my Lord of London to condemn the king's authority and decree, yea, so godly, so fruitful, so commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of Christian souls, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace and authority apostolic. To have a book of the king not inhibited, is to obey the king, and to inhibit a preacher of the king's admitted, is it not to disobey the king? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that resisteth the power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinance of God? We low subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us example of such obedience? As for my preaching itself, I trust in God, my Lord of London cannot rightfully belack it, nor justly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I spake it; or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it.

"But now I hear say that my Lord of London is informed, and upon the said information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaries and his judges, which I assure you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong; for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether so foolish as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a preacher to say as I said, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than every did my Lord of London: for I have been his ghostly father many a time. And to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few such so prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friend and foe, noisome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable; so seeking to reconcile them as he did, I have known yet not many; and to be short, in sum, a very simple good soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whose blind fashion and miserable state (yea, far from Christ's doctrine) he could as evil bear, and would sorrow, lament, and bewail it, as much as any man that ever I knew: as for his singular learning, as well in Holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speak of it. Notwithstanding, if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Christian man doth owe either to his prince or to his bishop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall; wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall

not. How he ordered or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal; God knoweth, whose judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously and virtuously, and killing his old Adam, (that is to say, mortifying his evil affections and blind motions of his heart so diligently,) should die an evil death, there is no more, but, Let him that standeth, beware that he fall not: for if such as he shall die evil, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am?

"But let this go, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon. Either my Lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is said, Men see things only without, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, God looks on the heart. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered myself toward my Christian brethren, the king's liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my Lord of London: for I have preached and taught but according to Holy Scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the same, with the which I think my Lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that that is necessary to be done.

"As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reprov'd the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh preachers to do: which thing, if my Lord of London will do himself, (as I would to God he would do,) he should be reported, no doubt, to condemn the use of such things, of covetous men which have damage, and find less in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profit should not continue (so thorny be their hearts). If my Lord will needs coast and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I shall either displease my Lord of London, which I would be very loth, or else my Lord God, which I would be more loth: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a Christian man ought to believe. But peradventure my Lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance, though my Lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and say to him with diligent study, and daily prayer, My heart is prepared, O God, my heart is prepared, so studying, preaching, and tarrying the pleasure and leisure of God: and in the mean season, (Acts viii.,) as Apollos did, when he knew nothing of Christ but the baptism of John, teach and preach mine even christened, that and no further than I know to be true.

"There be three Creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say, when they say the Creed: and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for me and all others to believe. Yet I am ignorant in things which I trust hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever to learn, and ever to be learned; to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christ's vicar, hath been lord of all the world as Christ is; so that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or you of the lordship of Bromeham, it had been enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwise; notwithstanding I have both seen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpose. I have thought in times past, that the pope's dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I have heard, *Ecce*

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*vobiscum sum*, and *Qui vos audit me audit*, bended to corroborate the same. Now I might be easily entreated to think otherwise, &c.

"I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth: now learning might persuade me otherwise; or else I would marvel why he would suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which so needful is to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, &c. I have thought in times past, that if I had been a friar, and in a cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death; and by occasion of the same, I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was sore sick and diseased: now I abhor my superstitious foolishness, &c. I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I know that one can help as much as another; and it pitieth mine heart, that my Lord, and such as my Lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by continual prayer, continual study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think that my Lord himself hath thought in times past, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now doth dare think and say contrary: and yet this his boldness might have chanced, in Pope Julius's days, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a faggot. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my Lord, might something stir him to charitable equity, and to be something remissible toward men which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater distance than between God's law and not God's law; nor is it so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so: but, because it is so or so indeed, therefore we must think it so or so, when God shall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either so or not, it is so, or not so, though all the world hath thought otherwise these thousand years, &c.

"And finally, as ye say, the matter is weighty, and ought substantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath imboldened me to preach his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken, by the working of him, fruit thereby. And even so I desire you, and all other that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have trust that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the ocean-sea, I think, should have divided my Lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himself, and yet ought to be. I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to God's pleasure, and safety of our souls; Amen.

"I pray you pardon me, that I write no more distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is so out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again; and, if I be not prevented shortly, I intend to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrow, lest perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter as a buck in summer.

VOLUME 11

*A letter of Sir Edward Boynton, knight, answering to the letter of Master Latimer, sent to him before.*

"Master Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends, such as for Christian charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion, (if it swerve from the truth,) or at the least in your manner and behaviour, inasmuch as it giveth occasion of slander and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name. And, forasmuch as your said letter misliketh them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your Christian breast, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear what may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so acknowledge and confess the same: I have therefore desired them to take the pain to note their minds in this letter which I send to you, as aggregate of their sayings, and sent from me your assured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of God's word: wherein nevertheless, as I trust ye yourself will temper your own judgment, and in a soberness affirm no truth of yourself, which should divide the unity of the congregation in Christ; and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the Scripture of God; even so whatsoever ye will do therein, (as I think ye will not otherwise than ye should do,) I, being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this alteration and contention, must rather of good congruence show myself, in that you disagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth, than yours, unless it may please Almighty God to inspire and confirm the hearts of such people to testify the same in some honest number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

"Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that it is 'per speculum in ænigmate.' And there have been 'qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.' Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, considering that to me, unlearned, what I take for truth may be otherwise, not having 'sensus exercitatos,' as St. Paul saith, 'ad discernendum bonum et malum:' and it is showed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his Epistle, where he saith, 'Omnis qui confitetur Christum in carne,' &c. 'ex Deo est.' And like as the word of God hath always caused dissension among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed martyrdom to the preacher, so in Christ's congregation, among them that profess Christ's name, 'in uno Domino, uno baptisate, et una fide,' they that preach and stir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of Christian charity, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into a unity of faith and baptism. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but also such soberness and uniform behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly express (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our souls."

*The answer of Master Latimer to the letter of Sir Edward Baynton above prefixed.*

"Right worshipful sir, and my singular good master, salutem in Christo Jesu, with due commendation, and also thanks for your great goodness towards me, &c. And whereas you have

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communicated my last letters to certain of your friends, which rather desire this or that in me, &c., what I think therein I will not now say, not for that there could be any peril or danger in the said letters, well taken, as far as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribbled, as ye might well know both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had been made. And besides that, ye know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venom, not for any diversity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that suck the flower: as in times past, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in itself, was to some offence, to some foolishness; to others otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversity was in the redress of hearers thereof.

"But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them which both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reform my error? Let this pass, I will not contend: 'had I wist' cometh ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised, if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine own reformation: but yet it is good for a man to look ere he leap, and God forbid that ye should be addict and sworn to me so wretched a fool, that you should not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, so great learned men as they appear to be, than the opinions of me, having never so Christian a breast.

"Wherefore do as you will; for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, be noisome unto you: but yet I say, I would my letters had been unwritten, if for no other cause, at least-way inasmuch as they cause me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head. And as touching the points which in my foresaid letters mislike your friends, I have now little leisure to make an answer thereto, for the great business that I have in my little cure, (I know not what other men have in their great cures,) seeing that I am alone without any priest to serve my cure, without any scholar to read unto me, without any book necessary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counsel withal: all which things others have at hand abundantly. But something must be done, howsoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper mine own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the truth; saying in reproof of the same, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed alonely God knoweth all certain truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himself, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and those which be taught of God, as saith St. Paul, 'Deus enim illis patefecit;' and Christ himself, 'Erunt omnes docti a Deo.' And your friends deny not but certain truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity. Now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity, &c.

"But as to my presumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertain, why dare I be so bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom ye trust so greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray you ask them whether they be certain and sure that they taught you the truth or no; and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be sure, ye know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have so doubtful teachers and unsure? And you yourselves, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour?

And so forth of other articles that ye be bounden to believe. Or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civil ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your sure friend that heareth you say so, and then with what conscience do ye doubt, *cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum est?* But contrary say you, alonely God knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but '*per speculum in ænigmate;*' and there have been '*qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.*' And to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having '*sensus exercitatos,*' as Paul saith, '*ad discernendum bonum et malum;*' as ye reason against me, and so you do best to know surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly hither and thither, '*omni vento doctrina,*' &c. Our knowledge here, you say, is but '*per speculum in ænigmate:*' What then? *ergo,* it is not certain and sure.

"I deny your argument, by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, because 'the certainty of faith is the most surest certainty,' as Duns and other school doctors say, that there is a great discrepance between certain knowledge and clear knowledge; for that may be of things absent that appear not, this requireth the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been, say they, which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is, there have been such, and yet be too many, to the great hinderance of Christ's glory, which nothing doth more obscure than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been also, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteousness, shall be beaten with many stripes, while they, knowing the will of God, do nothing thereafter. I mean not among Turks and Saracens, that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have been also that have lost the spiritual knowledge of God's word which they had before; because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same; but rather with their mother-wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them, *ut justificetur Christus in sermonibus suis, et vincat cum iudicatur;* threatening to him that hath not, that also which he hath (that is, that which he seemeth to have) shall be taken from him: because to abuse that which a man hath, or not to use it well, is as not to have it; and also seeing it is true, that God's wisdom will not dwell in a body subject to sin, albeit it abound in carnal wisdom too much; for the mere carnal and philosophical understanding of God's Scriptures is not the wisdom of God, which is hid from the wise, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth: and it behoveth every preacher to have so deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as Apollos was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for myself, I trust in God, I have my senses well enough exercised to discern good and evil in those things, which (being without deep and profound knowledge in many things) I preach not; yea, there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly discern '*bonum et malum,*' I mean '*verum et falsum;*' not with all the exercise that I have in Scripture, nor yet with help of all interpreters that I have, to content myself and others in all scrupulosity that may arise. But in

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such I am wont to wade no further into the stream, than that I may either go over, or else return back again; having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither passing mine own, nor yet their capacity.

"And such manner of argumentations might well serve the devil *contra pusillanimes*, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or else it may appear to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and sure of by God's word to be truth, 'ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum et malum exercitatissimos.' As whether, if Adam had not sinned, we should have stockfish out of Iceland: how many larks for a penny if every star in the elements were a flickering hobby: how many years a man shall lie in purgatory for one sin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to slake the sin withal; and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatory.

"Such argumentation, I say, might appear to make well against such preachers; not against me, which simply and plainly utter true faith and fruits of the same, which be the good works of God, which he hath prepared for us to walk in; every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with soberness, having 'sensus ad discernendum bonum et malum vel mediocriter exercitatos.' For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always an infant still in Christ, and in infirmity: in reproof of which it was said, 'Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo.' For St. Paul saith not, 'estote humiles, ut non capiatis:' for though he would not that we should think arrogantly of ourselves, and above that that it becometh us to think of ourselves, but so to think of ourselves, 'ut simus sobrii ac modesti,' yet he biddeth us so to think of ourselves, as God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith. For he that may not with meekness think in himself what God hath done for him, and of himself as God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he, give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you inquire of them whether they may, 'cum sobrietate et modestia,' be sure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, 'cum sobrietate et modestia, follow St. Paul's bidding, where he saith unto us all, Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousness be infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low; but so that we may restore unto him, 'qui peregre profectus est,' his gifts again cum usura,' that is to say, with good use of the same, so that 'ædificemus invicem' with the same, ad gloriam Dei.' Amen.

"For my life, I trust in God that I neither have, neither (by God's grace) shall I, neither in soberness, nor yet in drunkenness, affirm any truth of myself, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church consonant to the Scripture of God, though it be showed you never so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his Epistle, where he saith, Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God. First, not every thing whereupon followeth dissension, causeth dissension, as I would that they that showed you that, would also show you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then, as Gamaliel said, 'dissolvetur;' if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends also, 'who can dissolve it, but shall seem to repugn against God?' And yet there be many, not heathens, but in Christendom, that dissent from the same, which could bear full evil to hear said unto them, 'Vos ex patre

diabolo estis.' So that such an opinion might seem to some to make a dissension in a Christian congregation, saving that they may say perchance with more liberty than others, that an occasion is sometimes taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saving that non omnes omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet liberty of the gospel into the sour bond of ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a Christian congregation, when St. Paul did write his Epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of masterly curates, so that the false apostles might have objected to St. Paul that his apostleship was not of God, forasmuch as there was dissension in a Christian congregation by occasion thereof, while some would renew their opinions by occasion of the Epistle, some would 'opinari,' as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and masters, the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristianed, but christianed, and high prelates of the professors of Christ. For your friends, I know right well what Erasmus hath said in an epistle set before the paraphrases of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissension with his pen in a Christian congregation, inasmuch as many have dissented from him, not alonely in cloisters, (men more than christened men,) of high perfection, but also at Paul's Cross, and St. Mary Spital, besides many that with no small zeal have written against him, but not without answer.

"And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that St. Jerome's writings were of God, which caused dissension in a Christian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epistles, which be these: 'Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo.' I pray you what were they, that called St. Jerome 'falsarium,' and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? Unchristian or Christian? What had the unchristian to do with Christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a Christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomachs than right judgment, of a greater authority than good charity: but St. Jerome would not cease to do good for the evil-speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same and if this dissension were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? de malo in pejus scilicet.

"And I pray you what mean your friends by a Christian congregation? All those, trow ye, that have been christianed? But many of those be in worse condition, and shall have greater damnation, than many unchristianed. For it is not enough to a Christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we be christened, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps: which thing if we busy not ourselves to do, let us not crack that we profess Christ's name in a Christian congregation, in one baptism.

"And whereas they add, 'in one Lord,' I read in Matt. xvii., Not every one that saith Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessors, saying to them, Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? Even as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian congregation, to say every day, 'Domine, dominus noster,' and to salute Christ with a double 'domine.' But I would your friends

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would take the pains to read over Chrysostom, super Matthæum, hom. 49. cap. 24, to learn to know a Christian congregation, if it will please them to learn at him. And whereas they add, in one faith. St. James saith boldly, Show me thy faith by thy works. And St. Jerome, 'If we believe, we show the truth in working.' And the Scripture saith, He that believeth God attendeth to his commandments: and the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friends from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company!

"Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchristened, but them that be christened, and answer not unto their christendom. For St. Jerome showeth how true preachers should order themselves, when evil priests and false preachers, and the people by them deceived, should be angry with them for preaching the truth, exhorting them to suffer death for the same, of the evil priests and false preachers, and the people deceived of them; which evil priests and false preachers, with the people deceived, be christened as well as others. And I fear me that St. Jerome might appear to some Christian congregation, as they will be called, to write seditiously, to divide the unity of a great honest number confessing Christ, 'in uno baptisate, uno Domino, una fide,' saying, 'The people which before were brought asleep by their masters, must go up to the mountains: not such mountains which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountains of the Old and New Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when they are occupied with reading in these mountains, if they find no instructors, (for the harvest is great, and the workmen be few,) yet shall the diligent study of the people he approved in fleeing to the mountains, and the slothfulness of the masters shall be rebuked.'

"I do marvel why our Christian congregations be so greatly grieved that lay-people would read Scripture, seeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth not here the unchristened to the christened, but the lay-people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have been rocked and locked asleep in a subtle trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain; at the least-way to the pain of them that have wakened them with the word of God. And it is properly said of St. Jerome to call them masters and not servants: meaning that servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their Master Christ, to his glory. Masters teach not Christ's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which masterly curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleep again: but Christ the very true Master saith, 'Vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem.' 'Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ; dicit Dominus:' and there have been, 'which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish.' I pray God give our people grace so to wake, ut studium illorum comprobetur, and our masters so to sleep, ut non desidia illorum coarguatur. For who is so blind that he seeth not how far our Christian congregation doth gainsay St. Jerome, and speaketh after another fashion?

God amend that is amiss;  
For we be something wide I wis.

"But now your friends have learned of St. John, that Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God and I have learned of St. Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christians, which confess Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their acts; so that St. Paul should appear to expound St. John, saving that I will not affirm any thing as of myself, but leave it to your friends to show you 'utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem.' for your friends know well enough by the

same St. John, 'qui ex Deo est, non peccat:' and there both have been and be now too many, which with mouth only confess Christ to be come in the flesh; but will not effectually hear the word of God, by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that St. John saith, 'Qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit; vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis.' And many shall hear, I never knew you, which shall not alone be christened, but also shall 'prophetare,' and do puissant things 'in nomine Christi:' and St. Paul said there should come ravening wolves which will not spare the flock; meaning it of them that should 'confiteri Christum in carne,' in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office, which Christ calleth false prophets, and biddeth us beware of them, saying, They shall come in sheep's clothing; and yet they may wear both satin, silk, and velvet, called afterwards, naughty servants, not feeding but smiting their fellow servants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which shall have their portion with hypocrites. They are called 'servi,' servants, I trow, quod ore confitentur Christum in carne; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem: because they confess Christ in the flesh: and naughty they are called, because they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due season, and exercising mastership over the flock. And yet your friends reason as though there could none bark and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristened, notwithstanding that St. Augustine, upon the same Epistle of John, calleth such confessors of Christ, qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, 'antichristos;' a strange name for a Christian congregation. And though St. Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appear not to be of God, to some men's judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Christ's charity, so to cause men to hate antichrists, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, Hate that is evil: and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between Christians and antichristians, when neither pen nor tongue can divide the antichristians from their blind folly. And I would you would cause your friends to read over St. Augustine upon the Epistle of St. John; and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it. As I remember, it is in his Tractate iii. But I am not sure nor certain of that, because I have not seen it since I was at Cambridge; and here I have not St. Augustine's works to look for it: but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to know the Christians from the antichristians, which both be christened, and both confess 'Jesum esse Christum,' if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denieth it in very deed. 'But let us not stand upon our talk, but attend to our doings and manner of life, to know whether we strive to perform the duties of our calling or not: yea, rather, we perhaps persuade ourselves that it is not necessary for us to perform them, referring them all to primitive usage; but that it is enough for us to bear rule and authority, and to bestow ourselves wholly upon secular matters, pleasures, and pomp of this world.'

"And yet as long as they minister the word of God, or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankind, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to work with the ministration of the same to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for God's ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatsoever the minister be, though he be a devil, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origen saith, and Chrysostom, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, St. Jerome saith: 'But there is required a judgment, to discern when they minister God's word and ordinance of the same, and their own, lest peradventure we take chalk for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion.' For as it is commonly said, 'the blind eat many a fly,' as they did which were persuaded of the high priests, to ask Barabbas, and to crucify Jesus; and ye know that to follow the blind guides, is to come into the pit with the same. 'And well you know,' saith St. Augustine,

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how apertly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity and negligence? They dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himself, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whom they he blamed.'

"Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when shall that be, as long as we will not hear the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reprove our evilness with the truth? And, to say truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without mutilation and adulteration of the word, (as Nicolas de Lyra saith in his time few did: what they do now-a-days, I report me to them that can judge,) than to have such a uniformity, that the silly people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgment, superstition, and idolatry; and esteem things, as they do all, preposterously; doing that that they need not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done; and so show their love to God, not as God biddeth, which saith, If ye love me, keep my commandments; and again, He that knoweth my precepts, and doth them, he it is loveth me; but as they bid, which seek their own things, not Christ's: as though to tithe mint were more than judgment, faith, and mercy.

"And what is to love in state of curates, but what he taught, who said, Peter, lovest thou me? Feed, feed, feed; which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing else, but to wear rings, mitres, and rochets, &c. And when they err in right loving, how can the people but err in loving, and be all of the new fashion, to his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing, which will not be reformed, I trow, 'nisi per manum Dei validam.' And I have both St. Augustine and St. Thomas, with divers others, that 'lex' is taken not alonely for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is said, 'Non estis sub lege,' though your friends reprove the same. But they can make no division in a Christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a soberness in our preaching, I pray God send it unto us, whatsoever ye mean by it. For I see well, whosoever will be happy, and busy with 'væ vobis,' he shall shortly after come 'coram nobis.'

"And whereas your friends think that I made a lie, when I said that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I think, or have thought, better than I; juxta illud, nemo novit quæ sunt hominis, &c.; as though better men than I have not thought so, as Boniface (as I remember) Octavus, and the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower, presbyter cardinalis, in his book, where he proveth the pope to be above the council general, and specially where he saith that the pope is 'king of kings, and lord of lords;' and that he is 'the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not so;' and that Constantine did but restore his own unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that, (as St. John saith Christ did.) He came unto his own, and his own received him not: and yet I hear not that any of our Christian congregations have reclaimed against him, until now of late dissension began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would desire them to be my good masters, and if they will do me no good, at the least-way do me no harm; and though they can do you no more good than I, yet I am sure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

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"And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Marulphus in London, an Italian, and in times past a merchant of dispensations, which I suppose would die in the quarrel, as God's true knight, and true martyr.

"As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I showed to you my mind before my ordinary; and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, saving I cannot interpret evil, your doings towards me; and yet neither mine ordinary, nor you, disallowed the thing that I said. And I looked not to escape better than Dr. Crome, but when I have opened my mind never so much, yet I shall be reported to deny my preaching, of them that have belied my preaching, as he was: I shall have need of great patience to bear the false reports of the malignant church.

"Sir, I have had more business in my little cure, since I spake with you, what with sick folks, and what with matrimonies, than I have had since I came to it, or than I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, which have great cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your friends that I said so foolishly, lest I make a dissension in a Christian congregation, and divide a sweet and a restful union, or 'tot quot,' with 'hæc requies mea in seculum seculi.' Sir, I had made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning to write it again more truly and more distinctly, and to correct it, but there came a man of my Lord of Farley, with a citation to appear before my Lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose: I doubt whether ye can read it as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you send it me again, and that you so do, whether you can read it or not. Jesu mercy, what a world is this, that I shall be put to so great labour and pains, besides great costs, above my power, for preaching of a poor simple sermon! But I trow our Saviour Christ said true, I must needs suffer, and so enter: so perilous a thing it is to live virtuously with Christ, yea, in a Christian congregation. God make us all Christians, after the right fashion, Amen!"

*A Letter of Master Latimer to King Henry the Eighth, for restoring again the free liberty of reading the Holy Scriptures.*

"To the most mighty prince, king of England, Henry the Eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ:—The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalendus, saith, that he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man St. John Chrysostom saith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and show the truth that he knoweth. These sentences, most redoubted king, when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my conscience; and at the last drave me to this strait, that either I must show forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else be of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: the which thing rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

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"For what other thing is it to be a traitor unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth, and cause of all truth? the which saith, that whosoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and of all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death itself, be it never so shameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men, and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! and specially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of Holy Scripture, yet will neither show the truth themselves, (as they be bound,) neither suffer them that would. So that unto them may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would, to enter in! And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the word of God, which David calleth, a light to direct and show every man how to order his affections and lusts, according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief. And especially in this your realm, they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say). And now, at the last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth, (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny,) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English.

"Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you be here to me and to all your subjects, in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your Grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born; so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you be a higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For, as St. Paul saith, Those members that be taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your lowly, favourable, and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

"First, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting-forth of the gospel; and to note also the words of our Master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel; and to these have ever in your mind the golden rule of our Master Christ, The tree is known by the fruit: for by the diligent marking of these, your Grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not. And concerning the first, all Scripture showeth plainly, that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

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"Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistress and maid. How vilely, thinks your Grace, were they entreated in the inns and lodgings by the way! and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight! Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

"But this he did to show us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus: If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them. So that it is not against the poverty in spirit, which Christ preacheth in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter v., to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also be privy enemies, (and so much the worse,) which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men; and they have lords' lands, and kings' riches. Yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth; unto whom the holy apostle St. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey: yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

"Your Grace may see what means and craft the spiritually (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your Grace's last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spiritually to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them: neither will I that your Grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away such evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

"I name nor appoint any person or persons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew vii., By their fruits you shall know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, they be read in Matthew xv., where he showeth, that here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil should be said by them, for their preaching sake. But he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, It becometh not the servant to be above the Master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and heretics. Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and there your Grace shall see that he promised to the true

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preachers no worldly promotions or dignity; but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith, In the world ye shall have oppression, and the world shall hate you: but in me you shall have peace. And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel saith our Saviour Christ also, Lo, I send you forth as sheep among wolves. So that the true preachers go like sheep harmless, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God; so far is it off that they will persecute any others but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be known by, that it should be despised among those worldly-wise men, and that they should repute it but foolishness, and deceivable doctrine; and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

"And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul saith, that every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution. And also he saith further in the Epistle written to the Philippians, in the first chapter, that it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.

"Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers; and where is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel, the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the Holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withal.

"Therefore pleaseth it your good Grace to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, By their fruits you shall know them. For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute, be void and without all truth, not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel) is come into the world, and which shall utter and show forth every man's works. And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the Holy Scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection: and so they persuade, at the least-way they would fain persuade, your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly wisdom, wherewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

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"But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your Grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even today, before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly-wise counsellors of Hanun the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun, not only to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying that they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his land; so that afterward they, bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it. And they caused the young king to shear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors! But see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of all them that took their parts.

"Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also, to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gainsaid his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth show, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel regard not your Grace's commandment, neither set by your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your Grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so, like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard nor esteem other your Grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion: for your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish, to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemy, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put them out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors, (as men say, and of likelihood it should be,) were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and more would have done, if God hath not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason, which their head and captain was about: and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they, being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, who before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament

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(and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

"Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections, which have been in this realm heretofore; and whence is it, that there be so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not break only your Grace's laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons, which causeth many a man to sin, in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry out both of these books, and also of them that have them, yea, and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon faggots, to burn both the books and them that have them.

"And as touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your Grace's laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these books that be evil, unruly and self-willed persons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ, and his words, the cause that Judas fell; but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the Scripture. If the lay people had such curates, that would thus do their office, neither these books, nor the devil himself, could hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame: so that the lack of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these books, which I have not all read; but to show that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the Scripture, as they would make men believe should follow.

"And though it be so that your Grace may by other books, and namely by the Scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite-wolves clad in sheep's clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter unto your Grace such things as God put in my mind to write. And this I do (God so judge me!) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I think the word of God should go forth without persecution, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the last sign that Christ showed to his disciples should come before the day of judgment: so that if your Grace had once commanded that the Scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to others, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your Grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels.

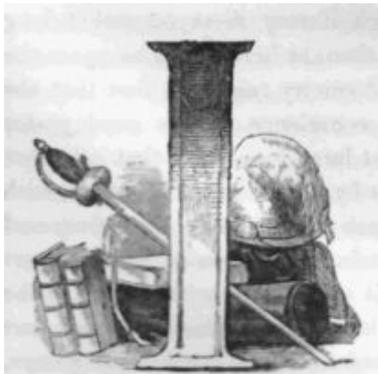
"And take heed whose counsels your Grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that, for fear of losing of their worldly worship and honour, will not leave of their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion, they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity, wh eh they put in this life, should

be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should now be put forth and allowed. But, alas! let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which, before, he despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

"Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had showed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him; and, notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

"Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God; that you may do that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight without the word of God, that your Grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church; and, according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith; for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

"Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul; and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your Grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your 'quietus est' sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace.—  
Anno Domini 1530.



N this letter of Master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider: first, his good conscience to God, his goodwill to the king, the duty of a right pastor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of princes' courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them; and specially we may note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvel at in the said letter, the great boldness and divine stoutness in this man, who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly, without all fear of death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish

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that, which no counsellor durst once speak unto him, in defence of Christ's gospel. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realm, for their parts, likewise in like cases of necessity would follow, (as indeed they should,) so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and also for lack that the officers of God's word do not their duty.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold adventure, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time: yet, notwithstanding, God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good-will of the prince, for, not long after the same, he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester, as is above declared.

Seeing Master Latimer was so bold and plain with the king, (as is afore specified,) no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness toward other meaner persons in admonishing them of their disorder, especially if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression: for example whereof we have another letter of his written to a certain justice of the peace in Warwickshire, who, as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed. The letter, although it may seem somewhat long and tedious, yet I thought here not to overpass the same for divers and sundry respects: first that the virtue and faithful conscience of this good pastor may appear more at large; also for that all other bishops and pastors by this example may learn with like zeal and stomach to discharge their duty and conscience in reforming things amiss, and in powdering with the salt of God's word the sores of the people. Which thing if every bishop for his part within his diocese had done in King Edward's days, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I suppose that the persecution of Queen Mary had not so plagued the realm as it did: but where never a man almost liveth in due order, and yet never a bishop will stir to seek redress, what can become of the realm? Item, another respect is, because of the justices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed thereby, not to abuse their authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong, through extortion or partiality. And finally, that all injurious oppressors whatsoever, by the said letter may take some fruit of wholesome admonition. What the argument and occasion was of this letter, I showed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the gentleman, is this as followeth.

"Right worshipful, *salutem in Domino*. And now, sir, I understand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievously my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that 'you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the best bishop in England,' &c.

"Ah sir! I see well I may say as the common saying is, 'Well, I have fished and caught a frog:' brought little to pass with much ado. 'You will not bear it with me,' you say. Why, sir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It might seem unseemly for a justice of peace to be a breaker of peace: I am glad the doting time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with me, in that you say you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before some judge, and call me into some court. God turn it to good. I refuse no judgment. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another, in the name of the Lord. Let justice proceed in judgment: and then and there, do best, have best, for club halfpenny. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to

rattle me in a letter, wherein, confuting me, you will defend, yourself and your brother against me. Now that would I see, quoth long Robin, *ut dicitur vulgariter*. I cannot choose but must allow such diligence: for so should both your integrities and innocencies best appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your brother's doings, in this matter to be upright. And then will I gladly give place, confessing my fault humbly, as one conquered with just reasons. But I think it will not be.

"But now first of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand trespassed you? Forsooth, that can I tell; no man better: for I have charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper-dealing, and such-like misbehaviour. What a sore matter is this! And will ye not bear so much with me? Will ye not take such a show of my good-will towards you, and toward the saving of your soul at my hand? O Lord God, who would have thought that Master N. had been so impudent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his soul? I have in use to commit such trespass many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, and the best of the realm, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and privilege of a preacher? What is it else, but even to rebuke the world of sin, without respect of persons. Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers. You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reproved in the pulpit, which cannot bear the same in a secret sealed-up letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly: unless perhaps to rebuke sin sharply, be now to lack all charity, friendship, and truth. But, Master N., if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregs of this deceivable world, that I ween you have forgotten your catechism. Read therefore again the opening of the first commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complain, &c.

"Item, sir, you said further, 'that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour,' &c. How so, good Master N.? Wherein? or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of Master Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himself. Master N., to forge and feign, (which argueth an ill cause,) that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing: as though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust me, Master N., I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteem him better than I do some others whom I have perceived and found otherways. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad: among all men, either friends or enemies, according to Paul's precept, not esteemed of the children of this world, Hate you, saith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time, for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Master N., when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so simple, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles? Have I lived so long in this

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tottering world, and have I been so many ways turmoiled and tossed up and down, and so much as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not discern cheese from chalk, truth from falsehood; but that every silly soul, and base-witted man, might easily abuse me to what enterprise he listed at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you not tell me how your brother abused me, promising before me and many more, that he would stand to your awardship, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how those two false, faithless wretches abuse me, promising also to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you yourself have abused me, promising me to redress the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but only you must needs burden me with my neighbour's abusing me, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, so God help me at my need! For if he had abused me as you and others have done, I should be soon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, &c.

"Item, sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants, agreed to stand to your award, &c. No, sir, Master N., you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have persuaded you to think it to be, so inducing you to do their request to your own shame and rebuke, if you persevere in the same, beside the peril of your soul, for consenting, at least-way to the maintenance by falsehood of your brother's iniquity. For in that you would your awardship should take none effect, you show yourself nothing inclinable to the redress of your brother's unright dealing with an honest poor man, which hath been ready at your request to do you pleasure with his things, or else he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.

"Ah, Master N.! what manner of man do you show yourself to be? or what manner of conscience do you show yourself to have? For first, as touching your brother, you know right well that Sir Thomas Coking, with a letter of his own handwriting, hath witnessed unto your brother's agreement; which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I showed the same to my neighbour, and others more ere I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to show. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a sufficient proof, trow you? the Lord himself saying, In the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true, I dare say, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive that dare swear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what should we look for at such men's hands, when you yourself play the part you do? But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.

"Item, sir, you said yet further, that the justices of peace in the country think you very unnatural, in taking part with me before your brother, &c. Ah, Master N., what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth! For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing; and a worthy minister of justice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to minister justice between your brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of justices be they, I pray you, which would so fain have you to take part naturally with

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your brother, when you ought and should reform and amend your brother? as you yourself know, no man better. What! justices? No, jugglers you might more worthily call such as they be, than justices. Be those justices which call you unnatural, for that you will not take your brother's part against all right and conscience, whom you have picked out and appointed to have the final bearing and determining of my neighbour's cause, after your substantial and final award-making? Verily I think no less. Forsooth he is much beholden to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholesome counsel that you have to give your poor neighbours in their need? Indeed you show yourself a worthy juggler, oh! I would have said a justiciar, among other of your juggling and partaking justices. O good God! what is in the world? Marry, sir, my neighbour had spun a fair thread, if your partaking justices, through your good counsel, had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my friends, with all God's flock, from the whole fellowship of your so natural and partaking justices. Amen.

"Lord God! who would have thought that there had been so many partaking justices, that is to say, unjust justices, in Warwickshire, if Master N. himself, one of the same order, (but altogether out of order,) and therefore knoweth it best, had not told us the tale? But these call you, you say, very unnatural, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural. For we read of a double nature, sound, and corrupt. That was full of justice: this, unless it be restored, abideth always unjust, bringing forth the fruits of wickedness one after another: so that he that will not help his brother, having a just cause, in his need, may be justly called unnatural, as not doing according to the instinct of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. But he that will take his brother's part against right, as to ratify his brother's wrong deceiving, he is too much natural; as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God; and so to be natural may seem to be cater-cousin, or cousin-germain with, to be diabolical.

"I fear me we have too many justices that be too much natural, to their own perishment both body and soul. For worthy justices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, (of which sort we have a fewer amongst us, than I would,) will have no respect at all in their judgments and proceedings to vicinity of blood; but altogether ad dignitatem et æquitatem causæ, ut quod justum est semper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injustum est intuitu hominum; of which number I pray God make you one. Amen. He is just, saith St. John, that doth justice. But he that sinneth (as they all do, which do unjustly for favour and pleasure of men) is of the devil, saith he; of which sort all our partaking and natural justices be with all their partiality and naturality. Quare dignum et justum est, that as many as be such justices, be justly deprived of their offices, and further also be punished, according to the quantity or quality of their crime; so that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the commonwealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us. Amen.

Quare seponite justitiam, et sequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as just as Germain's lips, which came not together by nine miles, ut vulgo dicunt, &c.

"Item, sir, finally and last of all you added these words following: 'Well,' quoth you, 'let Master Latimer take heed how he meddleth with my brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life,' &c. Ah, sir! and is your brother such a

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one as you speak of indeed? Merciful God! what a commendation is this for one brother to give another! Is this your glorying, my friend? And were it not possible, trow you, to make him better? It is written, 'Vexation giveth understandeth.' And again, 'It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me.' At least-way, I may pray to God for him as David did for such like, after this sort: Bind fast asses with bridle and snaffle, that they approach not near unto thee. In the mean season, I would I had never known either of you both; for so should I have been without this inward sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardliness of you both to godliness, for I cannot be but heavy-hearted, to see such men so wickedly minded.

Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you say, 'I shall find him as crabbed and as froward a piece,' &c. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the same it plainly appeareth, that you confess your brother's cause, wherein he so stiffly standeth, to be unjust and very naught. For he that standeth so stiffly in a good quarrel and a just cause, as many good men have done, is called a fast man, a constant, a trusty man. But he that is so obstinate and untractable in wickedness and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your brother to be. Wherefore, knowing so well your brother's cause to be so naughty, why have you not endeavoured yourself, as a worthy justice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised me to do, now almost twelve months ago, if not altogether? Summa summarum, Master N., if you will not come off shortly, and apply yourself thereunto more effectually hereafter, than you have heretofore, be you well assured thereof, I shall detect you to all the friends that I have in England, both high and low, as well his crabbedness and frowardness, as your colourable supportation of the same; that I trust I shall be able thereby either to bring you both to some goodness, or at least-way I shall so warn my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your illness, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least-way less harm by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and shun your company.

"You shall not stay me, Master N., no, though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I will not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other men's sins. For whether it be by detestable pride, whether by abominable avarice, or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keep any poor man so long from his right and duty so stiff-neckedly and obstinately, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of ways to consent to the same? You know, I trow, Master N., what theft is; that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another man's good against his will that is the owner, as some define it. If he be a thief that so doth openly, what shall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and supporteth him by any manner of colour? Consider with yourself, good Master N., what it is to oppress, and to defraud your brother in his business; and what followeth thereof. It is truly said, The sin is not forgiven, except the thing be restored again that is taken away. No restitution, no salvation; which is as well to be understood of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your brother, Master N., by cavillation, continue in the devil's possession. I will do the best I can, and wrestle with the devil, omnibus viribus, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man neither in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withal, that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of law in this realm that I am acquainted withal, but

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they shall write unto you, and confute you by the law. There is neither lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage in this realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authority.

"I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the king's Majesty, and all his honourable council, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the devil shall possess you still, to your final damnation. So that I do not despair, but verily trust, one way or other, to pluck both you and also your crabbed brother (as crabbed as you say he is) out of the devil's claws, maugre the devil's heart.

"These premises well considered, look upon it, good Master N., that we have no further ado: God's plague is presently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and in no wise defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend whatsoever hath been amiss. These were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had perused that my nipping and unpleasant letter; and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so move you, the rather to call yourself to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply yourself to accomplish and perform what you have begun and promised to do, namely, the thing itself being of such sort as apparently tendeth both to your worship, and also to God's high pleasure.

"Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribbling I wot not well what, (but I know you can read it and comprehend it well enough,) I bid you most heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to God's pleasure. Amen.—From Baxterley, the 15th of June.

"Yours to do you good, to his power.  
HUGH LATIMER."

During the time that the said Master Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did write, besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise of letters we find very few or none that he did write to his friends abroad, save only these few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake who, so long as she remained in England, was a singular patroness to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to Master Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to Master Coverdale, Master Latimer, Doctor Cranmer, with many others. The copy and effect of which his letter to Mrs. Wilkinson here followeth.

"If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, I was in prison, and you visited me? God grant us all to do and suffer, while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure. Amen.

"Yours, in Bocardo.  
HUGE LATIMER."



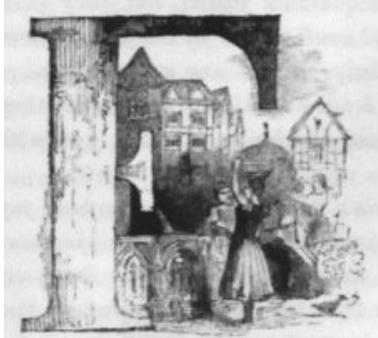
**Latimer Presenting the New Testament to King Henry VIII.**

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many others- this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sending to King Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still, an ancient custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, being the first day of January, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another. But Master Latimer, being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this posy about it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus*.

## 320. The Examination of Ridley and Latimer

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of Master Ridley and of Master Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, withal their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travails, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years, to this present time and month of Queen Mary, being the month of October, A. D. 1555; in the which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore, as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other; so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were together both joined in one society of cause and martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and manner also of the commissioners, which were, Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, with others; and what were their words, their objections, their orations there used; and what again were the answers of these men to the same, as in the process here followeth to be seen.

The order and manner of the examination of Doctor Ridley and Master Latimer, had the thirtieth day of September, 1555, before the queen's commissioners.



IRST, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners, in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the twelfth day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, upon the twenty-eighth of the said month of September, was sent down to Oxford another commission from Cardinal Pole, legate a latere, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, to Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine, and judge Master Hugh Latimer, and Master Dr. Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition, and since. The which opinions if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their

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promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

Wherefore, the last of September, the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Master Dr. Ridley, and anon Master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Master Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley, standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoons as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's Holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore, after the commission was published in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following:

*Lincoln.*—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in respect to our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my Lord Cardinal's Grace, *legate a latere* to the pope's Holiness, as well in that he is of noble parentage, [and therewith Master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance,] descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's Holiness, it should have becamed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your own self take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's Holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons, (which thing we may in no case suffer,) you shall cause us to take the pain, to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

To whom Master Ridley, making his petition for licence, answered:

*Ridley.*—"As touching that you said, my Lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinal Grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's Grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour to the lord cardinal's Grace: for I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue. And as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his Grace: but, in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome, [and therewith put on his cap,] whose usurped supremacy, and abused authority, I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore, that I might not only by confession profess the verity in not

reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap; and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your Lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his Grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."



**The Beadle removing Dr. Ridley's cap**

*Lincoln.*—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, (which look for no such honour of you,) neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, for his regal descent [at which word Master Ridley moved his cap] and excellent' qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my Lord Cardinal's Grace is, here in England, deputy of the pope's Holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Master Ridley put onthis] and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and

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sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

*Ridley.*—"The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your Lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your Lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your Lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is, an officer of the university) to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Master Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in this manner:

*Lincoln.*—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church, (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time,) if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the catholic and apostolic church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all Christian people, have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself: you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my Lords here, yea, and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do.

"Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long ago, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter-forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to spring, the council, willing to win my Lord Chancellor, sent you to him, (I then being in my Lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you,) and after you had talked with my Lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, 'Tush, my Lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my Lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault that also.' If this be

true, (as my Lord is a man credible enough in such a matter,) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as catholicly spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place, whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's Holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St. Augustine, who writeth in this manner: 'All the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the Church of Rome.'] Here you see, Master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the Church of Rome. What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St. Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Master Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner:

*Ridley.*—"My Lord, I most heartily thank your Lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in the which I have marked especially three points which you used, to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

"First, The first point is this, that the see of Rome, taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

"Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and, together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your Lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, Whom say ye that I am? Then Peter said, I say, That thou art Christ, the Son of God. To whom Christ answered, I say, Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church; that is to say, upon this stone—not meaning Peter himself, as

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though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him: and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed on his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

"Now as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters-forth of Christ's glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered: and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it; and after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so, after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the bishopric. [And therewith the people smiled.] Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your Lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome. "Semblably, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting-forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But, after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St. Gregory, 'He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.'

"Now whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, All the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection, I am sure that your Lordship knoweth, that in St. Augustine's time, there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your Lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, so that all the

countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Augustine saith, 'All the Christian countries beyond the seas and far regions, are subject to the see of Rome.' If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Augustine saith, 'All countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;' declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence, also, the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But to that you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I, doing my message to my Lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as your Lordship said) from the council to my Lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, 'Why, my Lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my Lord, be diligent in confounding of them;' for at that time my Lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my Lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"In like sort, as touching my sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such-like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I, to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certain evil-disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned, understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the bishop of Lincoln, somewhat interrupting him, said:—

"Well, Master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St. Augustine saith, that the whole Christian world is subject to the see of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, *In transmarinis, et longe remotis terris*, only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea, countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it,

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and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that *totus mundus* is more than Europe."

*Ridley*.—"Indeed, my Lord, if St. Augustine had said, *simpliciter totus mundus*, and not added *in transmarinis*, it had been without limitation; but in that he said, *totus mundus in transmarinis partibus*, 'all the countries beyond the seas,' he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by *totus mundus*."

The bishop not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:-

"Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles; and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me: wherefore I will return thither again.

"Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is 'catholic,' which is deduced of *κατα ολον* [Greek: *kata olon*], that is, *per omnia*: so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore, Master Ridley, for God's love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth: it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their Majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possession, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their Highnesses do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their Majesties have forsaken and yielded?

"Wherefore (Master Ridley) you shall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their Majesties' honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's Holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of his Holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's Grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body; then

must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's Highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm, due for heretics.

"Wherefore, Master Ridley, consider you state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce us not to do all that we may do, which is only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die, (as most untruly hath been reported of us,) but that is the temporal judge's office, we only declare you to be none of the church; and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

"But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church."

Then Master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake:—

*Ridley.*—"My Lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved; the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.' In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church."

*Lincoln.*—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbidden the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread

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only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain, *a sufocato et sanguine*, that is from things stifled, and from blood; so that this seemeth to be an express commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"

*Ridley.*—"My Lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, Do this, that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration.

*Lincoln.*—"So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which articles you shall hear now; and tomorrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed. And if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

*Articles, jointly and severally ministered to Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, by the pope's deputy.*

"In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolniensis, Iacobus Glocesrensis, et Iohannes Bristollensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum—miseratione divina, S. Mariæ in cosmedin, sancta Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum—authoritate sufficiente delegati, ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitate contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis Vigornensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes, specialiter delegati, et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet inquirendo) proponimus, et articulamus conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur.

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"1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou, Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

"3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"4. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Master Doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

"5. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off."

*The examination of Dr. Ridley upon the said articles.*

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsals shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said:

*Lincoln.*—"These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

*Ridley.*—"Why, my Lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

*Lincoln.*—"Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow, what you will."

*Ridley.*—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet, also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your Lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your Lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so, in like sort,

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the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might."

Then spake Doctor Weston, one of the audience:

*Weston.*—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

*Ridley.*—"No, Master Doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds, and the high priest's, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

*Lincoln.*—"Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering tomorrow, and will take your answers now as now: to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

*Ridley.*—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and, if your Lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me thereunto."

*Lincoln.*—"No, Master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

*Ridley.*—"I will be short; I pray your Lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

*Lincoln.*—"No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears."

*Ridley.*—"Why, my Lord, suffer me to speak three words."

*Lincoln.*—"Well, Master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

And thereupon rehearsed the same.

*Ridley.*—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *vere*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism."

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

*Ridley.*—"My Lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But, if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered:

*Ridley.*—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that, that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

*Ridley.*—"That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth: with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still: in like sort in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread."

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Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, This is the Holy Ghost, as he did by the bread, This is my body.

Then Master Ridley recited St. Augustine, who conferred both the sacraments the one with the other: but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding, thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said:

*Ridley.*—"Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away, (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory,) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln:

*Lincoln.*—"Indeed, as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross: yet, nevertheless, he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven; the which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which Master Ridley answered, that in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientia scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said:

*Lincoln.*—"To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, [for it was long before he was understood,] if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require: but, if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it."

So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Master Ridley, and sent for Master Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

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*Master Latimer appeareth before the commissioners.*

Now, after Master Ridley was committed to the mayor, then the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, eftsoons as he was placed, said to the lords:

*Latimer.*—"My Lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready: for I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls."

Then the bishop of Lincoln:—"Master Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine; but it shall be amended."

Then Master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap, (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin,) wearing an old thread-bare Bristol frieze-gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner

*Lincoln.*—"Master Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my Lords here have a commission from my Lord Cardinal Pole's Grace, legate *a latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the pope's Holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In the which commission be specially two points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and, together with all this realm, yea, all the world, confess the truth, we, upon due repentance of your part, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ's church, from the which you in the time of schism fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you; I desire you but to return thither from whence you went. Consider, Master Latimer, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queen their Majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted. It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed; it shall be no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider, Master Latimer, that within these twenty years this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head; and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, ænd might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious: it is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the express word of God, may be proved."

With that Master Latimer, who before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The bishop proceeded, saying:

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"For Christ spake expressly to Peter, saying, *Pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas*, the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includeth also a certain pre-eminence and government; and therefore is the king called *Rex a regendo*: so that in saying, *rege*, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and so in all ages hath it remained in the see of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and, according to the authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queen their Majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my Lord Cardinal his Grace, by him, as legate to the pope's Holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But, if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness; if you will not acknowledge your errors; if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions; if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do, (that the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do,) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are a lost child; and, as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws. Therefore, Master Latimer, for God's love consider your estate; remember you are a learned man; you have taken degrees in the school, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man; spare your body, accelerate not your death, and specially remember your soul's health, quiet of your conscience. Consider, that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider, that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part, [then the bishop put off his cap,] again with all my heart exhort you."

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then Master Latimer lifted up his head, (for before he leaned on his elbow,) and asked whether his Lordship had said; and the bishop answered, "Yea."

*Latimer*.—"Then will your Lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?"

*Lincoln*.—"Yea, Master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts."

*Latimer*.—"I beseech your Lordship license me to sit down."

*Lincoln*.—"At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

*Latimer.*—"Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my Lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your Lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him govern his people. Indeed, my Lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid *regere*; but, since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of *regere*. Indeed they ought *regere*, but how, my Lord? not as they will themselves: but this *regere* must be hedged in and ditched in. They must rule, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and, amongst others, this point is one, which your Lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*; and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, If there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter according to the law of God, so it must be taken. This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and others the clergy of the new law: but, in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter 'according to God's law,' that 'according to God's law' is left out, and only is recited, as the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I assure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's coin?" With the which terms the audience smiled. "This is much like the *regere* which your Lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now I trust, my Lord, I do not rail yet."

*Lincoln.*—"No, Master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know of any such, I can say nothing therein."

*Latimer.*—"Yes, my Lord, the book is open to be read, and is entituled to one which is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge."

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission.

Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up and said it was his book.

*Latimer.*—"Was it yours, my Lord? Indeed I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me." Then the audience laughed again; and Master Latimer spake unto them, saying:-

*Latimer.*—"Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death."

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said:-

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*Lincoln.*—"Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done." After this the bishop of Gloucester said, in excusing of his book, "Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have." Then Master Latimer interrupted him, saying:—

*Latimer.*—"Lo, you look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of Oblivion, making the bare walls my library; keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over-night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

But the bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying:—

*Gloucester.*—"I went not about to recite any place of Scripture in that place of my book; for then, if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument *a majore*, in this sense; that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal *secundum legem Dei*?"

*Latimer.*—"Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matter of religion; and, as my Lord said even now, *regere*; but they must do it *secundum verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam*; according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, their own imaginations and fantasies."

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoken more, saving that the bishop of Lincoln said that they came not to dispute with Master Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to Master Ridley. But Master Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester.

*Latimer.*—"Well, my Lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with God's word, and not to leave out a part, and to snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Master Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing of the articles in form and sense as I declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to Master Ridley, and required Master Latimer's answer to the first. Then Master Latimer, making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queen their Majesties' subject, and not the pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them; required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

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The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively or negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same again; and Master Latimer answered as followeth:—

*Latimer.*—"I do not deny, my Lord, that in the sacrament by spirit and grace is the very body and blood of Christ; because that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion. But I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament, as you would have it."

*Lincoln.*—"Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively."

*Latimer.*—"Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

*Lincoln.*—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the second article?" and recited the same.

*Latimer.*—"There is, my Lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotency of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine. For the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity; because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body: for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word."

With that the bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying:—

*Lincoln.*—"Lo, Master Latimer, see what stedfastness is in your doctrine! That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread."

*Latimer.*—"Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is a holy bread indeed." But the bishop of London interrupted him and said:-

*Lincoln.*—"Oh, ye make a difference between holy bread and holy bread." [With that the audience laughed.] "Well, Master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration?"

*Latimer.*—"Yes, verily, it must needs be so; for Christ himself calleth it bread, St. Paul calleth it bread, the doctors confess the same, the nature of a sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it holy bread: not in that I make no difference betwixt your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christ's body; and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

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*Lincoln.*—"What say you to the third question?" and recited the same.

*Latimer.*—"No, no, my Lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all (as St. Paul saith) upon the cross; neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his cross only."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

*Lincoln.*—"What say you to the fourth, Master Latimer?"

And recited it. After the recital whereof, when Master Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or no?

*Latimer.*—"Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby."

*Lincoln.*—"Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Master Dr. Weston as heresies; is it not so, Master Latimer?"

*Latimer.*—"Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, He that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

*Lincoln.*—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the fifth article?" And recited it.

*Latimer.*—"I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer; I would you would propose the matter plainly."

*Lincoln.*—"In that we proceed according to the law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and recent in the mouths of the people."

*Latimer.*—"I cannot tell how much, nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not."

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said, "Master Latimer, we mean not that these your answers shall be prejudicial to you. To-morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to-morrow, trusting that, after you have pondered well all things against tomorrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth."

*Latimer.*—"Now, my Lord, I pray you give me licence in three words, to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the pope."

*Lincoln.*—"Nay, Master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have licence to speak forty words."

*Latimer.*—"Nay, my Lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your Lordships: I pray you let not me be troubled to-morrow again."

*Lincoln.*—"Yes, Master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow."

*Latimer.*—"Truly, my Lord, as for my part, I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow."

*Lincoln.*—"Yes, for we trust God will work with you against to-morrow. There is no remedy: you must needs appear again to-morrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church."

And forthwith the bishop charged the mayor with Master Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clock at afternoon.

*Here followeth the second day's session.*



HE next day following, (which was the first day of October,) somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaol-delivery) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After Master Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

*Lincoln.*—"Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which although they justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for, as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his Grace; but, in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope's Holiness (with that the bishop and all then present put off their caps, but Master Ridley moved not his) you said you neither could nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but, forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the

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pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

*Ridley.*—"I pretend now none other cause than I did yesterday; that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope; and not from any pride of mind, (as God is my judge,) neither for contempt of your Lordships or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace as concerning those points which your Lordship spake of; that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your Lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

*Lincoln.*—"Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then:" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in sense following:

*Lincoln.*—"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then, also, to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday, (which we would not wish,) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you, [and therewith he put off his cap,] not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition. Yesterday I brought forth amongst others St. Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Augustine's meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus* to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world: whereas, indeed, the process of St. Augustine's words will not admit that your interpretation; for he saith not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c., but first, 'all the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, *in transmarinis partibus*, 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

But Master Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying;

"I am sure, my Lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, cast between Europe and Africa, in the which be meant Europe beyond the sea; even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand."

And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St. Augustine. After long disceptation the bishop of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St. Augustine

might be known by the consent of other the doctors; and rehearsed divers. But Master Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, were none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the doctors by some studious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

Then after, Lincoln came to Cyril, which (as he said) made against Master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon's own alleging in his Common-Places; and forthwith he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before—wherefore he passed it over.

"Cyril also, in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries: ergo, Christ is come.' But we may use the contrary of that reason, 'Altars are plucked down in Britain: ergo, Christ is not come.' A good argument *a contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

"Dr. Ridley smiling, answered, 'Your Lordship is not ignorant that this word *altare*, in the Scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word *altare*, not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord; and by that saying, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name: ergo, Christ is come,' he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance: ergo, Christ is come. For the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itself be past; then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage: neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

*Lincoln.*—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive and yet, when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

*Ridley.*—"Your Lordship's unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

*Lincoln.*—"As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles;" and eftsoons he read the first article in manner above specified. "Now, Master Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it; but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

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Then Master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired licence to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

*Ridley.*—"Why, my Lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my Lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your Lordships may handle it at your pleasure; therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

*Lincoln.*—"Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but, except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

With that Master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, which immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding Master Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said:—

*Lincoln.*—"In the first part, Master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's Holiness."

*Ridley.*—"No, my Lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it."

But the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Master Ridley's answer to it. Then Master Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, Master Doctor Weston being prolocutor.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Master Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken, and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Master Ridley to turn.

*Gloucester.*—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrew the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *Væ, Væ*, Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits!

"But you will say here, 'It is true that the prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit?' Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but, if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit; then can you not avoid the *væ* and woe which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, *Væ, Væ*, Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit! then, for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over-much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church,—how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning and disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of Scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And, indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

"It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade Master Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom Master Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit! but that he acknowledgeth no such singularity in

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him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he, the bishop of Gloucester, said Master Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Master Cranmer: for at what time he was a young scholar, then was Master Cranmer a doctor, so that he confessed that Master Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:—

*Gloucester.*—"Why, Master Ridley, it is your own confession, for Master Latimer, at the time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in Master Cranmer's books, and Master Cranmer also said, that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln, with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Master Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word; and, therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his Lordship said the day before, that he should have licence to show his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded licence to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Dr. Weston, which sat by, and said, "Why, my Lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Master Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his licence: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers. And eftsoons Master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, which sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth:

*Lincoln.*—"Now I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for I assure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than *dolentes et gementes*: for indeed I for my part (I take God to witness) am sorry for you."

Whereunto Master Ridley answered, "I believe it well, my Lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soul."

*Lincoln.*—"Nay, not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But, seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken what I shall say."

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before, we thought meet

in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was as this:

"That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood, to be in the sacrament of the altar: Secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration: Thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead; and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol), did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church: and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

*The last appearance and examination of Master Latimer before the commissioners.*

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Master Latimer was sent for: but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat Master Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) Master Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as Master Ridley had. But eftsoons as Master Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying:

*Latimer.*—"My Lords, I beseech your Lordships to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm."

*Lincoln.*—"I am sorry, Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that Master Latimer thanked his Lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner:

*Lincoln.*—"Master Latimer, although yesterday after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same, yet we, having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred further process till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and I, for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you: or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry."

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It seemed that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that Master Latimer interrupted him, saying:

*Latimer.*—"Your Lordship often doth repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my Lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and catholic church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church: I must use here, in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprian, who at what time he was ascited before certain bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: 'In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken.' And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? 'Christ,' said he, 'hath foreshowed, that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross and follow him. Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble.' How think you then, my Lords, is it like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection" which he proved, beginning at Noah's time even to the apostles.

*Lincoln.*—"Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary: for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel. But you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God and the received truth of the church."

Master Latimer interrupting him, said: "Yes verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."

But Lincoln goeth forth in his talk: "Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming, continually, there were very few which truly served God; but, after his coming, began the time of grace. Then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny did resist. There is a diverse consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But, Master Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we, hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school, a place for disputations. And whereas then, notwithstanding you had licence to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors, we, thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your estate, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time; and now have called you again in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning" and eftsoons recited the first article.

*Latimer.*—"Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your Lordships' authority, in that you are legated by authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction—to the first article I answer now, as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his blood by the Spirit and grace: but, after that corporal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before. After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

*Latimer.*—"Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other, propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. In like manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before. After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like sort to recant, as he did Master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and Master Latimer had answered that he neither could nor would deny his Master Christ, and his verity, the bishop of Lincoln desired Master Latimer to hearken to him: and then Master Latimer, hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation; after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. But Master Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have licence briefly to declare the cause, why he refused the pope's authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither. ought to talk with him.

Then Master Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," quoth Master Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name." With that appellation the bishop was content: but, he said, it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed Master Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, Master Mayor." Because the press of the people was not yet diminished, each man looking for further process, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and willed Master Latimer to tarry till the press were diminished, lest he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance. And so continued Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, in durance till the sixteenth day of the said month of October.

*A communication between Dr. Brooks and Dr. Ridley, in the house of Master Irish, the 15<sup>th</sup> day of October, at which time he was degraded.*

In the mean season, upon the fifteenth day in the morning, and the same year abovesaid, Dr. Brooks, the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshal, with

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divers other of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came unto Master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's Majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.

"But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

"My Lord," quoth Dr. Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

*Gloucester.*—"Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's Holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

*Ridley.*—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, of the bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

*Ridley.*—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart."

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*Gloucester.*—"Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

*Ridley.*—"Not I, truly."

*Gloucester.*—"But you must."

*Ridley.*—"I will not."

*Gloucester.*—"You must therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

*Ridley.*—"Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

*Gloucester.*—"Will you not do it upon you?"

*Ridley.*—"No, that I will not."

*Gloucester.*—"It shall be put upon you by one or other."

*Ridley.*—"Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants."

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play, insomuch that Bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered him again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

*Gloucester.*—"Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped."

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks; "Sir, the law is, he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, "Oh, well, well, well!" So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr. Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands; for, if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation ,of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

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Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" And as they put upon him the mass-gear, so they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had! I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered and said, "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then Master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but Master Ridley said, "My Lord, I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr. Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Master Ridley said.

"Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my Lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's Majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's Majesty in their behalves. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better."

Then he read the same and, when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, said, "This is nature that moveth me: but I have now done." And with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's Majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's Majesty for them."

*Ridley.*—"I pray you, for God's sake, do so."

*Gloucester.*—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted."

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*Ridley.*—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein; and God's will be done."

*Gloucester.*—"I will do what lieth in me."

The copy of this supplication written to the queen here followeth.

"May it please your Majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so, honourable princess, that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenantries and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

"Now, I hear say, that the bishop which occupieth the same room now, will not allow the foresaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable Grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious patroness and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either of their part, or of mine, and always also the old rents reserved to the see without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious Highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid to me and to the chapter for their leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your Majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass towards your Grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and specially in an iron chest in my bedchamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases; and therefore, if that way shall please your Highness, they must be known by such ways and means as your Majesty, by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience, shall appoint: but yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and most humbly beseech your Majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

"I have also a poor sister that came to me out of the north, with three fatherless children, for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable Grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered in durance at my entrance into the see of London, not one penny of his movable goods; for it was almost half a year after his deposition, afore I entered into that place: yea and also, if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Master Stanton, can testify) I paid for him towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell

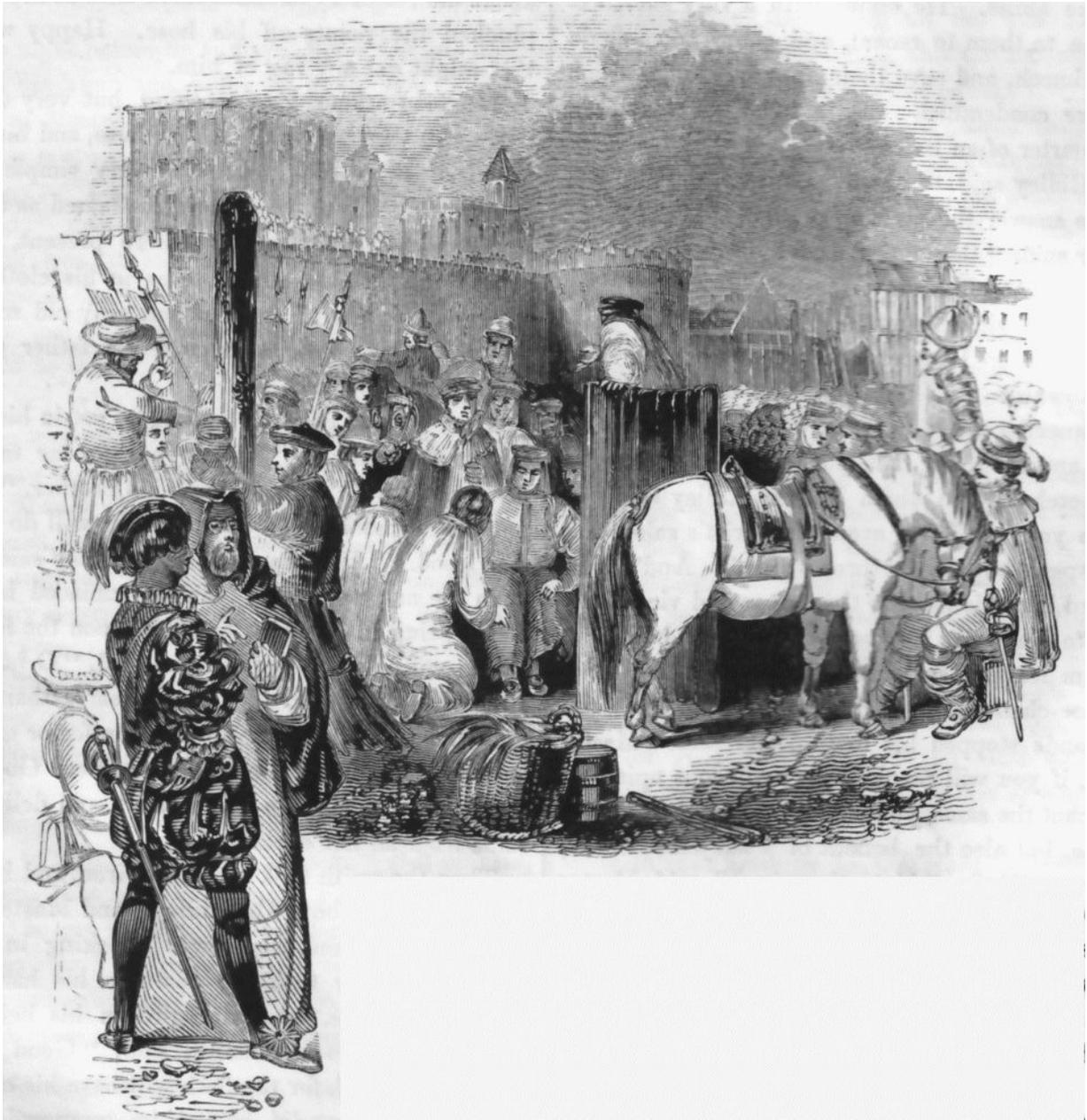
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whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable Majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and in especial the archbishop of York, who, for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his Grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief, now unto your Highness I make most humble suit. The sixteenth of October, anno 1555.

"NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Master Ridley in praising God, burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But Master Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, and in going away a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure, bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

### 321. The Execution of Ridley and Latimer



The Execution of Ridley and Latimer

*The behaviour of Dr. Ridley at his supper, the night before his suffering.*

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and, as he sat at supper, the same night, at Master Irish's, (who was his keeper,) he bade his hostess, and the rest at the

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board, to his marriage; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married" and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart" at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," &c.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly tonight, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

*The behaviour of Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, at the time of their death, which was the sixteenth of October, 1555.*

Upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose, down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he, following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espied Master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him; and, as they that stood

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near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed, and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in King Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby. Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such-like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Ecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith, believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley said to Master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Master Ridley.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby; unto whom Master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my Lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my Lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshal, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Master Ridley. "No," quoth Dr. Marshal. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying, Master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law Master

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Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; and to divers of my Lord Williams's gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr. Ridley's and Master Latimer's middle: and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I will take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother;" meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried off the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my Lord Williams, and said, "My Lord, I must be a suitor unto your Lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's Majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your Lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her Grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your Lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them

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to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my Lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him. he cried with a wonderful loud voice, *In manus teas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine recipe spiritum meum.* And after, repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over-high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, (for the which cause he gave attendance,) as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain, (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God,) he showed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord, have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears in beholding the horrible sight; for I think there was none that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and

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increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with theirprinces, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

## 322. Treatises of Dr. Ridley

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatises, letters, and exhortations, belonging to the story of the martyrs, unto the latter Appendix in the end of these volumes; thinking also to have done the like with these farewells and exhortations following of Bishop Ridley, yet, for certain purposes moving me thereunto, and especially considering the fruitful admonitions, wholesome doctrine, and necessary exhortations contained in the same, I thought best here to bestow, and consequently to adjoin the said tractations of that learned pastor, with the life and story of the author; whereof the two first be in a manner his farewells, the one to his kinsfolk, and generally to all the faithful of the number of Christ's congregation: the other more special to the prisoners and banished Christians in the gospel's cause: the third containeth a fruitful and a general admonition to the city of London, and to all others, with necessary precepts of Christian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be seen.

*A Treatise or Letter written by Dr. Ridley, instead of his last farewell, to all his true and faithful friends in God; with a sharp admonition withal unto the papists.*

"At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

"As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure, so likewise now I, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you—O all ye, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world—having like mind towards you all—and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness—to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

"Farewell, my dear brother George Shippeside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions; and now, in the time of my cross, over all others to me most friendly and stedfast, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God's cause ever hearty.

"Farewell, my dear sister Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God, that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that, pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

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"Farewell, my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoune, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have requited it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

"Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them instead of their father, but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

"Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley of Wilymountswike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness showed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in our stock and kindred, (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness,) to be as it were the bell-wether to order and conduct the rest, and hath also indued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others: so I pray you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you,) continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness; and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

"Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss: but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

"Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord, which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, King Edward, and so also announced openly in his court, by his privy council.

"I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed nor astonished at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I assure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and his cause; unto the which honour he hath called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are God's causes, and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that Paul's Epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in God's cause, and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I assure thee, O man, it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter, saith, If ye suffer rebuke

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in the name of Christ, (that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake,) then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebuke's sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy apostle blessed and happy; how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also! Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs; that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

"Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, (where, alas! the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thief's hand,) if it chance a man so to be slain of a thief, as it often chanceth there, which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact and his posterity doth endure: even so ye that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs): know ye, I say, that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know, and follow the laws of God, ye have, and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God [to] rejoice of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations; the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can show more love, than to give his life for his friend.

"Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: for both are God's cause, both are in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For, know ye all, that like as there, when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten, (whereupon he and his household shall live,) he I greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the Church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This Church of England hath of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God,

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great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

"This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given; the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup, in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

"All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

"It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture: and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that use, alas! to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the Holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church, much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas! was almost overgone.

"But, alas! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain on these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem a heap of stones; that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves, be of Samaria; these Sabæi and Chaldæi, these robbers, have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the Church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God; they have carried it away, and overthrown it, and, instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, (as of baptism and others,) they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

"Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass; but, in deed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, so that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and made them to believe that to be

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Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but, in substances, is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table, is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood; which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again. And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel.

"Now for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word, wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it, but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness?

"For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, (nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things,) but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God; high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer; for it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ's gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all ye my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death, which by God's grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God there-for, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

"Although the cause of the true man slain of the thief, while helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality are both one, (as I said before,) yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders: the goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far diverse. These thieves are worse, (I say,) for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty: for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called sacrilegi, as ye would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of

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salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live. These goods, (I say,) these thieves, these church-robbers, go about to spoil us of: the which goods, as, to the man of God, they excel and far pass all worldly treasure; so, to withstand, even unto the death, such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

"These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore, as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft-times hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood, good to be evil, and evil good, light to be darkness, and darkness light, superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God, and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do; but, stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to bewray their falsehood.

"The kind of fight against these church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, which are called of St. Paul principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtleties concerning heavenly things, therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly: we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their souls.

"And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, we fight not against flesh and blood; that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword, wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons,

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under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke, and Captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand Captain Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy, murdered down like a many of sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful, is the kind of death whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

"And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities) ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice, (if ye love me indeed,) for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause, (whereof I nothing doubt,) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he, (I say,) that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I, through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself to do): who is he (I say) that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be that should forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection, by his Holy Spirit, in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God, of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, than the university of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits, (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted,) than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born?

"Farewell, therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best-beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees; of thy common offices, the chaplainship of

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the university, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader. And, of thy private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholar, then to be fellow; and, after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

"Farewell Pembroke hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge! What case thou art in now (God knoweth) I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well-learned, and a great setter-forth of Christ's gospel, and of God's true word: so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, yea, and I ween all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse: of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven; for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after; and I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

"From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to the vicar of Herne in East Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel: oh that the fruit had answered to the seed! And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but, I bless God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word which the Lord, by preaching of his word, did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Fiennes: the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others more.

"Farewell thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitane see, whereof once I was a member! To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity's sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name Christ's-church, in deed and in truth.

"Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God! Oh that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

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"To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury; and so God give thee of his grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own laws: and thus fare you well!

"O London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel's sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever in them delight.

"Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment, to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well! as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God which is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it behis pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day: this only I can pray for.

"O thou now wicked and bloody see! why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses, instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostom, yea, the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon! thou wicked lamb of antichrist! thou bloody wolf! why slayest thou down, and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and wilt follow none other but their own pastor Christ's voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god (I say) will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones; and his hands, O thou whorish drab! shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab! and all thy false prophets.

"Yet thou, O London! I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet

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I do not doubt but in that great city there may be many privy mourners, which do daily mourn for that mischief, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in the office of mayoralty, yea, and in other citizens also (whom to name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other, for true Christian kindness, which is showed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight! thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakedst the matter for the poor: thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but, to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter. was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with a uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, indued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city; and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their Master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of silly poor members of Christ, which else, for extreme hunger and misery, should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobs! and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever, unto the world's end. Amen.

"And thou, O Sir George Barnes! the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a House of Occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell; and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, it is not

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unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

"Farewell now all ye citizens, that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be! Undoubtedly in London ye have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life, nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

"Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament; therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my Lords of the temporalty farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it that I intend to say, in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already, to the see of London. To you therefore, my Lords of the temporalty, will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit you cannot promote me, nor, if I displease you, can ye hurt me or harm me; for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good, hearken what I say. I say unto you, as St. Paul saith to the Galatians, I wonder, my Lords, what hath betwitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist; from Christ's gospel unto man's traditions; from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop now of Rome. I warn you of your peril: be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if you think thus: 'We are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame:' My Lords, this is true, I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subject, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands: but yet, nevertheless, shall the subject die the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but, he saith, both, shall fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the scribes and Pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? (yea, and also Pilate their governor and the emperor's lieutenant by his tyranny did without cause put him to death;) forsooth no, my Lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly

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whip. Ye are witty, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his adversary the bishop of Rome.

"And lest, my Lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish; and that I do but rage, and, as a desperate man, do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your Lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety, (as St. Paul said unto Festus,) be it known unto your Lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I assure your Lordships, (the living Lord beareth me witness before whom I speak,) I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly, which therefore justly may be called *apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the apostles; and also that church and congregation of Christians to be a right apostolic church; yea, and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ by the true apostolic doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and, preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long, I say, that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof *apostolicus*, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

"But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too, too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my Lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic; so, as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion, and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that see and bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

"The see is the seat of Satan, and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritual Sodoma and Egypt, the mother of fornications, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore do spiritually meddle, and lie with her, and commit most stinking and abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is, (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for examples' sake,) her dispensations, her pardons and

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pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled; as her massing and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the apostles' doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shall appear, I trust, by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore of Babylon, and the beast whereupon she doth sit, maintain at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment, (according to Daniel's prophecy,) and finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkness is unto light or light unto darkness, white to black or black to white, or as Belial unto Christ or Christ unto antichrist himself.

"I know, my Lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirit of grace and the light of God's word, so many (I say) would at these my words lord-like stamp and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God's grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is (as St. John saith) the greatest of all; and then I shall not need(I trow) to fear what any lord, no, nor what king or prince, can do unto me.

"My Lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said, (when as else, if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure,) how hath then your Lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge) otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which, I am persuaded assuredly by God's word, shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say even that I have said heretofore both of the see of Rome and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo Domini*, except ye do repent betimes, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my Lords, for God's sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge, (who will judge nothing amiss,) so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God's word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas, my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your Lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly, with one consent, to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy say now, and so say the pope's laws indeed) standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity

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for our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the Eighth and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then, as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation; how then chanced it that ye were all, O my Lords, so light and so little passed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof, (without the which no man can be saved,) as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith—that is, to forsake Christ and his gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is, so necessary to salvation, how chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spirituality and temporality, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But, on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto salvation by an antichristian law, (as it is indeed,) and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting-forth of the power of the beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets, (as of truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be,) then, my Lords, never think other, but the day shall come when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom, (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *a pœna et culpa*,) that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try this matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appear what they be, then ye, my Lords, (I give your Lordships warning in time,) repent, if ye will be happy, and love your own souls' health: repent, I say, or else, without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breach of your oath. As ye have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such-like abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betimes) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my Lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen."

*Another farewell of Bishop Ridley to the prisoners in Christ's gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own country, choosing rather to leave all worldly commodity, than their Master Christ.*

"Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both ye my fellow prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity than the gospel of Christ.

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"Farewell, all ye together in Christ; farewell and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side; and such, after trial, (ye know,) shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved. Let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example, of patience in tribulation, of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God, for thereunto are we called; that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth. When he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again; when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to Him that judgeth aright.

"Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ: Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets which were before you. Therefore let us always bear this in our minds, that if any incommmodity do chance unto us for righteousness' sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our Master hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake: but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

"Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our Master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our Master and Lord: how doth it not then become us to suffer! for the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they so call them of his household! Fear them not then, saith our Saviour, for all privities shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be showed in light. Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed, nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ our Master commandeth us, saying, That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad; and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house-top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire.

"Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you; so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them, (saith

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our Master Christ,) for ye are more worth than many small sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our Master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven. Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which be calleth his cross, he will none of us; we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if, in his cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant, yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no, not the twinkling of an eye; and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. Wonder not, saith St. Peter, as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire, (he meaneth of tribulation,) which thing, saith he, is done to prove you; nay, rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.

"Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall they appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their Master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and, thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that which the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified; he will glory (he saith) in nothing else but in Christ's cross; yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

"O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that that made Paul,—in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudo-apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and pass them all,—what wonderful spirit was that (I say) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers

and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him! O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? Bear thou, saith he, affliction like a good soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true: If we die with him, [he meaneth Christ,] we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven but Christ and his way: and all that will live godly in Christ, shall, saith St. Paul, suffer persecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our Master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the Spirit (for so it was in Isaac's time); so, said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man, (the self-same man, I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God,) let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories; if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments, which the men of God, in God's cause, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others, again, were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword, some wandered to and fro in sheep's pilches, in goats' pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted; such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain, as they were, for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our Master, Christ, in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

"Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: Let us throw away whatsoever might let us—all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality—and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the ringleader, captain, and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, not passing upon the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over, nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus: My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father,

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that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us stedfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven; and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ, to bear Christ's cross, than for this short life-time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, who is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay forsooth, but contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

"Wherefore, understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, &c., therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, and absent abroad, that we may always please him. And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea, infinite plenty of all these, above that which man's heart can either conceive or think, (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally,) and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption; who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. To die in the defence of Christ's gospel it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us, and rose again, that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also (saith St. John) should jeopard, yea, give our life for our brethren. And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed; for he that giveth or loseth his life thus getteth and winneth it forevermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And, in another place, He shall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul called it but a dissolution and resolution; and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling-house, meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this my death may be called to the Christian, an end of all

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miseries: for so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter in the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? His former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who, from misery and pain, is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace?

"Farewell, dear brethren! farewell, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God; for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

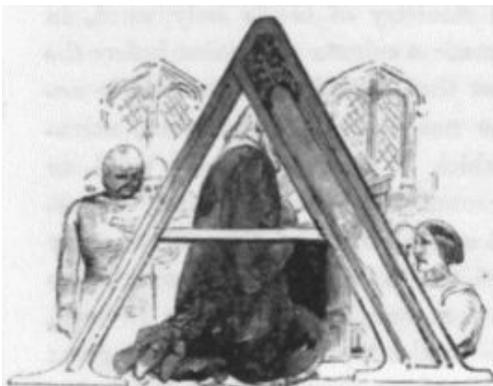
"Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse! here wandering in this world in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction.

"Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost. Farewell!

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastors of Christ; for to thee it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell!

"Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell! Farewell!"

*Another treatise of Bishop Ridley, wherein is contained first a lamentation for the change of religion in England: then a comparison between the doctrine of the gospel and the Romish religion; with wholesome instructions in the end to all Christians, how to behave themselves in time of trial.*



alas! what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! When, as of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village, yea, and almost in every honest man's house, alas! now it is exiled and banished out of the whole realm, Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but such as are content, in Christ's cause and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

"Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn, as they could, out of God's word, the articles of the Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer. The babes and young children were taught

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these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same: but now (alas, and alas again!) the false prophets of antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

"Of late in every congregation throughout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy; and now, alas! Satan hath persuaded England, by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

"Of late by strait laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon, with laws (I say) and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, alas! all these laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy, are quite changed, and all those oaths, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes or of a barley straw, nor public perjury no more feareth them than a shadow upon the wall.

"Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Paul's doctrine, and Christ's commandment, (as Paul saith plainly,) that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word. But, alas! all is turned upside down; Paul's doctrine is put apart; Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church, but a strange tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

"Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas! the unlearned people are brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their heart is nothing mindful at all; for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

"Of late the Lord's supper was duly administered and taught to be made common to all that are true Christians, with thanksgiving and setting-forth of the Lord's death and passion, until his returning again to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas! the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting-forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to understand.

"Of late all that were indued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance,

whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But now, alas! England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known. And now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by high court of parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the ever-living God: yea, they say they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

"Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed, according to his own commandment by his express words in the gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be showed unto this day: but now, alas! not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the dead and the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

"Of late the commandment of God, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any similitude or likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: this commandment of God, I say, was graven almost every where in churches, was learned of every body, both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry (as the wise man saith) were taken out of the churches, and straitly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them or worship them. But now, alas! God's holy word is blotted and rased out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place; and on the other side he forbade images and idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them. But now, alas! that which God commanded is not passed upon: and that which be forbiddeth, is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

"Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attain eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of men, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withal, or else how can the head abide? The head,

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under Satan, of all mischief is antichrist and his brood; the same is he which is the Babylonical beast. The beast is he whereupon the whore sitteth. The whore is that city, saith John, in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth. And of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk; yea, and kings of the earth have lien by this whore, and merchants of the earth by virtue of her pleasant merchandise have been made rich.

"Now what city is there in all the whole world, that, when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth; or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that see hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that the old and ancient writers understand Peter's former Epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same Epistle in plain terms Babylon? By the abominations thereof I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish drab for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise, wherewith (alas! the madness of man) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world? Did not Peter, the very true apostle of Christ, (of whom this stinking strumpet beareth herself so high, but falsely and without all just cause,) did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles, (for this whore and beast will be called dominus apostolicus, whosoever say nay,) after this manner in his latter Epistle? There were among the people in times past false prophets, as there shall be among you in time to come false teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation. And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness, by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall, saith Peter, make merchandise upon you. And doth not John likewise, in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandise) reckon up amongst the rest, and concludeth, saying, and the souls of men too? Whereupon I pray you else rose this true proverb, 'All things for money are set to sale at Rome?' Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a bishop of Rome, thus I ween?

Alexander, our holy father the pope of Rome,  
Selleth for money both right and doom;  
And all kind of holiness the holy father doth not stick  
To set to sale, ready money for to get.  
And eke Christ himself he dare be bold  
To chop and change for silver and gold.  
And why should any think this to be sore.  
For what doth he sell but what he bought before?"

"I grant these verses to be light gear, and the verse is but rude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that see. But now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these crimes be grounded upon laws, be established by custom,

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and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one man's or a few men's personal crimes, but are now, by laws, custom, and doctrine, incorporated into that wicked see, and make indeed the body of the beast, whereupon the abominable whore doth sit.

"But you would know which be those merchandises which I said this whore setteth for to sell, for the which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the Church of England already, (whereof I have spoken somewhat before,) but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow; as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *placebo* and *dirige*, with trentals and *scala cæli*, dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and *tot quots*, with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering friars and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the see of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it) clear absolution from penalty and guilt, for thousands of years; yea, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the household stuff and adornment which shall be used in the church after the Romish guise: for all these things, they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy apostles never knew! As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells, and suchlike things, what need I to speak? for every priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man once, at the least, every day of a wafer-cake.

"After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes—I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as John saith, (he meaneth so long as that seed doth abide in him,)—that Holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work—when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point; what his blessed will and pleasure is; what his infinite great goodness and mercy is; what he hath done for us; how he hath given us his own dearly beloved Son to death for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal word willeth us both to believe, and also to do; and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ, inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they are taught (which as they did proceed of

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the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation): and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law; what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all Holy Scriptures, both New and Old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth pass and excel all; which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed of God; which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know; what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day; how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever which Christ's words shall allow; who shall be the judge of all flesh, to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke—when (I say) I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion, (whereof I spake before,) it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of Holy Scriptures which be appointed in the margin, whereupon this talk is grounded, and, by God's grace, he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ, out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: Well, said he, spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and tell them, Ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand; and seeing you shall behold, and not see the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull; and with their ears they are hard of hearing; and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God.

"Alas! England; alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard oft, and wouldst never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since thou bearest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates in King Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend

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never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the king's Highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young Christian prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself; and yet would they towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

"I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for showing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the duke of Somerset's cause; and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by the commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men, of all other, these magistrates then could never abide. Others there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter: but, alas! all sped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not minish, but daily did increase, which, no doubt, is no small occasion in that state of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common sort of other inferior magistrates, as judges of the laws, justices of peace, serjeants, common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say, of bishops also, I fear me, for the most part (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his): but, for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word; and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been sound within.

"And this dissimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired, and hath ever gone about, that the high magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he, being of counsel with the dissimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

"Hypocrisy and dissimulation St. Jerome doth call well a double wickedness; for neither it loveth the truth, (which is one great evil,) and also falsely it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This hypocrisy and dissimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught; yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and unreligiously to come to the holy communion and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal and indiscreet devotion which

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they had aforesaid to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

"And again, as for our almsdeeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James saith, and such as, he saith himself, he setteth more by than by sacrifice, as to provide for the fatherless, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing: in these works, I say, how wayward were many, in comparison, I mean, of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up and honoured in churches, plainly against God's word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, London, I must confess, for such godly works in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year began marvellous well. The Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea, and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun. Amen.

"All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is; for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were, that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now, with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

"But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave further and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law; He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself so that he deny not his Master Christ; or else he is but a castaway, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

"Now then, seeing the doctrine of antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers, alas! are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the old laws of antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again; what can be hereafter looked for, by reason, to the man of God and true Christian abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will he can make them bow: and also that Christian princes in old time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices, exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Augustine. But as yet antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image, but even (as all the world knoweth) after the same manner that both

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John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death. And Daniel declareth further, that the kind of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

"Therefore if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by antichrist's accustomed laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss, at the last, both of body and soul unto everlasting death. Therefore, my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayest so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surety for thy soul's health, is that which I shall show thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

"My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter itself: I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our Master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the Christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

"Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the persecution of wicked Jezebel. And Christ our Saviour saith in the gospel, When they persecute you in one city, fly unto another: and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, which were great and stout champions nevertheless, and stout confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius. But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it.

"Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and fly far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of antichrist, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination. Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, *Tunc inquit qui in Judæa sunt, fugiant ad montes*. Then, saith he, mark this Christ's 'then,' for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the Spirit of God, that this 'then' is commanded. Then, saith Christ, they that he in Jewry, let them fly into the mountains; and he that is on the house-top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house; and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck! But pray, saith Christ, that your flight be not in winter, nor on the sabbath day.

"These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry' spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the gospel of Christ; such as they whom Christ here biddeth in the time of the reign of antichrist's abominations, to fly unto 'the mountains;' which

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signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the house-top 'not to come down,' and him that is in the field 'not to return to take with him his clothes;' he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betimes, lest in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they be trapped in the snare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back; and, for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, 'Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck!' women great with child and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word 'woe' signifieth: all such, I say, as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And whereas Christ saith, 'Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day;' in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul; and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities, and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the sabbath day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the ways; and also to go far, which cannot be done on the sabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day; that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the causes why we should fly, follow in the same place of St. Matthew's Gospel, which I now pass over; thou mayest read them there.

"And in Revelation xviii. the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, Fly, my people, out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell and are come unto the heavens! Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul, that blessed apostle. He plainly forbiddeth us to join or couple ourselves with the unfaithful. For what fellowship can there be, saith he, of righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness, or what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? for you are the temple of the living God. As God hath said, I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty God.

"This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to God-ward) diversely. Many, I trust, that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be, peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done; for they will peradventure say, 'We should counsel a man always to do that which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to fly it may seem to smell of cowardliness. In many things, that which is best for one at some times, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run, before he can go.' I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what

might here be objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

"This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O man of God: as I would wish, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true Christian, either brother or sister, after they be called, and brought into the wrestling-place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game, (that is, to confess the truth of the gospel, and of the Christian faith, in hope of everlasting life,) should not shrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befall; but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even' unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day—so likewise I dare not wish nor counsel any, either brother or sister, of their own swinge, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before or further in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is that his glory shall be set forth, and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things (as Eusebius writeth in his Ecclesiastical History) for evermore.

"But a third sort of men there be, which also will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to fly the infection of the antichristian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague, truly, agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness, as they who think otherwise. 'Yes,' peradventure will some say, 'thus it may be: thou mayest keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privily worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order: so mayest thou be suffered in the commonwealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience.' In other countries, some where, this peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God wot; but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England in the times past of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker of these rites, laws, and customs, and so bewray thyself, or else, if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience; for in observing of them, thou shalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy-day to the church, and bear a face to worship the creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with the conjured water?

"Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of antichrist's service, of lights of the rood-loft, of the sepulchre for setting-up and painting of images—nay, indeed of idols—and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call it, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play

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his part in. Yea, when the pardoners goeth about, or the flattering friar, to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in rest. If any of thy household die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for *requiem*, masses, *dirige*, and commendations, and such-like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for *amicus Cæsaris*? A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enow to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the thing that I intend; that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more, contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also saith, Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil; or else, if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

"But peradventure (as a man is ready to find and invent some colour to cloak his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, Though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and such like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body. I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart: what can I do more?"

"O my friend, beware, for God's sake; and know that the subtleties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David, Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses to cloak my sin. Examine, my dear friend, these thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God; and it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down or to do worship unto any images of God, or of any other thing. And God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but, in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consenters and the doers God's word accounteth to be guilty both: and it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

"Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man! take heed what thou sayest; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly καρδιογνωστης [Greek: kardiognostes], that is to say, 'the searcher of the heart.' Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. He that hath my commandments, saith Christ, and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me: and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and commandment; and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of sort, (which is to have thy heart indeed,) when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is

God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is: he made them both, and Christ with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and darest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing, thou committest sacrilege, and dost rob God; thou defilest the lively temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan service. Do you not know, saith St. Paul, that your body is a lively temple of God? And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No, surely; it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

"Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Christian soul? As you have in times past, saith he, given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified. And I pray thee, good hrother, what dost thou think it is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John speaketh of? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which he showed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John, yet, to read them with reverence, and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know.

I think it necessary and good. Wherefore what, I suppose, is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babylon's mark in his forehead which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master, the beast of Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his mark in his hand, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand. And likewise I will not let to tell thee what, I think, to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe. I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength, stoutly to confess him and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with *tau*, whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks; to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John, but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the child of perdition, which, for his cruelty and beastly manners, is well called a beast.

"The carnal Jews knew there was a promise made, that Elias should come before Christ the Messiah, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways; they knew also there was a promise of Messiah, that he should come, and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore. But they understood all so grossly, and so carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Messiah, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messiah to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory; whereas the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood—of Elias, that he should come not in person, but in spirit, that is, one that should be indued with the spirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was

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indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his apostles; and of Messias's reign, all the prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob, and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both Elias, and the true Messias; and when they came, knew neither of them both, So likewise, I fear me, nay, it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God, (for the world is not able to receive him, saith John,) neither doth nor shall know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and perceive and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

"Here remain two objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, a man will say, O sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible that they can or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayest away either with the people or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose tongue thou dost not understand,' &c.

"I grant here thou mayest heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a man's own native country, I mean out of the whole realm into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke, If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother, (he meaneth, and will not in His cause forsake his father and mother,) his wife, children, and brethren, yea, and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear my cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple. And in the same place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not in Christ's cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places who will: the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloaking of conscience, to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christ's cross, when Christ and his cause layeth it upon our back; but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

"This latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good answer. This may be objected of some, 'Alas! sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and, because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loathe either to look on them, or to hear them. But, sir, alas! I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small infants, and a lame wife, which all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas! sir, what shall I do? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or

else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessities, of whom both God and nature hath committed unto them the care.

"Alas, what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry still. And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, women with child, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their small babes suck. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith, Woe be to the women with child, and travailing women, and women that give suck, in those days. For these, alas! my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this; that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befall; and for the rest, to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready to put his helping hand. Daniel, God suffered to be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace; and yet he saved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion, (as he saith of himself,) and in Asia he was brought into such trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for present death; and yet he that raiseth the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all others that be in troubles for Christ's cause, not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

"Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils toward them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full, both Old and New. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but, of all others, Joseph; and how mercifully were they delivered again! In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life! And when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh's sword? Not before they were brought into such straits, that they were so compassed on every side—the main sea on the one side, and the main host on the other—that they could look for none other, (yea, what did they indeed else look for?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword. Those judges, which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to most misery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extreme persecutions. What shall I speak of the prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremy, Daniel, Micaiah, and Jonas, and many others, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall see no. Were not the apostles cast into prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when, I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been sore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there were laid fast in the stocks; I pray you,

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what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when both the high priest, the Pharisees, and rulers of the Jews, had conspired to require judgment of death against him, he being fast in prison; and also more than forty men had sworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink, until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, no man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man, that disappointed that conspiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayest read in Acts xxiii. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearsal thereof.

"Now to descend from the apostles to the martyrs that followed next in Christ's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanasius, the great clerk and godly man stoutly standing in Christ's cause against the Arians, and that holy woman Blandina, standing so constantly in all extreme pains, in the simple confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt have both these, and a hundred more, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and in the Tripartite History.

"But for all these examples, both of Holy Scripture and of other histories, I fear me the weak man of God, encumbered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and qualms (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: 'All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true; but all these, we must needs grant, were special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased, we see; and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?

"Well-beloved brother, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our sight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times); or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things; or because, after that he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all others, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well-beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as ever it was; he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth: but God our heavenly Father is even the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore.

"The world, without doubt, (this I do believe, and therefore I say,) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect, sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe, and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ's cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other; is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous

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delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he standeth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the prison-door and letteth them go loose: for here he doth but respite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of his gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero, as the Ecclesiastical History saith; as when he sent the angel to bring Peter out of prison, and for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same, like an earthquake, to tremble and shake.

"Thinkest thou, O thou man of God! that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first martyr Stephen, because he suffered his enemies even at the first conflict to stone him to death? No surely, nor James, John's brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals amongst the apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the tyrant's sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of antichrist's time. And the learned [he meaneth truly learned in God's law] shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame, [that is, shall be burned in the flaming fire,] and in captivity, [that is, shall be in prison,] and be spoiled and robbed of their goods for a long season. And after a little in the same place of Daniel it followeth, And of the learned there he, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made white [he meaneth, be burnished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty]. If that then was foreseen to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God's glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand stedfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effusion of his blood.

"To die in Christ's cause, is a high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death. And our Saviour Christ saith, He that shall lose his life for my cause, shall find it. And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians, (as the worldly do wickedly dream,) but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them, (mark that he said not to the disciples and apostles only, but he said it to all,) Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; [he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, forsake or leave him and his truth;] and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the gospel's sake, shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world, and

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lose his own soul, his own life? or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life, and of his own soul? Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my gospel) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels. Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy salvation. All things, saith Paul, work with the good to goodness. Even the enemies of God, and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them service.

"It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adversity, sickness, tribulation, yea, painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have suffered his most dearly beloved the patriarchs to have had such troubles, his prophets, his apostles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain. Of the which some were racked (as the apostle saith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better resurrection; some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were hewn and cut asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword; they wandered up and down in sheep's skins and goats' skins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented, such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received not the promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (saith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

"Now, thou, O man of God, for our Lord's sake, let us not, for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living, indeed with God's Spirit, ought so earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, Come, Lord Jesus, come. For then when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest, and appear in glory, then shall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ: for this our weak body shall be transfigured and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue unto himself all things. Then, that which is now corruptible shall be made incorruptible; that which now is vile shall be made glorious; that which is now weak shall rise then mighty and strong; that which is gross and carnal shall be made fine and spiritual: for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

"Who or what then shall let us to jeopard, yea, to spend this life which we have here, in Christ's cause? in our Lord God's cause? O thou, therefore, man of God, thou that art loaden, and so letted like unto a woman great with child, that thou canst not fly the plague, yet, if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befall, in thy Master's cause; and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy Master Christ's cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not

foreseen before; they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee, O man of God, all things shall be forced to serve and to work with thee unto the best, before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end!

"All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ called a woman great with child, I mean to be spoken likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause; for such I count to be as it were already summoned and pressed to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and as it were soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death; and to think their life lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

"Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this treatise, I say unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour, that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost which is our comforter and sanctifier of all, unto all that love Christ's spouse and body, the true catholic church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own soul's health; I say unto all these, hearken, my dear brethren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ spoken to his apostles, and meant to all his, in St. Matthew's Gospel: Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy and cast both body and soul into hell-fire. Are not two small sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little sparrows. Every one that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in heaven.

"The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may so confess him in this world amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day, before his Father which is in heaven, to our glory, and everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

"To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen."

Thus with the death and martyrdom of these two learned pastors and constant soldiers of Christ, Master Latimer and Bishop Ridley, you have divers of their letters and other writings of theirs expressed, with the farewells also of Bishop Ridley, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his journey to the kingdom of heaven. Divers and sundry other treatises of his remain also in my hand both in Latin and English, to be remembered by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

About this time suffered William Dighel, most constantly offering his body a burnt-sacrifice unto God, forsaking the world, life, and all, for the love of his holy truth. This holy martyr suffered at Banbury in the county of Oxford.

### 323. The Peternot Profession.

*A brief description of the profession of the Christian faith, agreed upon and made at Peternot, commonly called Prethan Plegatose, of the kingdom of Poland; the third of May, A. D. 1555: translated out of Latin into English.*

"All men have their beginning and be born in sin, and all men's understandings be as darkness, so that we cannot have a thought, not only of God, but neither of ourselves; wherefore God gave the Ten Commandments of the Law, that, by them, our blind eyes, as it were, might be opened and made bright, and by the same we might know man's infirmity.

"Therefore Christ came that he might manifest God unto us, and his will: wherefore Christ is the light of this world, whom whoso followeth, and swerveth not from his word, he walketh in the eternal light.

"This only Doctor and Schoolmaster, that eternal God of the world commanded us to hear and follow, forasmuch as that Son of God cannot lie; and whosoever follow not his word, although they be most mighty and wise, they all be liars.

"He hath manifested unto us all things that seem to pertain unto eternal salvation; without him, no man may be acceptable before God

"Unto him all the prophets do ascribe and bear witness that such as believe in the Son are blessed: he alone hath made us free from the wrath of God, because, by our works, we deserve not the same, neither is there any thing under heaven that may save us besides him.

"Therefore whosoever doth attribute salvation and due praises to any other, but only to Christ, is guilty of blasphemy against God.

"This the Son of God doth attribute to the merit of his passion by the gospel, (which ought to be preached unto every person in his own mother tongue,) and, by the sacraments, unto the believers of his word: that is, by baptism, and by the use of his body and blood which was shed for the remission of our sins.

"In these sacraments the covenant of the Lord is sealed up unto us, which, whosoever will change, is accursed.

"In none other place verily we find a sacrament, but where it is tied to the word of God: for the traditions of men not agreeing to the word be idolatries; specially when they be set in God's place.

"This also we have learned out of the commandments of Christ, that only God is to be worshipped, who alone is the searcher of the hearts; which is proper to no creature; and we have a commandment in the old law: He that worshippeth another God besides this, let him suffer death. Unto this God we have none other Mediator and Intercessor, besides Jesus Christ. It is evident therefore that God is not bound by the word unto images and figures.

## VOLUME 11

"The sacrament of baptism and of the Lord's supper do offer unto the believers the remission of sins; besides these the Christians use none other.

"Other godly ordinances, as matrimony, the confirmation of the ministers of the church, [&c.,] do not bring unto us the remission of sins, which be inferior dignities; albeit we do not despise them. We deny that oblation should be made for the dead; for if, when they were alive, they knew and praised God, where they ought, they are saved; otherwise, contrary, the masses and diriges, and such other trifles, can do them no good. Of this the word of God testifieth: He that believeth in the Son of God shall not be damned.

"Paul forbiddeth us to be careful for them that be dead. While we are in this world it is certain we may help one another as well with prayers as with counsels, but when we shall come before the throne of God, neither Job, neither Daniel, neither Noah, shall pray for any person, but every man shall bear his own burden. Here life is either lost or gotten; here provision is made for us of eternal salvation, by the worship of God, and by faith: after this life there is no place of repentance, neither of any satisfaction. There is none other place but in this life to correct our affections and manners, for after this life every person shall have that, which, in the same, he hath purchased to himself.

"All the catholic faith, by the authority of Scripture, believeth the kingdom of heaven to be the first place from whence he that is not baptized is to be excluded utterly: we acknowledge no third place, yea, neither do we find it to be in the Holy Scriptures.

"We hold God's most holy word and commandment; but of the traditions of men, this God speaketh: They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men. Also, Every plantation which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out."

### 324. The Death and End of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the Enemy of God's Word.



HE next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life: concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of which man, forasmuch as somewhat hath been declared before in the story of King Edward's reign, I shall need therefore the less now to stand greatly upon the same. First, this viper's bird, crept out of the town of Bury in Suffolk, was brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge; his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same; wherein there was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himself wanted to the goodness of his gifts. Through this promptness, activity, and towardness of his, he profited not a little in such studies as he gave his head unto, as first in the civil law, then in languages and such other like, especially in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment to be hoped for. Besides other ornaments or helps of nature, memory chiefly seemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of study.

To these gifts and qualities were joined again as great or greater vices, which not so much followed him, as overtook him; not so much burdened him, as made him burdenous to the whole realm. He was of a proud stomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himself too much; in wit, crafty and subtle; towards his superiors flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equal stout and envious, namely, if in judgment and sentence he any thing withstood him, as appeared between the good Lord Cromwell and him in the reign of King Henry, being of like haughtiness of stomach as the poets write of Pelides, *cedere nescius*: who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithstanding I wish he would have given place to truth, according as he seemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evidently partly to understand as well by his book *De Vera Obedientia*; as also by his sermon before King Edward. Also by his answers to the council the same time, and moreover by his own words it may he gathered in sundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his estimation and fame he stood too much, more than was meet for a man of his coat and calling, whose profession was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him so stiff in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here speak of that which hath been constantly reported to me touching the monstrous making and mishaped fashion of his feet and toes, the nails whereof were said not to be like to other men's, but to crook downward, and to be sharp like the claws of ravening beasts. What his learning was in the civil and canon law I have not to say. What it was in other liberal sciences and arts, this I suppose, that neither his continuance in study nor diligence of reading was such (by reason of his too much intermeddling in princes' matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned

man. But what learning or cunning soever it was he had, so it fared in him, as it doth in butchers, which use to blow up their flesh: even so he with boldness and stoutness, and specially with authority, made those gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, peradventure, use also, and experience abroad, brought no little helps, rather than either quickness of wit, or happiness of education.

And as touching divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time, that no constant censure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, to swear and forswear, so as he did. For first in the beginning of Queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Foxe, as chief agent in the behalf of the Lady Anne? by whom also he was preferred to the bishopric of Winchester, as Edward Bonner was preferred to the bishopric of London. Again, at the abolishing of the pope, who so ready to swear or so vehement to write against the pope as he, as not only by his sermons, but also by his book *De Obedientia* may appear? in which book *De Obedientia*, lest any should think him drawn thereunto otherwise than by his own consent, he plainly declareth how, not rashly nor upon a sudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertisement in himself about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment; whereof read before. And moreover, so he uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the pope, that, coming to Louvain afterward, he was there accounted for a person excommunicate and a schismatic, insomuch that he was not permitted in their church to say mass; and moreover, in their public sermons they openly cried out against him. Whereof read hereafter following.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, so that who but Winchester, during all the time and reign of Queen Anne? After her decease that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially (as it seemeth) for his so much favouring of Bonner, whom Winchester at that time in no case could abide, made him an utter enemy both against him, and also his religion: till again, in King Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and somewhat to smell of the gospel, as both by his sermon before King Edward, as also by his subscribing to certain articles, may appear. And this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the gospel, and, no doubt, he would have further turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset clean turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel persecutor to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the trade and profession of Stephen Gardiner's popish divinity. In which his popish trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or else time, or rather the spirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to say; and so much the more doubtful, because in his doings and writings a man may see him not only contrary to himself, but also in some points contrary to other papists. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he seemeth therein not so much to follow his own sense, as the mind and meaning of Pereseus; out of whose book the greatest part of Winchester's divinity seemeth to be borrowed.

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And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and Scripture he appeareth nobody; so in his pen and style of writing no less far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainness and perspicuity: in whose obscure and perplex kind of writing, although peradventure some sense may be found with some searching, yet shall no reader find any sweetness in his reading.

What moved him to be so sturdy against Master Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they please: I speak but what I think, that so he did, for that he saw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the disposition of that man, as it seemeth, that of purpose he ever affected to seem to be a patron of old customs, though they were never so rotten with age. Amongst other matters, this one thing I cannot but smile at in my mind, when I see how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himself, (as well in his letters to the lord protector, and others of King Edward's council, as also in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners,) of the high favour he had of the noble king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, when indeed nothing was less true; neither did the king less favour any of his council than him, affirming very often, that he greatly suspected the said bishop to be a secret maintainer of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and a stout disturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of religion. And therefore he did so much dislike him, that he did not only mind (if the Lord had sent his Highness longer life) to have used the extremity of law against him, upon very sore and just matter of old committed by him, and yet not taken away by any pardon, commanding thereupon often the Lord Paget, then his secretary, to keep safe certain writings which he had against him; but also commanded that he should be put clean out of his last will and testament, not suffering him either to be any of his executors, or else in any case of his son's council, (no, although he were earnestly entreated to the contrary by sundry of the lords and others of his Highness's council,) saying, he was a wilful, troublesome, and headstrong man, and not meet to be about his son, or to have any thing to do by his will.

Now amongst other causes that moved the king thus to suspect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in religion, I find this to be one. It pleased his Majesty, after his abolishing of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, (amongst other embassages to foreign princes,) to send the said bishop of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knivet, knight, as joint ambassadors to the emperor, being then at a diet or council at Ratisbon, appointing also Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, knights, and Master Andrew Beynton, esquire, (his Highness's servants,) to give their attendance upon the said Sir Henry Knivet, for the more honouring of his embassy. It happened also at that time, that Sir Henry Knivet entertained into his service, as steward of his household, one William Wolfe, who had in the same place and room before served Sir Thomas Wyat, knight, the king's former ambassador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in those parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elsewhere. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the emperor's palace to hear some news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian merchant, a banker, one of his old acquaintance; who, supposing the said Wolfe to have attended upon the bishop of Winchester, (not knowing of any other joint ambassador,) required Wolfe for old acquaintance to do him a pleasure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico showed him that the pope's legate or ambassador to the emperor, (which was Cardinal Contarini,) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leisure to end his business himself, had put the said Ludovico in

trust for the accomplishing of it; and amongst all other things he had especially charged him, that he should repair to the ambassador of England, and require of him an answer of the pope's letters, which the legate did of late send unto him, addressed to him from Rome; and that upon the receipt thereof he should send them after with all speed; and therefore, if his lord ambassador would write by that courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for the courier went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abashed, and yet partly guessing which ambassador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whose servant he was, but by other soothing talk perceived that he meant the bishop of Winchester. And to the end that Ludovico should suspect nothing, he answered him, that he, being not the ambassador's secretary, could say little therein; howbeit he would not miss to put his secretary in remembrance of it (which thing Ludovico also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambassador); and so for that time they departed. This matter seeming to Wolfe of some importance, he did straightways reveal it to Sir Henry Knivet his master; who, weighing also the greatness of the case, and what disadvantage it were upon one man's so bare report to attempt aught, in a place and time, whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to advise himself, that no affect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, that he weighed well the weightiness of the cause, meet, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise. "But sir," quoth he, "if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient, I warrant you to devise means, that some other of your servants shall hear the like words at Ludovico's own mouth, as well as I." Upon which talk Sir Henry Knivet devised which of his servants he might use to that purpose, and at last rested upon Master Thomas Chaloner his secretary, because he had the Italian tongue: not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chaloner's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the piazza, or market-stead, which he, gladly granting, so did; not knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the piazza, over against the emperor's palace, (near whereunto also the pope's legate had lodged,) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludovico, and, espying Wolfe, saluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and sundry other matters, Chaloner being still with them. At last, upon occasion, they entered into talk about the former letters that the ambassador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an answer, affirming, that the post did depart the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambassador's secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe answered, that he would willingly do it: but he did not well know which ambassador he meant, for that there were two, one the bishop of Winchester, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, that he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the bishop. By which talk, and more such-like, (as upon the former day,) Master Chaloner, being moved, (and not knowing yet of his master's and Wolfe's purpose,) after the departure of Ludovico from them said unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his master of it. To whom Wolfe answered, "Do as you will, if you think any matter therein." And therefore at his return home, he told Sir Henry Knivet what speech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth. Sir Henry Knivet, being thus further ascertained of the matter, opened the whole to Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, and to Master Beynton, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof, and therefore devised that Wolfe should procure Ludovico to bring certain velvet, and other silks,

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unto Sir Henry Knivet's lodging, as well for himself, as for the other gentlemen; which that afternoon he did accomplish, and brought Ludovico unto Sir Henry, where also were the other gentlemen. After they had awhile viewed the silks, and had had some talk about the prices, Wolfe took occasion again to ask Ludovico, if Sir Henry were the ambassador of whom he was to demand an answer of the letters sent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant answered, "No, it was not his seigniory, but it was a bishop," terming him reverendissimo, whereby they easily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knivet hereupon, somewhat dissembling the matter, entered into further talk thereabout, whereby Ludovico opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe: but yet at last, perceiving that as well Sir Henry, as also the other gentlemen, did behold him somewhat fixedly, he brake off his talk; wherewith Sir Henry Knivet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly dismiss him, praying him that when he had received the bishop's letters, he would also repair to him for a packet to an English gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan; which he promised to do, and so departed again. When Sir Henry had thus made sufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's Majesty, signifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while Ludovico the next morning repaired unto the bishop of Winchester's lodging, to demand an answer of those letters the legate had sent unto him: but how he used himself, or whether he uttered the talk he had with Sir Henry Knivet and with Wolfe, whom he supposed at the first to be the bishop's man, it is not certainly known. But the bishop, (perceiving that by mistaking one for another, and in supposing Wolfe to be the bishop's servant, Ludovico had uttered all his message from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light,) in great hasty rage, caused Ludovico to be stayed in his own house, while in the mean time himself went to Granuella, one of the emperor's council, and so practised with him, that Ludovico was secretly committed unto prison, in the custody of one of the emperor's marshals, so as he could be no more talked withal, all the time of their abode there. And then, sending in great haste to Sir Henry Knivet to come and speak with him, (which he did,) he fell into very hot speech with him, saying, that he had poison in his dish, and that a knave was suborned to be his destruction; with many such-like words. Sir Henry told him again, how he understood it; and prayed him that Ludovico might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their presences; which the bishop would in no case agree unto, affirming that he had so declared the case to Granuella, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovico, nor speak with him; but that the emperor's council should examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom Sir Henry Knivet again very earnestly objected, that he marvelled that the bishop, in matter touching the king's Majesty, their master, would use the aid or means of Granuella, a foreign prince's minister, to make him privy of their question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the speech of Ludovico any more ever after. Whereupon there rose great and long controversies between them, (both writing letters unto the king about that matter,) until at last the king's Majesty, perceiving his affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote unto them both, that they should lay all those things under foot, and join together in his service as before; which they did accordingly. But howsoever this matter was afterward salved here with the king's Majesty, as either by the death of Sir Henry Knivet, (which I think was not long after,) or by other friends the bishop had here at home, I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two months after died of a long cough of the lungs, upon his death-bed did again affirm the premises to be most true; and therefore, in the presence of Sir Henry Knivet, and divers other of his servants, he protested, that he had not invented, sought, or procured this at Ludovico's hands, for any malice or displeasure borne to the bishop, but only for discharge of his faith and duty unto the king's Majesty, desiring that the same his protestation

might be inserted in the end of his last will and testament, which was then presently done; and thereunto he set his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved so often Master Secretary Paget (being after lord-keeper) to keep safe as sore matter against the bishop, I know not; but yet it appears by some depositions of the nobility, and others, in the process against him had in King Edward's days, that the king's Majesty, Henry the Eighth, had this matter ever in his mind; for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did still except all treasons committed beyond the seas: meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the bishop should not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his Majesty would call him to account. And therefore, all things well weighed, he had small cause to vaunt of his great favour he had with King Henry his master. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fool's paradise by the Lord Paget; who, (as he himself reporteth in his depositions,) in his messages from the king to the said bishop, deluded him, telling him much otherwise than the king had spoken, and concealing always the king's hard speeches against him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious Thraso not a little. All which premises appear more at large by the depositions of the nobles and others, examined in the long process against him in King Edward's reign, as appears in our first edition of Acts and Monuments, in that book at large mentioned.

But whatsoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord there-for: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the Six Articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, &c., also as, especially, for that he had thought to have brought to pass, in murdering also our noble queen that now is. For whatsoever danger it was of death that she was in, it did, no doubt, proceed from that bloody bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her Highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is out of controversy, that wily Winchester was the only Dædalus and framer of that engine, who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious counsel, through Master Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices; for the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English churches. Amen.

Of things uncertain I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or else peradventure they be in the realm that can say more than here I have expressed. For as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death; so this bishop, for his part, bent all his devices, and had spent all his powder, in assailing the root, and in casting such a platform (as he himself in words at his death is said to confess) to build his popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever and a day. But, as I said before, of things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spake, what little repentance he showed; whether he died with his tongue swollen and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, or whether he stank before he died, as Cardinal Wolsey did; or

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whether he died in despair, as Latomus and others did, &c.: all this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Notwithstanding, here by the way, touching the death of this foresaid bishop, I thought not to overpass a certain hearsay, which not long since came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible gentlewoman, and another gentleman of the same name and kindred, which Mrs. Munday, being the wife of one Master Munday, secretary some time to the old Lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the house of a worshipful citizen, bearing yet office in this city, in words and effect as followeth:



**Stephen Gardiner taken ill at table**

The same day, when Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer suffered at Oxford, (being about the nineteenth day of October,) there came into the house of Stephen Gardiner the old duke of Norfolk, with the foresaid Master Munday his secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the bishop, being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock,

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cometh his servant, posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seen: of whom the said bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke, "Now," saith he, "let us go to dinner." Whereupon, they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in such sort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed; where he continued the space of fifteen days in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that mean while, during those fifteen days, he could not avoid, by urine or otherwise, any thing that he received: whereby his body being miserably inflamed within, (who had inflamed so many good martyrs before,) was brought to a wretched end.

And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth so swollen and black, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody burning persecutors.

But to proceed farther in the sequel of our story: I could name the man, (but I abstain from names,) who, being then present, and a great doer about the said Winchester, reported to us concerning the said bishop, that when Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of God's promise, and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him, Winchester hearing that, "What, my Lord," quoth he, "will you open that gap now? then farewell altogether. To me, and such others in my case, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether!"

Moreover, what Dr. Bonner then saw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words passed between them about the time of his extremity;—betwixt Gardiner and him be it. If Bonner did there behold any thing which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph which was made of his death, devised of a papist for a popish bishop, but I pretermit it, and instead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his sermons, words, and writings; wherein may appear first, what an earnest and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been constant in himself; then how inconstantly he varied from himself; and thirdly, how he, standing upon a singularity of his own wit, varied also from other papists in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there he some pains, and tediousness also in reading; yet I thought not to pretermit the same, upon certain considerations, namely, for that so many yet to this day there be, which stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a doughty pillar of the pope's church. To the intent therefore, that such as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abused therein, if they will either credit his own works, words, sermons, writings, disputations; or else will be judged by his own witnesses of his own party produced, we have manifest probations, which may notoriously declare how effectually first he withstood the pope's supremacy; and likewise afterwards may declare manifest contrariety and repugnancy of the said Gardiner, first with other writers, and lastly with himself: as in his sermon preached before King Edward, the sum and effect of which sermon has been briefly collected by Master Udall; and we have comprised the chief purpose of his sermon, with other such matter above storied, wherein may appear the double-faced doings of this bishop in matters of religion. In all which foresaid allegations it remains notorious and famous to all men,

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how, in what points, and how far, the said bishop of Winchester agreed with the reformation of religion received, not only in King Henry's but also in King Edward's days.

And this now being sufficient for Gardiner's story, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed, (by the grace and leave of the Lord,) as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now in order followeth.

### **325. John Webbe, George Roper, Gregory Parke, William Wiseman, and James Gore**

*The burning of John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury, as followeth.*

Next after the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, (of whom ye have heard at large,) followed three other stout and bold soldiers; that is to say, John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

This John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, long before the other two, videlicet, the sixteenth day of September; and there had propounded unto him such ordinary articles as (it seemeth) were commonly ministered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. And heing willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was this "As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, I do believe," quoth he, "it to be left unto his church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body; and not by the words of consecration to be made his body really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary—I utterly deny that."

After this (besides sundry other times) the third day of October, the said John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the said judges: who there and then agreeing, and stedfastly allowing the former answer made before by Master Webbe, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore, about the end of the same month of October, or else, as I otherwise find, in the latter end of November, they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom; who by the way, going towards the stake, said certain psalms mournfully.

Roper was a younger man of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion; the other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, with their gowns on. Roper, at his coming to the stake, putting off his gown, fetched a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, the said Roper put out both his arms from his body like a rood, and so stood stedfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these aforesaid martyrs of Christ, being brought (as I said) to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire at Canterbury, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel's sake.

*The death of William Wiseman, in Lollards' Tower.*

The thirteenth of December, in the Lollards' Tower, died William Wiseman, a clothworker of London, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God—how

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and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of some murdering papists, he was made away; by reason whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, were fain to sit upon him; who, although to the outward appearance they were said to find nothing in him else but only God's visitation, yet what other privy causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth; I have not to say.

After the said William was departed (as is said) in the Tower, the holy catholic churchmen cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him; according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds, *ελώρια κυνεσσι* [Greek: *eloria kunessi*], as the poet saith. And yet all this their merciless commandment notwithstanding, some good Tobits there were, which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest, thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privately by night to cover; and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalms at their burial.

### *The death of James Gore, in Colchester prison.*

In the same month, about the seventh day of December, deceased also James Gore in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the right and truth of God's word.

### 326. John Philpot



ext followeth the constant martyrdom of Master John Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the study of other liberal arts, especially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same, (which is no small matter in a true divine,) of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, further from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries as occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he, coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner the bishop in the city of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester's letters, and his examinations; whereof read before.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus during the time of King Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woeful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

In the which convocation Master Philpot, being present according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited); for the which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appear.

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*The first examination of Master John Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions'-Hall, October the second, 1555.*

Dr. Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that there were, and passing by me said, "Ha! Master Philpot;" and in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

*Philpot.*—"If I be fat, and in good liking, Master Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me."

*Story.*—"We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical opinions; and therefore we have sent for thee."

*Philpot.*—"I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof."

*Story.*—"If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well: or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?"

*Philpot.*—"I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary."

*Story.*—"If thou answerest thus, when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds:" and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

*The scribe.*—"Sir, what is your name?"

*Philpot.*—"My name is John Philpot." And so he intituled my name.

*Story.*—"This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment."

*Philpot.*—"I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my Lord Chancellor that now is."

*Story.*—"Ye may be sure that my Lord Chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon."

*Roper.*—"Come hither to me, Master Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour."

*Philpot.*—"I am come before your worshipful Masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's Majesty, to whom I owe, and will do my due obedience, to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your Masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this twelve-month and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law."

*Roper.*—"Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal."

*Philpot.*—"If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and, if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's Majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done."

*Cholmley.*—"If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done."

*Story.*—"I perceive whereabouts this man goeth. He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the selfsame allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass. How sayest thou to that?"

*Philpot.*—"I am no heretic."

*Story.*—"I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass, is a heretic: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art a heretic."

*Philpot.*—"That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's Majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same."

*Story.*—"Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic, as thou art; and answer to the same that thou there didst speak; and be judged by the bishop of London."

*Philpot.*—"I have already been convented of this matter before my Lord Chancellor mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison. Therefore, if his Lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary."

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*Story.*—"But, sir, thou spakest words in the convocation-house, which is of the bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the Lollards' Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass."

*Philpot.*—"Sir, you know by the law, that I may have *Exceptionem fori*; and it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me."

*Roper.*—"You cannot deny, but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house."

*Story.*—"Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?"

*Philpot.*—"I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto."

*The scribe.*—"This man is fed of vain-glory."

*Cholmley.*—"Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable; and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good."

*Philpot.*—"I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was then no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Master Doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford,) I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity."

*Story.*—"I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?"

*Philpot.*—"Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your Mastership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal."

*Story.*—"Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards' Tower."

*Philpot.*—"Sir, since you will needs show me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may, by the virtue thereof, burden me with my conscience."

*Roper.*—"Let him see the commission: is it here?"

*Story.*—"Shall we let every vile person see our commission?"

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*Cholmley.*—"Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission."

*Story.*—"No, let him lie in the mean while in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics, they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies."

*Philpot.*—"You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal Master Doctor is offended."

*Story.*—"Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterward of your other heretics."

*Philpot.*—"God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now."

*Roper.*—"Be content to be ruled by Master Doctor, and show yourself a catholic man."

*Philpot.*—"Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me show myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?"

*Roper.*—"We do not require you to dissemble with us, to be a catholic man."

*Philpot.*—"If I do stand in any thing against that wherein any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please."

*Story.*—"Have we Scripture, Scripture?" and with that he rose up, saying, "Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture."

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

*The second examination of Master Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the Newgate the twenty-fourth of October, 1555, at Newgate Sessions'-Hall*

At my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said unto me, "God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away." After a little consultation had between them, Master Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

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*Cholmley.*—"Master Philpot, show yourself a wise man; and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation."

*Philpot.*—"I shall do as it becometh a Christian man to do."

*Story.*—"This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my Lord Chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have spoken with my Lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant, or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou; wilt thou recant?"

*Philpot.*—"I know nothing I have done, that I ought to recant."

*Story.*—"Well; then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine-fed in the King's Bench, and he hath too much favour there: for his keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England." And with this he rose up and went his way.

*Cook.*—"This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies be hath maintained."

*Philpot.*—"I have maintained no heresies."

*Cook.*—"No! have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that, or not?"

*Philpot.*—"It was the queen's Majesty's pleasure, that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council."

*Cook.*—"Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? you may be sure her Grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you: my Lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter; and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living."

*Roper.*—"You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon."

*Philpot.*—"I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now."

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*Cook.*—"A meet man, quoth he! he troubled Master Roper and the whole country."

*Philpot.*—"There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me."

*Cook.*—"Thou art no archdeacon."

*Philpot.*—"I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law."

*Cook.*—"No, sir; that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof; proceed to deprivation."

*Philpot.*—"Master Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise; and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every person, though he be a heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same."

*Cholmley.*—"No, there thou art deceived."

*Philpot.*—"Upon the living I pass not: but the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law."

*Cholmley.*—"Why, will not you agree that the queen's Majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?"

*Philpot.*—"Ask you Master Doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes."

*Cook.*—"No! may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop?"

*Philpot.*—"Yea, sir, I deny not that. But you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own authority."

*Cook.*—"Let him be had away."

*Philpot.*—"Your Mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your commission by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand."

*Roper.*—"Let him see the commission."

Then the scribe exhibited it to Master Roper, and was about to open the same.

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*Cook.*—"No, what will ye do? he shall not see it."

*Philpot.*—"Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not showing your authority in this behalf."

*Cook.*—"If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower."

*Philpot.*—"Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser."

*Cook.*—"Thou art no gentleman."

*Philpot.*—"Yes, that I am."

*Cook.*—"A heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions."

*Philpot.*—"The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor; but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it."

*Story.*—"What! will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?"

*Cook.*—"He saith, he is a gentleman."

*Story.*—"A gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away."

*The Keeper.*—"Here, sir."

*Story.*—"Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house."

*Philpot.*—"Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Master Cholmley, show me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place."

And Cholmley called me aside, and said, "I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws: I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good."

*Philpot.*—"I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without any just cause known should thus be entreated."

*Story.*—"Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence."



**Present gateway in the Lollards' Tower, leading to the dungeon**

*Philpot.*—"God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need: Do quickly that you have in hand."

*Story.*—"Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?"

*Philpot.*—"That is after your own understanding."

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After this, I, with four others more, were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster Row, where we supped; and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse "wherefore I will begin," said I, "as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do." And with that we were brought through Paternoster Row to my Lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played on those organs yet, although some before us have tried them. And there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the bishop's registrar, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after, he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end.

*The manner of my calling first before the bishop of London, the second night of mine imprisonment in his coal-house.*

The bishop sent unto me Master Johnson his registrar, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my Lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my Lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence. And therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson.—"My Lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof); and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners of other diocese than his own."

I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, My Lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire: and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lord's gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains, waiting upon him, and his registrar.

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*Bonner.*—"Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand."

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same.

*Bonner.*—"I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think that I was the cause thereof. And I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters; and I suppose men speak otherwise of me than I deserve."

I showed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was, against all right, molested.

*Bonner.*—"I marvel that you should be troubled there-for, if there was none other cause but this. But, peradventure, you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, 'Yea;' and for this you might be committed to prison."

*Philpot.*—"If it shall please your Lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same."

*Bonner.*—"A man may speak in the parliament house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it; as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen. And so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ."

*Philpot.*—"I spake nothing which was out of the articles, which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the queen's permission and the council."

*Bonner.*—"Why, may we dispute of our faith?"

*Philpot.*—"Yea, that we may."

*Bonner.*—"Nay, I trow not, by the law."

*Philpot.*—"Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand of you the same."

*Bonner.*—"Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why then, I ask of you, what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot show you my mind, but I must run

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upon the pikes, in danger of my life there-for. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so I say to your Lordship: 'Take away the law, and I shall reason with you.' And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you."

*Bonner.*—"I perceive you are learned: I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church."

*Philpot.*—"God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same; for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of the which there is no salvation."

*Bonner.*—"How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God."

*Bonner.*—"What age are ye of?"

*Philpot.*—"I am four and forty."

*Bonner.*—"You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized."

*Philpot.*—"Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold."

*Bonner.*—"How can that be? there is but one faith."

*Philpot.*—"I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, of the which I am."

*Bonner.*—"You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now."

*Philpot.*—"Indeed, my Lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold."

*Bonner.*—"Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?"

*Philpot.*—"I desire your Lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of."

*Bonner.*—"Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not therefore burden you with your conscience as now. I marvel that you are so merry in prison

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as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together, in hymns and psalms: and I trust your Lordship cannot be displeased with that."

*Bonner.*—"We may say unto you, as Christ said in the gospel, *tibiis cecinimus vobis, et non planxistis.*"

Here my Lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

*Philpot.*—"We are, my Lord, in a dark, comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your Lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing. And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in misery,) do sing."

*Bonner.*—"I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Master Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine."

Thus I departed, and by my Lord's registrar I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my Lord's chaplain, Master Cousins, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

*Philpot.*—"I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, Woe be to him that is alone."

After that I was carried to my Lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

Thus for the third fight.

*The fourth examination of Master Philpot in the archdeacon's house of London, the said month of October, before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.*

*Bonner.*—"Master Philpot, it hath pleased my Lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon; and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned. And therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to

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talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list."

*Bath.*—"My Lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church."

*Worcester.*—"Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth."

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:—

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight!) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

*Bonner.*—"Nay, my Lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer: for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing Antelucanos Hymnos, 'Praise unto God before dawning of the day.'"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing."

*Bath.*—"Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what."

*Bonner.*—"Say on, Master Philpot, my Lords will gladly hear you."

*Philpot.*—"I have, my Lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble."

*Bonner.*—"There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion, *in ecclesia legitime vocatus*, in the congregation being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation where I ought to answer."

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*Bonner.*—"Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people; where he might speak to vain glory."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put myself further in danger than I need; and so far am I a lawyer, and no further."

*Bath.*—"If you will not answer to my Lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as Master Doctor Cole (which is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my Lord of London wherefore he should call me."

*Bonner.*—"Yes, I have to lay to your charge that you have offended in my diocese, by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law."

*Philpot.*—"I have not offended in your diocese: for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean of St. Paul's, and therefore is counted of your Lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese."

*Bonner.*—"Is not Paul's church in my diocese? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof."

*Philpot.*—"That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordship's jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me."

*Bonner.*—"How say you, Master Doctor Cole? may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese?"

*Cole.*—"Methinketh Master Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your Lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and to make no longer delay."

*Philpot.*—"I would willingly show my mind of the matter; but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment."

*Cole.*—"Why then you may speak by protestation."

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*Philpot.*—"But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy, (as you call it,) if I speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?"

*Bonner.*—"But Master Doctor Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?"

*Cole.*—"You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be found in your diocese."

*Philpot.*—"But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my Lord's, and require to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know Master Doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your Lordship ought to proceed against me." And here Master Doctor would say nothing.

*Worcester.*—"Do you not think to find before my Lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?"

*Philpot.*—"I cannot blame my Lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his Lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelvemonth and a half before, who never would call me to answer, as his Lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him. But I ought not to be forestalled of my right; and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations."

*Bonner.*—"Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed withal of my Lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not show any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us."

*Philpot.*—"My Lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me, by this, either obstinate or self-willed without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your Lordships, which seem to be pillars of the Church of England, to satisfy me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the Scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points."

*Bonner.*—"These heretics come always with their 'ifs,' as this man doth now, saying, 'If he can be satisfied by the Scriptures:' so that he will always have this exception, 'I am not satisfied,' although the matter be never so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my Lords take some pains about you?"

*Philpot.*—"I say, my Lord, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here, before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's

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word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf."

*Bonner.*—"I will trouble my Lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind."

*Philpot.*—"I am about so to do, if it please your Lordship to hear me speak."

*Bath.*—"Give him leave, my Lord, to speak that he hath to say."

*Philpot.*—"My Lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church; and we say we are of the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church, is damned; and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your Lordship can bring any better authorities for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, (as you say,) and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not: therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this."

*Cole.*—"If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you list."

*Philpot.*—"It is the thing that I require, and to this, I have said, I will stand; and refer all other controversies wherein I stand now against you; and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word."

*Bonner.*—"I pray you, Master Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do; God forgive me."

*Bonner.*—"No faith! that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?"

*Bonner.*—"Master Doctor Cole, I pray you say your mind to him."

*Cole.*—"What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the Church of Rome? but I do not now remember where."

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*Philpot.*—"If you, Master Doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to show any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure."

*Cole.*—"Though it were not then, it might be at another time."

*Philpot.*—"I desire to see the proof thereof." And upon this Master Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

*Gloucester.*—"Take the book, Master Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the Church of Rome is to be followed of all men."

I took the book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe; and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late-sprung heretics, &c.; whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited. "The which thing if you, my Lords, be able to prove now of the Church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the Church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in Irenæus's time, and was then uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore your Lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the Church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church."

*Bonner.*—"So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose, (as I have already proved,) I trust you will receive mine answer."

*Worcester.*—"It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same."

*Philpot.*—"Let that be proved, and I have done."

*Worcester.*—"Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved."

*Philpot.*—"Ha! my Lords, is it now time (think you) for me to follow singularity or vainglory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly. And again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more: yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with the which I am well contented."

*Cole.*—"Where are you able to prove that the Church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome."

*Philpot.*—"I know well that Eusebius so writeth; but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, Gal. i., the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years."

*Cole.*—"What! did Peter write to the Galatians?"

*Philpot.*—"No, I say Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the Church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other."

*Bonner.*—"I may compare this man to a certain man I read of which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself; and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, Master Doctor, go forth with him."

*Cole.*—"My Lord, there be on every side on me that be better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation; for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather show my mind in writing."

*Philpot.*—"And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds, that you shall not be able to show that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: the which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures, and by a universal council, it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the Church of Rome."

*Cole.*—"But I can show that they revoked that error again."

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*Philpot.*—"So you say, Master Doctor; but I pray you show me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority."

*Bonner.*—"What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary."

*Philpot.*—"I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law; for, as St. Ambrose saith, Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together."

*Worcester.*—"Master Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth: leave it for shame."

*Philpot.*—"Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by the which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith."

*Gloucester.*—"What? do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?"

*Philpot.*—"Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him."

*Worcester.*—"Oh, you would be counted now for Elias; and yet I tell thee he was deceived, for he thought there had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand beside him."

*Philpot.*—"Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were."

*Worcester.*—"By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your Lordship."

*Worcester.*—"Indeed, I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do."

*Philpot.*—"No, my Lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book."

*Worcester.*—"Do you think the universal church may be deceived?"

*Philpot.*—"St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth that there should come a universal departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ; saying, Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first."

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*Cole.*—"Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire: for it is in Greek, *αποστασια*. [apostasia]

*Philpot.*—"Marry indeed you, Master Doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place, for *apostasia* is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh *apostata*, which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St. Paul in the same place after, speaketh of the decay of the empire."

*Cole.*—"Apostasia doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to show."

*Philpot.*—"I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to show it (as you say in words) I will believe it, and not before."

*Worcester.*—"I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world."

*Philpot.*—"The world commonly, and such as be called Christians; for the multitude have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same."

*Gloucester.*—"Why, Master Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?"

*Philpot.*—"The church that you are of was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees."

*Gloucester.*—"Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree."

*Philpot.*—"It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary."

*Gloucester.*—"I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?"

*Philpot.*—"By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, The word that he spake shall be judge in the latter day."

*Gloucester.*—"What if you take the word one way, and I another way; who shall be judge then?"

*Philpot.*—"The primitive church."

*Gloucester.*—"I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof."

*Philpot.*—"I mean verily so."

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*Gloucester.*—"What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another; who shall be judge then?"

*Philpot.*—"Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word."

*Cole.*—"My Lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament; and he, to shift himself off that, brought in another matter."

*Philpot.*—"This is the matter, Master Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied."

*Worcester.*—"It is a wonder to see how he standeth with a few, against a great multitude."

*Philpot.*—"We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them. And therefore your Lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary."

*Worcester.*—"They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew."

*Philpot.*—"I pray your Lordship to bear with my hasty speech; for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your Lordship."

*Bonner.*—"Master Philpot, my Lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can show you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your error."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required; and your Lordship shall find me, as I have said."

*Worcester.*—"We wish you as well as ourselves."

*Philpot.*—"I think the same, my Lords; but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge."

*Worcester.*—"God send you more grace."

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*Philpot.*—"And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church."

Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold; and thereto they put their hands. And after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end thereof to his glory, Amen.

*John Philpot to certain that required him to write his examinations.*

"Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishop and others, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness and in privy corners, and that the world now and the posterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravening wolves do proceed against the silly and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by tyranny and violence."

*The fifth examination of John Philpot, had before the bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, (I trow,) and one other, whose see I know not, Dr. Story, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers other chaplains and gentlemen of the queen's chamber, and divers other gentlemen, in the gallery of my Lord of London's palace.*

*Bonner.*—"Master Philpot, come you hither. I have desired my Lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again, and to do you good. And because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow, (as I am commanded,) yet I would you should have as much favour as I can show you, if you will be any thing conformable. Therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my further grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it."

*Bonner.*—"Lo what a wilful man is this! By my faith it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to show extremity against you."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, you need not to show extremity against me, unless you list: neither by the law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison."

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Bonner.—"Why, the queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cause; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them, otherwise than it becometh a Christian man."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your Lordship."

Bonner.—"Why did you not answer them thereto?"

*Philpot.*—"For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without showing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them; and hereupon they committed me to your prison."

Bonner.—"Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese: wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you, for that you have spoken in my diocese."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were as great a heresy as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in respect of the privilege of the parliament-house, whereof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds. And here is present a gentlemen of the queen's Majesty's that was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were then in controversy were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required, in the queen's Majesty's name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house."

*The queen's gentleman.*—"Though the parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the queen, or maintain treason against the crown."

*Philpot.*—"But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker? I think not."

*The queen's gentleman.*—"You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain."

*St. Asaph.*—"This man did not speak under reformation, as many there did, but αγωνιστικῶς [Greek: agonistikos] and κατηγορικῶς [Greek: kategorikos], which is, earnestly and persuasibly, as ever I heard any."

*Philpot.*—"My Lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the convocation-house by me,

contrary to the laws and custom of the realm; I appeal to the whole parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken."

*Rochester.*—"But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?"

*Philpot.*—"If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer."

*Rochester.*—"How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands."

*St. Asaph.*—"What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that they put off all their caps for reverence of that idol] the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially, after the words of consecration?"

*Philpot.*—"I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe."

*St. Asaph.*—"I pray you how is that?"

*Philpot.*—"As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture saith, All things ought to be done after an order."

*Another bishop.*—"This is a froward and vainglorious man."

*Bonner.*—"It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title *De Summa Trinitate et fide Catholica*."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have answered you to this question before."

*Bonner.*—"Why, I never asked thee of this before now."

*Philpot.*—"Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your Lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, 'That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith.' And moreover, my Lord, the title which your Lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity."

*Bonner.*—"Thou liest, it is not so: and I will show you by the book how ignorant he is." And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book and openly read the text, and the title of the law; and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, "How sayest thou to this?"

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*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon, where the articles of the Creed were only concluded upon."

*Bonner.*—"Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard; I must needs speak it; thou compellest me thereunto."

*Philpot.*—"Your Lordship may speak your pleasure of me: but what is this to the purpose, which your Lordship is so earnest in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith."

*Bonner.*—"By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the common law?"

*Philpot.*—"No, my Lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man."

St. Asaph.—"He will be judged by no law, but as he listeth himself."

*Worcester.*—"The common laws are but abstracts of the Scriptures and doctors."

*Philpot.*—"Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged."

*Bonner.*—"I must proceed against thee to-morrow."

*Philpot.*—"If your Lordship so do, I will have exceptionem Joni; for you are not my competent judge."

*Bonner.*—"By what law dost thou refuse me to be thy judge?"

*Philpot.*—"By the civil law, *De competente judice.*"

*Bonner.*—"There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law; but you drive me to my shifts for my defence. And I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to show what I say."

*Bonner.*—"What? *De competente judice*? I will go etch thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judieis Ordinarii.*

*Philpot.*—"Verily that is the same *De competente judice*, which I have alleged." With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

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*Bonner.*—"There be the books: find it now, (if thou canst,) and I will promise to release thee out of prison."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a student in the law six or seven years: but to answer to the articles of faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence."

*Bonner.*—"Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being before you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies: the which if your Lordships now, or other learned men, can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require; the which is to prove that the Church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church."

*Coventry.*—"Why, do you not believe your creed, *Credo ecclesiam catholicam?*"

*Philpot.*—"Yes, that I do: but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it."

*St. Asaph.*—"It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecelesiam meam*. Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place sthell, which is a manifest probation of ithe cathoPhilpotch, as divers doctors do write."

*Philpot.*—"That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain."

*Bonner.*—"Is there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray you tell me into what faith were you baptized?"

*Philpot.*—"I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member, (I praise God,) and am of that catholic church of Christ whereinto I was baptized."

*Coventry.*—"I pray you, can you tell what this word catholic doth signify? show, if you can."

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*Philpot.*—"Yes that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people be taught, to be that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Augustine defineth the same: 'We judge,' saith he, 'the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be.' So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then may you count yourselves catholic: otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *κατα* [Greek: kata], which signifieth *after* or *according*, and *ολον* [Greek: olon], a sum, or principal, or whole. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much to say, as the first, sound, whole, or chiefest faith."

*Bonner.*—"Doth St. Augustine say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? how say you, Master Curtop?"

*Curtop.*—"Indeed, my Lord, St. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of 'things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages; and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess."

*Philpot.*—"You have said well, Master Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Augustine, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic."

*Coventry.*—"Let the book be seen, my Lord."

*Bonner.*—"I pray you, my Lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?"

*Philpot.*—"I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this Church of Rome to be the catholic church."

*Curtop.*—"I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreme head."

*Coventry.*—"Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can."

*Philpot.*—"It is soon answered, my Lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Irenæus maketh no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome than mine hath done, which have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope, if I had list: and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I."

St. Asaph.—"You are the more to blame, (by the faith of my body,) for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church (until these few years) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus."

*Philpot.*—"That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to show seven general councils after Irenæus's time, wherein he was never so taken; which may be a sufficient proof that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head."

*The other bishop.*—"This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him."

*Philpot.*—"O my Lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by the Nicene, the first and second Ephesine, the Chalcedonian, the Constantinopolitan, the Carthaginian, and that at Aquileia."

*Coventry.*—"Why will you not admit the Church of Rome to be the catholic church?"

*Philpot.*—"Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut."

*Coventry.*—"Wherein doth it dissent?"

*Philpot.*—"It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation."

*Curtop.*—"As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years, yet it was always believed in the church."

*Bonner.*—"Yea, that was very well said of you, Master Curtop."

*Philpot.*—"Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to show any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing" and with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said, "My Lords, if you can show me that this Church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church."

*Coventry.*—"Can you disprove that the Church of Rome is not the catholic church?"

*Philpot.*—"Yea, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will show you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be, the form and school-mistress of the church to the world's end;

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then is not the Church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments."

*Coventry.*—"How prove you that the Church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?"

*Philpot.*—"Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers."

*Coventry.*—"What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?"

*Philpot.*—"Because it is not (by your interpretation of catholic) universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world, being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the Church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal."

*Coventry.*—"How prove you that?"

*Philpot.*—"All the historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true, which I say: for at this present the Church of Asia and Africa do not consent to the Church of Rome. Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the Church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal."

And after this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverson, an Englishman, who had proceeded doctor at Bologna, who after began with me in this matter.

*Dr. Saverson.*—"Master Philpot, I remember you beyond sea since the time you reasoned with a friar, (a notable learned man,) coming from Venice to Padua in a barge."

*Philpot.*—"I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened me to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day, having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be."

*Philpot.*—"I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you, good Master Doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation's sake."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"No, that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me?"

*Philpot.*—"Upon no evil that I do know of you, Master Doctor; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotion's sake, as many doctors be now-a-days."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"I have heard your arguments hitherto, and methinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the Church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St. Cyprian (who is an old ancient writer) doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church."

*Philpot.*—"That I am sure of he doth not: for he, writing unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and fellow bishop, neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or else of any other usurped terms which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, to the setting forth of his dignity."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"You cannot be able to show that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop."

*Philpot.*—"I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can show it you in Cyprian, as I have said."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book, that it is not so."

*Philpot.*—"I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my Lord's chaplains to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof." And with that one of them went to my Lord's study and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle; and there would have seemed to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith, "it goeth not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow bishops and the agreement of the people."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"How can you avoid this place, which maketh so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?"

*Philpot.*—"It maketh not so plain, Master Doctor, on your side, as you gather; as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine: for here you may see that he calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop, as he doth also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to take the high priest only for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome; of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to show. Therefore St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome, (whom he calleth his fellow bishop,) findeth himself offended, that certain heretics, being justly excommunicated by him, (as the Novatians were,) did flee from his diocese, who was their chief bishop, (refusing to be obedient to him, and to be reformed,) to the

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bishop of Rome, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation; in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms. And that heresies did spring up and schisms daily arise hereof, that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor that they considered him to be in the church, for the time, the priest, and, for the time, the judge in Christ's stead, (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed,) not meaning the bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of all his fellow bishops, with the consent of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise."

*Philpot.*—"Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, seven or eight one after another, confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only."

*Pendleton.*—"There were not so many general councils, but four only allowed."

*Philpot.*—"That is not so, Master Pendleton, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides these four there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers."

*A chaplain.*—"Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian saith so."

*Philpot.*—"St. Cyprian, *De simplicitate prælatorum*, declareth in what respect he so said: 'God gave, in the person of one man, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all men.' And also St. Augustine saith in the tenth treatise of St. John, 'If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church hath them not; if the church have them when Peter received them, he signified the whole church.' And also St. Jerome, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, 'That all churches do lean to their own pastors,' where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome. And writing *Ad Evagium*, he saith, that wheresoever a bishop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"St. Jerome, *De cœlesti Hier archia*? It was St. Dionysius you mean."

*Philpot.*—"I say not that Jerome wrote any book so intituled; but I say, that in the epistle by me alleged, he maketh mention of the ecclesiastical regiment."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"I wonder you will stand so stedfast in your error to your own destruction."

*Philpot.*—"I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by

reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue at Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?"

*Dr. Saverson.*—"A godly minister, indeed, of receipt of cutpurses, and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither."

*Philpot.*—"I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the Scriptures."

*Dr. Saverson.*—"Men be able to answer him if they list. And I pray you which of you have answered Bishop Fisher's book?"

*Philpot.*—"Yes, Master Doctor, that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him."

And after this, Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, "Master Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And, besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after."

*Story.*—"I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that, which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in."

*Philpot.*—"Master Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet am I no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God otherwise than a Christian man ought."

*Story.*—"The word of God! Forsooth, the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But as I may reason with thee, (not that I have any hope to win thee,) whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?"

*Philpot.*—"Verily the word itself."

*Story.*—"Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?"

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*Philpot.*—"If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic, and an ignorant person; and further, what you please."

*Story.*—"Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in."

*Philpot.*—"It is the saying of Christ in St. John, (chap. xii.,) The word which I have spoken, saith Christ, shall judge in the last day. If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and I am sure I have my Judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you."

*Story.*—"What! you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?"

*Philpot.*—"Yea, sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me."

*Story.*—"I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies, without all learning."

*Philpot.*—"Sir, I have brought you, for that I have said, good authority out of God's book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me, without any cause."

*Story.*—"I will come to you by and by. When the judge at Westminster Hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me."

*Philpot.*—"Civil matters be subject to civil men; and they have authority by the word, to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men; and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto."

*Story.*—"Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scriptures?"

*Philpot.*—"Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the Church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholic church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me."

*Story.*—"What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he listeth himself. Are we not in possession of the church? have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church whereof we are now? and if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law."

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*Philpot.*—"You do well, Master Doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to show for yourselves. But you must understand, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to show by the testimony of many doctors."

*Story.*—"Well sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch."

*Philpot.*—"You have the more to answer for, Master Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings."

*Story.*—"I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to signify to his Lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way." And, going away, he said to me, "I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man but me."

*Philpot.*—"I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you."

*Story.*—"What! dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song."

*Philpot.*—"No, Master Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now." And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards, with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went, I met with my Lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words, saying.

*London.*—"Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, the pleasure that I will require of your Lordship is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and so to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest."

And for all his fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore, praised be God that hath humbled me and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth tragedy.

## FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

*The sixth examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable lords, the lord chamberlain to the queen's Majesty, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Riche, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more, whose names I know not, with the bishop of London and Dr. Chedsey, the sixth day of November, Anno 1555.*

Before that I [Philpot] was called afore the Lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's Majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said: and thus he pretended to give me counsel, because he wished me to do well; as I might now do, if I list. And after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the queen's Majesty's servants were set, my Lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the bishop began to speak.

*London.*—"Master Philpot, I have heretofore, both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporality and of the queen's Majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, (I thank them there-for,) to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say, in their behalf, that if you show yourself conformable to the queen's Majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you can say."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your Lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity; where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned to exile for a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your Lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness with my cause than I have found with my Lords of the clergy. God grant I may have, at last, the judgment of God's word concerning the same."

*London.*—"Master Philpot, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my Lords here plainly whether you were by me, or by my procurement, committed to prison or not, and whether I have showed you any cruelty since ye have been committed to my prison."

*Philpot.*—"If it shall please your Lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward."

*Riche.*—"Answer first of all to my Lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my Lord or no? can you find any fault since, with his cruel using of you?"

*Philpot.*—"I cannot lay to my Lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather, for my part, I may say that I have found more gentleness at his Lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before."

*Riche.*—"Well, now go forth to your matter."

*Philpot.*—"The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's Majesty and of the whole house; and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable Lordships' judgment, which be of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached there-for, and sustain the loss of my living, (as I have done,) and moreover of my life, as it is sought."

*Riche.*—"You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have always understood the contrary, by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spirituality and temporalty assembled together."

*Riche.*—"Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house."

*Windsor.*—"Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house."

*Philpot.*—"My Lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf."

*Riche.*—"We have told you the truth. Marry, yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry there-for."

*London.*—"My Lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy; yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, [and with that he put off his cap, that all the Lords might reverence and veil their bonnets at that idol as he did,] and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same. Yet, my Lords, God forbid that I should go about to show him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his

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wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your Lordships' consent he shall be released by-and-by. If he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly."

Chamberlain.—"My Lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you. Take it whiles it is offered you."

*Riche*.—"How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?"

*Philpot*.—"My Lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me."

*Riche*.—"That shall be no otherwise than you list."

*London*.—"A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign, which is the accident, as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread, and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacraments to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no."

*Philpot*.—"I do confess that in the Lord's supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ."

*London*.—"You may see how he goeth about the bush, (as he hath done before with my Lords of the clergy,) and dare not utter his mind plainly."

*Riche*.—"Show us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament."

*Philpot*.—"If it please you, my Lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will throughly open my mind therein."

*Lord Chandos*.—"I pray you, my Lord, let him speak his mind."

*Philpot*.—"My Lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, thereason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life."

*Riche*.—"There is none of us here that seeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak."

*Philpot*.—"Although I mistrust not your honourable Lordships that be here of the temporality; yet here is one that sitteth against me [pointing to my Lord of London] that will lay it to my charge, even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your Honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority

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of the Scripture, I will show you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my Lord of London will not let me to utter my mind."

*Riche.*—"My Lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to show his mind."

*London.*—"I am content, my Lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him."

*Philpot.*—"That which I do intend to speak unto you, right honourable lords, I do protest here, first, before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against the which I dare not do, for fear of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, for that I love not the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart); but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness. There be two things principally, by the which the clergy at this day do deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say now as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's Majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen's Majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life: the which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation. And whereas they take on them the name of the catholic church, (whereby they blind many folk's eyes,) they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, (as they shall never be able to do,) I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my Lords, to be a mean for me to the queen's Majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm: and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points." And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

*London.*—"It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale."

*Riche.*—"All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a sevendnight in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of Canterbury and Bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her. But she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning: but she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now."

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*Philpot.*—"As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman, (I knew her well,) and a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scriptures. And such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I have God's word thoroughly on my side to show for that I stand in."

*London.*—"I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together: *Pater major me est*; and *Pater et ego unum sumus*. I must interpret the same, because my Lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, The Father is greater than I; and, I and the Father are one: but I cry you mercy, my Lords, I have misspoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my Lord Chandos and Master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can."

*Philpot.*—"Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the Divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, The Father is greater than I. But in respect of his Deity he said again, The Father and I be one."

*London.*—"But what scripture have you?"

*Philpot.*—"Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels. It is the 15th Psalm, beginning *Cæli enarrant*." And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my Lord took me:

*London.*—"It is in *Domine Dominus noster*. Ye may see, my Lords, how well this man is used to say his matins."

*Philpot.*—"Though I say not matins in such order as your Lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that *Domine Dominus noster*, and *Cæli enarrant*, be not far asunder. And albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved."

*London.*—"What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?"

*Philpot.*—"The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father: and this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them."

*London.*—"How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, That the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life."

*Philpot.*—"St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in itself killeth (which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord); but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him

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that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world. And therefore St. Paul said, That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death. Also an example hereof we have in John vi., of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby: wherefore Christ said, The flesh profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

*London.*—"What! do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John so?"

*Philpot.*—"It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man, which is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things."

*London.*—"You see, my Lords, that this man will have his own mind; and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him."

*Philpot.*—"The words that I have spoken be none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my Lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or by any other in this realm."

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the lords "to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world, if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my Lord of London would make you believe me to be."

*Riche.*—"What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?"

*Philpot.*—"Yea, my Lord; I was Sir P. Philipot's son of Hampshire."

*Riche.*—"He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him."

*Philpot.*—"I thank your Lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner."

*Riche.*—"In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet, to do you good."

*Chamberlain.*—"He may do well enough, if he list."

*St. John.*—"Master Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well."

*Riche.*—"You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?"

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*Philpot.*—"My Lord, your Lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility in this realm. It was no part of my mind; but I meant of the best learned on the contrary side."

*Riche.*—"Well, I take your meaning. What if means be made to the queen's Majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, it is not meet, that a man should be judged by his adversaries."

*Riche.*—"By whom then would you be judged?"

*Philpot.*—"I will make your Honours judges, that shall be hearers of us."

*Riche.*—"I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's Majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you; will you promise here, afore my Lords, so to do?"

*Philpot.*—"I will be contented to be judged by them."

*Riche.*—"Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?"

*Philpot.*—"There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God."

*Riche.*—"Oh, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church; which is, first that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spirituality and temporality was gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment. And such kind of judgment I will stand to."

*London.*—"My Lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of."

*Philpot.*—"In the Epistles of St. Cyprian I am able to show it you."

*London.*—"Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian hither."

*Philpot.*—"You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh." And Dr. Chedsey, his chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his book) whispered the bishop in his ear, and fetched not the book, by likelihood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof, if the book had been fetched. "Well my Lord," quoth I, "Master Doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetched the book ere this."

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*Riche.*—"You would have none other judge, I see, but the word."

*Philpot.*—"Yes, my Lord; I will be tried by the word, and by such as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your Lordship and another, upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?"

*Riche.*—"No marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof."

*London.*—"He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be."

And here the bishop thought he had good hand-fast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

*The lords.*—"He hath overthrown himself by his own argument."

*Philpot.*—"My Lords, it seemeth to your Honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in to express my cause: but, if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask my Lord Riche here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?"

*Riche.*—"He cannot so do."

*Philpot.*—"Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false Church of Rome doth in many things." And with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

*Riche.*—"I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, This is my body, and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you? and was not his very body betrayed for us? therefore it must needs be his body."

*London.*—"My Lord Riche, you have said wonderful well and learnedly; but you might have begun with him before also in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, The bread which I will give is my flesh. How can you answer to that?"

*Philpot.*—"If it please you to give me leave to answer first my Lord Riche, I will also answer this objection."

*Riche.*—"Answer my Lord of London first, and after come to me."

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*Philpot.*—"My Lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively representation and an effectual coaptation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, I am the bread that came down from heaven; but yet he is not material natural bread neither: likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

"And now to my Lord Riche's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, This is my body, but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken; they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernautes took carnally, as the papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually, and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared, any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles, and by the decree of the council of Antioch, may appear."

*London.*—"No, that is not so; they were only *catechumeni* which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other."

*Philpot.*—"It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive."

*London.*—"What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my Lord Riche hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet, if he will."

*Philpot.*—"As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; as that is blasphemy which my Lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, as I have learned of ancient writers, 'God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature,' as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature. Wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain."

*London.*—"Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? or do you deny it?"

*Philpot.*—"I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament to the receiver thereof, according to Christ's institution."

*London.*—"What mean you by really present?"

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*Philpot.*—"I mean by really present, present indeed."

*London.*—"Is God really present every where?"

*Philpot.*—"He is so."

*London.*—"How prove you that?"

*Philpot.*—"The prophet Isaiah saith, that God filleth all places: and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them."

*London.*—"What? his humanity?"

*Philpot.*—"No, my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded."

*Riche.*—"My Lord of London, I pray you let Master Doctor Chedsey reason with him; and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's Majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him."

*London.*—"My Lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave Master Doctor and him reasoning together awhile, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again." He went (as I suppose) to make room for more drink, after the lords had drunken. My Lord Riche said to the lords, "I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty;" and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all. God requite it him, for I was athirst indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedsey began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect.

*Chedsey.*—"Master Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-house before your Lordships, that he hath lain thus long in prison, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring; and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping. I was there present and can testify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will show you the truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the doctors."

*Philpot.*—"It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered whiles I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many of noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honourable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have. But my weeping was, as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her; and I, foreseeing then the destruction which you (through

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violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinity more, have felt and shall feel."

All these words I did not then speak out, being interrupted by my Lord Riche, saying that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every article. But he promised more than he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the consent of the spirituality to his promise, which now rule the roost. God shorten their cruel days, for his elect's sake. And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lest any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedsey's sayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every argument, as Master Dean of Rochester, and Master Cheyney, archdeacon of Hertford, (yet being alive, and within the realm,) can testify.

*Chedsey.*—"You have of Scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, This is my body. They say not as you would have me to believe, this is not the body. But specially the sixth of John proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord Riche, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ. For if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then needed he not to have died, after he had given the sacrament."

*Riche.*—"Let Master Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can."

*Chedsey.*—"You must note that there is twice *dabo* in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar; and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross. And besides these manifest scriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian "[whose authority be recited at large, which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same].

*Riche.*—"Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, This is my body, with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your Lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require Master Doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your Honours that I think as reverently of the sacrament as a Christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and, contrariwise, it is most

discomfort and abominable, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now-adays. And now to my question, which is this: Whether these words only, This is my body, spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose, or no?"

Staggering what he might say, at last Chedsey said, "That these words alone, pronounced by the priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really."

*Philpot.*—"That is blasphemy to say, and against all the scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian saith, 'In the sacrifice which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed.' And by the law it is forbidden to add or take away from God's word. And St. Peter saith, If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God. Wherefore, whosoever saith that these words only, This is my body, do make a presence of Christ, without Bless, take, and eat, which be three as substantial points of the sacrament as This is my body, he is highly deceived. Therefore St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament:' so that if the entire words of Christ's institutions be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament; as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore, except blessing be made after the word, (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ,) and also a showing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified, and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment—except (I say) these three parts be first performed, (which is not done in the mass,) these words, This is my body, which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, Take ye, eat ye, as This is my body."

*Chedsey.*—"Christ said, Take, eat, this is my body, and not, Take ye, eat ye."

*Philpot.*—"No did, Master Doctor? Be not these the words of Christ, *Accipite, manducate?* and do not these words in the plural number signify Take ye, eat ye; and not, Take thou, eat thou, as you would suppose?"

*Chedsey.*—"I grant it is as you say."

*Philpot.*—"Likewise of consequence, you, Master Doctor, must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, This is my body, being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said."

Then came in the bishop of London again and said, "What is it that you would have Master Doctor deny?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, Master Doctor hath affirmed that these words, This is my body, spoken by the priest, only do make the sacrament."

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*London.*—"Indeed if Master Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body."

*Philpot.*—"Master Doctor hath said otherwise."

*London.*—"I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced."

*Philpot.*—"Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, This is my body, hath no place, except bless, take, and eat, duly go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before This is my body, but preposterously follow, in your sacrament of the mass, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present."

*Chedsey.*—"If This is my body only do not make the sacrament, no more do bless, take, and eat."

*Philpot.*—"I grant that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution."

*Chedsey.*—"Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?"

*Philpot.*—"No, verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution."

*London.*—"Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on the table, though nobody eat thereof?"

*Philpot.*—"It is not likely, my Lord; for a loaf is a loaf before it be set on the table. But so is not the sacrament a perfect sacrament before it be duly ministered at the table of the Lord."

*London.*—"I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?"

*Philpot.*—"It is, my Lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign, and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution."

*Windsor.*—"There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, This is my body?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For an example; Christ biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: if a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child

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to be baptized, these words only pronounced, do not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by."

*Chamberlain.*—"I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?"

*Philpot.*—"If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, onto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him, and he to Christ."

*Chamberlain.*—"I am answered."

*London.*—"My Lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, Take, eat, this is a fat capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still? And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine; if I say, Drink, this is a cup of wine, is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare; and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil; and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of the which, Take ye, and eat ye, be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no sacraments. And therefore in Greek, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called κοινωνία [Greek:koinonia], i. e. communion, and likewise in the gospel Christ commanded, saying, Divide it among you."

*Chedsey.*—"St. Paul calleth it a communication."

*Philpot.*—"That doth more expressly show, that there must be a participation of the sacrament together."

*London.*—"My Lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now." And with that the Lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment: God work it to good!

Thus endeth the sixth part of this tragedy: the seventh look for with joy.

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*The seventh examination of John Philpot, had the nineteenth of November, before the bishops of London and Rochester, the chancellor of Lichfield, Dr. Chedsey, and Master Dee, bachelor of divinity.*

*London.*—"Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Master Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list. But as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately."

*London.*—"We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass, or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, that is another manner of question."

*London.*—"Lo, Master Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the spiritual lords and temporal, and thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed."

*Philpot.*—"I reckon, I answered your Lordship before the lords plain enough."

*London.*—"Why answerest thou not directly whether thou wouldst have gone to mass with us or no, if thou hadst come in time?"

*Philpot.*—"Mine answer shall be thus; that if your Lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will."

*London.*—"Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm, do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

*Philpot.*—"If to lie in a blind coal-house may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your Lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

*London.*—"Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

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*Philpot.*—"My Lord, we have no such resort to us as your Lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I wot of: wherefore your Lordship hath mistaken your mark."

*London.*—"Nay; now you think, because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will despatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

*Chancellor.*—"Cast not yourself wilfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

*Philpot.*—"My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God cause me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure."

*Chancellor.*—"You are not so sure, but you may be deceived."

*London.*—"Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee *ex officio*; and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them." And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles: and when he had done he bade me answer.

*Philpot.*—"Your libel, my Lord, containeth in sum two special points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your Lordship upon divers suspects and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary-office: the which first is not true, for that I am not of your Lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I, being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them; the which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized unto."

*London.*—"What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now, I pray you?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is in your diocese, yet I am not of your diocese."

*London.*—"You were sent hither unto me by the queen's Majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary."

*Philpot.*—"I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction, neither maketh it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do: no more than a sanctuary man,, being by force brought forth of his place

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of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought."

*Chedsey.*—"Hath not the queen's Majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will? and ought you not to obey herein?"

*Philpot.*—"I grant that the queen's Majesty (of her just power) may transpose my body, whither it shall please her Grace to command the same. But yet, by your laws, spiritual causes be not subject to the temporal power. As for example; you, Master Doctor, if the queen's Majesty would to appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent spiritual judges in your causes?"

*London.*—"Doth not a man, I pray you, *sortiri forum ratione delicti*?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spiritual causes it is not so, which be otherwise privileged."

*London.*—"What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved."

*London.*—"Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second—that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church, now, as you were baptized in?"

*Philpot.*—"I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church, which is of Christ, the pillar and stablishment of truth."

*London.*—"Nay, that you are not."

*Philpot.*—"Yes, that I am."

*London.*—"Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now."

*Philpot.*—"I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith or my godmothers', but into the faith and into the church of Christ."

*London.*—"How know you that?"

*Philpot.*—"By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church."

*London.*—"How long hath your church stood, I pray you?"

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*Philpot.*—"Even from the beginning; from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors."

*Chancellor.*—"He will prove his church to be before Christ!"

*Philpot.*—"If I did so, I go not amiss: for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh p<sup>n</sup>e catholic church."

*Chancellor.*—"It is so indeed."

*Philpot.*—"I will desire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in of your side, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity."

*London.*—"Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is? He would seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them."

*London.*—"No, that thou shalt not have. You shall see how he lieth. St. Cyprian saith, 'There must be one high priest, to the which the residue must obey;' and they will allow no head, neither vicar-general."

*Philpot.*—"St. Cyprian saith not that there should be a vicar-general over all. For in his book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, I am sure he saith the contrary. 'There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.'"

*London.*—"Fetch hither the book; thou shalt see the manifest place against thee."

Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited these words in sum, "That it went not well with the church, where the high priest was not obeyed," and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

*Philpot.*—"Master Doctor, you misconstrue the place of St. Cyprian: for he meaneth not there by the high priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius he meaneth by the high priest, himself, which was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and saith, 'The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, after the judgment of the Scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.'"

*London.*—"Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar in earth, even from Peter?"

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*Philpot.*—"No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority than the bishop of London hath."

*London.*—"Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the bishop of Rome, which is his successor, the same authority?"

*Philpot.*—"I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had. But Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had."

*Chancellor.*—"Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him."

*Philpot.*—"St. Augustine answereth otherwise to the objection, and saith, That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The which if Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not."

*London.*—"What if I can prove and show you out of the civil law, that all Christendom ought to follow the holy catholic Church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, *De catholica fide et sancta, Romana ecclesia?*"

*Philpot.*—"That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man's laws; and divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man."

*A doctor.*—"What will you say, if I can prove that Christ builded his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?"

*Philpot.*—"I know what St. Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it."

*A doctor.*—"St. Cyprian hath these words, 'That upon Peter was builded the church, as upon the first beginning of unity.'"

*Philpot.*—"He declareth that in an example, that unity must be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, saying, 'In the person of one man, God gave the keys to all, that he, in signification thereby, might declare the unity of all men.'

*A doctor.*—"What! will you understand St. Cyprian so? That were good indeed!"

*Philpot.*—"I think you cannot understand St. Cyprian better, than he doth declare himself."

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*London.*—"I will desire you, Master Chancellor, to take some pains with Master Doctor Chedsey about his examination, for I must go to the parliament-house. And I will desire you to dine with me."

Then the doctor took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabouts he went; and therewithal he laughed. And I said his divinity was nothing but scoffing.

*A doctor.*—"Yea, then I have done with you:" and so went away.

*Philpot.*—"You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you be learned in other things more than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you: therefore be not too hasty to judge that you do not perfectly know."

*Chancellor.*—"Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in St. John thrice, Feed my sheep."

*Philpot.*—"That is no otherwise to be taken, than Go ye and preach, which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, Feed my sheep, it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take Pasce oyes mats, for to be Lord of the whole world?" In this mean while came in the bachelor of divinity, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help Master Chancellor."

*Scholar.*—"What will you say if I can show you a Greek author, called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?"

*Philpot.*—"Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils."

*Scholar.*—"In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?"

*Philpot.*—"In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome."

*Scholar.*—"Nay, that is not so."

*Philpot.*—"Then I perceive you are better seen in words, than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so; as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils."

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*Scholar.*—"I will fetch Eusebius and show the contrary, and the book of General Councils." He went into my Lord's closet, and brought Eusebius; but the General Councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to show the same, and so shrank away confounded.

*Chancellor.*—"The Church of Rome hath been always taken for the whole catholic church; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you: and why will you be so singular?"

*Philpot.*—"I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of this realm do persecute the true church, and condemn such as be more righteous than you."

*Chancellor.*—"Do you hear, Master Doctor, what he saith, that the Church of Rome is the devil?"

*Chedsey.*—"I wish you did think more reverently of the Church of Rome. What will you say if I can show you out of St. Austin, in his Epistle written unto Pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the Church of Rome to be chiefest over all other?"

*Philpot.*—"I am sure you can show no such thing." And with that he fetched the book of St. Austin, and turned to the Epistle, but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise:—

*Chedsey.*—"Here you may see, that the council of Carthage writing to Innocent the bishop, calleth the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbations in the same; which they would not have done, if they had not taken the Church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Austin doth prove the Church of Rome to be the catholic church by continual succession of the bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St. Austin we say now, that the Church of Rome is the catholic church."

*Philpot.*—"Master Doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Augustine; and, contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not material to prove the Church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the apostolical see, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the apostolical see of that true religion and sincerity, as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; the which if ye could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolical see: otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ.

"And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto Pope Innocent, certifying him of that was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council proveth nothing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocese. The which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

"And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine, neither such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the succession of bishops of Rome, (whereof you do glory,) that such doctrine hath not been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare."

*Chancellor.*—"Well, Master Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him. Let us minister the articles which my Lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Master Philpot, to these articles? Master Johnson, I pray you write his answers."

*Philpot.*—"Master Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of London's diocese; and, to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop."

*Chancellor.*—"Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away."

Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

*The sum of a private conference or talk between Master Philpot and the bishop of London.*

The next day, in the morning betimes, the bishop sent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his chapel to hear mass.

*Bishop's man.*—"Master Philpot, where be you?"

*Philpot.*—"Who is it that calleth me?"

*Bishop's man.*—"My Lord's will is, you should rise and come to hear mass. Will you come or no?"

*Philpot.*—"My stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my Lord I am sick." After this the keeper was sent to bring me to my Lord.

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*The keeper.*—"Master Philpot, you must rise and come to my Lord."

*Philpot.*—"I am at your commandment, Master ter Keeper, as soon as I can." And going out of the prison, he asked me, saying:

*The keeper.*—"Will ye go to mass?"

*Philpot.*—"My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning." After this my keeper presented me to the bishop in his hall.

*London.*—"Master Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such articles as my chaplain, Master Dee, and my registrar, have from me to object against you; go and answer them."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, all judgments ought to be public. Therefore, if your Lordship have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty: otherwise in corners I will not."

*London.*—"Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough: thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; go thy ways with them, I say."

*Philpot.*—"I may well go with them at your Lordship's pleasure; but I will make them no further answers than I have said already."

*London.*—"No, wilt thou not, knave? Have him away, and set him in the stocks: What! foolish knave?"

*Philpot.*—"Indeed, my Lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and we must be content to be made fools at your hands; stocks and violence be your bishop-like alms. You go about by force in corners to oppress, and be ashamed that your doings should come to light: God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy's sake!" And I was put by and by into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows. God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience.

*Another conference between Bonner, bishop of London, and Master Philpot and other prisoners.*

The next day after, an hour before day, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

*The keeper.*—"Master Philpot, arise, you must come to my Lord."

*Philpot.*—"I wonder what my Lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early. I fear he will use some violence towards me: wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him."

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*Keeper.*—"I will go tell my Lord what answer you make." And so he went away to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop's men, saying that I must come, whether I would or no.

*Philpot.*—"If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go, otherwise I will not." And therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

*London.*—"What, thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched."

*Philpot.*—"I am brought indeed, my Lord, by violence unto you; and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your Lordship would gently proceed against me by the law."

*London.*—"I am blamed of the lords the bishops, for that I have not despatched thee ere this. And in faith I made suit to my Lord Cardinal, and to all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee. And my Lord of Lincoln stood up, and said that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the last word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the lords openly: and they say it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory so of yourself. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee; and, in good faith, if you will not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of Master White, bishop of Lincoln, I pass not; who is known to be mine enemy, for that I, being archdeacon, did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ my Master were called a mad-man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantic."

*London.*—"Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me, (marry, I am counselled to take heed of thee,) to kill me? But I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the best thou canst."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat thought I was without a knife, and so put it in. But other things your Lordship needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife since I came into prison. And touching your own person, you should live long, if you should live until I would go about to kill you: and I confess by violence your Lordship is able to overcome me."

*London.*—"I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand of thee."

*Philpot.*—"I will first know your Lordship to be mine ordinary, before I swear herein."

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*London.*—"What, we shall have an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge!"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I am no Anabaptist; I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your Lordship, because you are not mine ordinary."

*London.*—"I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese." [And here he bade call in more to bear him witness.] "And I make thee "[taking one of his servants by the arm] "to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles:" to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, "Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him."

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, "Master Sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain;" and so he read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of Christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides; and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

*Philpot.*—"Hah, my Lord! have ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me! You might as well have said I had killed your father. The Scriptures say, that God will destroy all men that speak lies And is not your Lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman, (who is unknown to me,) that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible."

*London.*—"I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thyself of them."

*Philpot.*—"Then it was not justly said of your Lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since almost I hold none of these articles you have read, in form as they are written."

*London.*—"How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them or no?"

*Philpot.*—"I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things; and then afterward, being lawfully called in judgment, I will show my mind fully thereof; and not otherwise."

*London.*—"Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee. Where are they? Come!"

*Keeper.*—"They be here, my Lord."

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*London.*—"Come hither, sirs: hold them a book. You shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man. And take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors."

*Prisoners.*—"My Lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him."

*Philpot.*—"I wonder your Lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses: for your Lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness."

*London.*—"Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And Master Sheriff, I will make one of them to be witness against another."

*Philpot.*—"You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you list."

*Prisoners.*—"No, my Lord."

*London.*—"No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I ween they be Anabaptists, Master Sheriff: they think it not lawful to swear before a judge."

*Philpot.*—"We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner."

*London.*—"Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here in the presence of Master Sheriff object the same articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you, under the pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined by my registrar and some of my chaplains."

*Prisoners.*—"My Lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your Lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why."

*London.*—"Master Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men." And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with Master Sheriff.

*Philpot.*—"Master Sheriff, I pray you record how my Lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us."

And after this [we] were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

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*Another private conference between the bishop of London and Master Philpot in the coal-house.*

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before: whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners, seeing he was never with them that have been so nigh his nose. And he came not then for any good zeal, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me; and therefore, after supper, between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying—

*London.*—"Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and the council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty. And besides that, you are yonder, and strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough. I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand despatch you, as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, you have my body in your custody; you may transport it whither you please: I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as, you say, I long there-for; and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I."

*London.*—"Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?"

*Philpot.*—"My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, the which if any can show me, I will be pliant to the same. Otherwise, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain."

*London.*—"Have you then the truth only?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: he hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably. I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can." With this saying he was silenced.

*London.*—"That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before."

And he followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me, (as the sequel did declare,) and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed. And afterwards I passed through Paul's, up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the west side of Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging

through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet of breadth, and thirteen of length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them: and whoso walketh in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel, may see my window and me standing in the same. And as I was come to my place the keeper plucked off my gown, and searched me very narrowly,, and took away penner, inkhorn, girdle, and knife; but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where, full sore against my will, I cast away many a sweet letter and friendly: but that I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my leg, the which he by feeling did soon espy, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. "Let me alone," said I, "I will pluck them out." With that I put in my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing to my pocket-hole, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; the which, to make a show that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me; and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

After this he went his way, and as he was going one of them that came with him said, that I did not deliver the writings I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. "No did?" quoth he, "I will go search him better "the which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written into another place beside my bed, and took all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again; and as he came I threw the same out of my window, saying that I heard what he said: wherefore I did prevent his searching again, whereof I was right glad. God be praised that gave me that present shift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of more straiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

*The eighth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, and others, in the bishop's chapel.*

The next day after, my keeper came before day in the morning to call me down, and so was I brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, one of the queen's council, Master Archdeacon of London, and before a great many more Balaamites. And the bishop spake unto me in this wise:—

*London.*—"Sir, here I object and lay unto you, in the presence of my Lord of St. David's, and of Master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained."

And openly he read them. To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would when he had said. "And unto these here I add another schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of King Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring

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forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely, my Lord of St. David's, Master Mordant, and Master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and unreverent behaviour he did there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a book! "And receiving one, he opened the same, saying, I will teach him here one trick in our law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of St. David's, because you are a bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear, by looking on the gospel book, without touching of the same." And so he opened the book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and willed them to resort to his registrar to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, "Now sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea, or nay?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?"

*London.*—"Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time."

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

*Philpot.*—"Then my two words you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge."

*London.*—"Indeed, Master Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her Majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands."

*Philpot.*—"You will do what you list, my Lord, you have the law in your hands."

*London.*—"Wilt thou answer or no?"

*Philpot.*—"I will not otherwise than I have said."

*London.*—"Registrar, note his answer that he maketh."

*Philpot.*—"Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law: as well you may do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now-a-days; God of his mercy destroy your cruel kingdom." And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste.

*St. David's.*—"Master Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law."

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After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

*The ninth examination of Master Philpot before the bishop of London, and his chaplains.*

In the morning, the next day, I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained until the bishop had heard his mass; and afterward he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said:

*London.*—"I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles; and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I wis all your exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, the which is, free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise."

*London.*—"Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles."

*Philpot.*—"No, my Lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried."

*London.*—"Well, thou shalt hear them."

And with that he began to read them. I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book. And after he had read them over he said unto me.

*London.*—"I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough if thou list. It is but a singularity. Dost thou not see all the realm against thee?"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word; and if your Lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same."

*London.*—"What! thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is past shall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldest desire."

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Then I, perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope that, for fear or love of the world, will recant: I said, "My Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; or else what will they say, but that, either for fear or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth? And if I hear any kind of learning openly showed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me."

*London.*—"Yea, marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house: call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament."

*London.*—"What! do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

*Philpot.*—"No, my Lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ's institution: and first, it must be proved a sacrament, before there can be any presence granted."

*London.*—"Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?"

*Philpot.*—"Yes, verily, that it is."

*London.*—"Then I make this argument unto you: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: but the mass is the sign of a holy thing; ergo, it is a sacrament."

*Philpot.*—"You must add this to your major, or first proposition, as St. Augustine doth mean, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and commanded: for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for all men cannot make a sacrament."

*London.*—"I grant that: and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ's institution."

*Philpot.*—"I deny that, my Lord."

*London.*—"I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will go show you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is without there? Call me Master Doctor Chedsey, Master Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and other chaplains hither."

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"Here, my Lord. Master Doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and Master Archdeacon was here even now."

*London.*—"Master Cosins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before."

*Cosins.*—"I trust, my Lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?"

*Philpot.*—"Master Cosins, I have told my Lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me: but, if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you."

*Cosins.*—"No, will you? Why, what is that, then, that is in question between my Lord and you?"

*Philpot.*—"Whether your mass be a sacrament, or no."

*Cosins.*—"What, the mass to be a sacrament? who ever doubted thereof?"

*Philpot.* "If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof."

*Cosins.*—"Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing: ergo, it is a sacrament."

*Philpot.*—"I deny your antecedent."

*Cosins.*—"What, will you so? then there is no reasoning with you."

Thus Master Cosins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and with that Master Harpsfield came out from my Lord with St. Augustine's Epistles, saying.

*Harpsfield.*—"My Lord hath sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth: I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbath and holy-days."

*Philpot.*—"I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament of the mass."

*Harpsfield.*—"No! doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more plain?"

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*Philpot.*—"St. Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; or this word mass' hath been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what *missa* doth signify. I think not many that say mass can well tell."

*Cosins.*—"No? cannot? That is marvel."

*Philpot.*—"Then tell me, if you can." But Master Cosins and my morrow-mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Master Harpsfield for help; and at length he spake.

*Harpsfield.*—"You think it cometh of the Hebrew word *massah*, as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you."

*Philpot.*—"I have not gone so long to school, to derive the signification of *missa* out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called *missa*, (sent,) *a mittendo*, (from sending,) of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought after their devotion and ability, and required the minister, in the celebration of the communion, to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this cause was it called *missa*, as learned men do witness. At the which celebration of the mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in St. Augustine's time. But unless you can show that your mass is used as then it was, ye shall never by the name of mass (which St. Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion) prove your private mass to be a sacrament, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then, which is clean contrary."

*Harpsfield.*—"What! deny you the mass to be a sacrament? for shame, speak it not."

*Philpot.*—"I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it."

*Harpsfield.*—"Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament."

*Philpot.*—"You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament, for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice."

*Harpsfield.*—"Why? doth not Christ say, This is my body? and doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?"

*Philpot.*—"The pronunciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no baptism unless there be a Christian person to be baptized."

*Harpfield.*—"Nay, that is not like; for *Hoc est corpus meum*, is an indicative proposition, showing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine."

*Philpot.*—"It is not only an indicative proposition, but also imperative or commanding. For he that said, This is my body; said also, Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the institution of Christ's sacrament be accomplished according to the communion, the latter, This is my body, can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will."

Morrow-mass chaplain.—"Why then you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament."

*Philpot.*—"I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament, but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it cannot be a sacrament; because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, Take ye, eat ye, which you do not in your mass according to Christ's institution. Wherefore it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ's institution."

*Cosins.*—"We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the mass, if they require it."

*Philpot.*—"Nay, that they shall not, though they require it; you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that, you ought, before you go to mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving, for Christ's passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's commandment, saying unto all that be present, Take ye, eat ye: and likewise, by preaching, show forth the Lord's death, which you do not."

*Cosins.*—"What if all things be done even as you would have it, and whilst the minister is about to minister the sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a certain hurly-burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that none have communicated beside the priest?"

*Philpot.*—"In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident necessity had not let, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true sacrament." After this the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason:

*The morrow-mass priest.*—"If the sacrament of the mass be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, Take ye, eat ye; then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament where there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his apostles, Go preach the gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father, &c."

*Philpot.*—"In that saying of Christ, baptizing all nations is a commandment to the apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew; not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of John, and in the

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eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but contrariwise, by the express words of St. Paul, you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together, As oft as ye come together to eat [meaning the Lord's supper] tarry one for another. And also the minister in the celebration of the sacrament speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, to communicate with him, saying, Take ye, and eat ye. Wherefore, as many as be present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same. And the minister is no just minister that doth not distribute the sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament."

*Harpsfield.*—"What! would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?"

*Philpot.*—"I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers; as St. Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, saith, 'that the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the priest.' If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?"

*Cosins.*—"You are such another fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the mass to be a sacrament: you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go [pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain]: we will leave you, Master Archdeacon, and him together." And so they went away. Afterward the archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

*Harpsfield.*—"Master Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford many years. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you so think of me."

*Philpot.*—"I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived, (as I am sure you are,) I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you; for afore God, I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false religion, and be not those men you take yourselves for; and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time. I give you warning, for else, in the day of judgment, I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this, here talking together."

*Harpsfield.*—"Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion. I perceive you are now still that man you were in Oxford."

*Philpot.*—"I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there."

*Harpsfield.*—"I can say no evil of your conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation *in parvis*, you would not lightly give over; and for that cause I speak what I have said."

*Philpot.*—"Master Harpsfield, you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now, our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever."

And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so godly a show: wherefore I pray you judge not so of me now."

*Harpsfield.*—"What, will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?"

*Philpot.*—"My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of God's word."

*Harpsfield.*—"Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart."

*Philpot.*—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

*Harpsfield.*—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

*Philpot.*—"I pray you, Master Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun *hoc* doth demonstrate and show, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body?"

*Harpsfield.*—"It doth demonstrate the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body."

*Philpot.*—"Is the substance of the bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body?"

*Harpsfield.*—"Yea, that it is."

*Philpot.*—"Why, then Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before; and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think."

Then Harpsfield fetched about again, and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconvenience of his first assertion, of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, he said, that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the omnipotency of God."

*Philpot.*—"This is another song than you sang first; and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves: for indeed your schoolmen do hold, that the very substance of bread is really turned into the substance of Christ's body. And now, you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated, contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh, what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth!"

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*Harpsfield.*—"Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?"

*Philpot.*—"But his omnipotence will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings-away of the bread as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it bread many times after the consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament, as, Take ye, eat ye; Drink ye all of this; Do ye this in remembrance of me: and to place in their steads, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me."

*Harpsfield.*—"I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together which make for your purpose: I will talk no longer with you."

*Philpot.*—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

*Harpsfield.*—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

*The tenth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, his registrar, and others.*

The next day after dinner I was brought into my Lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his registrar, and before Dr. Chedsey, in the presence of two homely gentlemen, and a priest which I knew not: at what time the bishop said.

*London.*—"I do here lay unto this man in your presence, (requiring you to be a witness against him, as much as you know in any of them,) these articles, this book of the catechism made in King Edward's days, also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also I lay unto him, that he hath despised the censures of the church, and hath stood accursed more than this twelvemonth, and never required absolution thereof. How say you, wast thou not accursed by my Lord Chancellor?"

*Philpot.*—"I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law; being never personally cited."

*London.*—"Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldst not hear mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicated?"

*Philpot.*—"More than a twelvemonth and a half."

*London.*—"Lo, you may hear what he saith: write it."

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*Philpot.*—"But as you would have written, that I have said I have been thus long excommunicated; so also let him write, that I did require of my Lord Chancellor that did excommunicate me, my absolution, but he would not give it me, saying, that I was *excommunicatus ipso jure*, because I was a heretic, as it pleased him to call me; therefore accursed by your law: and so commanded me to prison, where I remain."

*Gentleman.*—"Why do you not require absolution at my Lord's hands here now?"

*Philpot.*—"Because he is not mine ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right."

*London.*—"What an obstinate fool is this! I tell thee I will be thine ordinary, whether thou wilt or no."

*Philpot.*—"And because of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, Master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered in writing."

*London.*—"Have you heard such a froward fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my diocese."

*Philpot.*—"I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese."

*London.*—"I pray you may not a man be of two dioceses at once?"

*Philpot.*—"No, that he cannot."

*London.*—"Lo, will you see what an ignorant fool this is in the law, in the which he would seem to be seen! I tell thee a man may be of three dioceses at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reason thereof thou shouldst be of my diocese: or else if thou wert not born here, but hadst a dignity, also thou art to be counted of my diocese: or else by reason of thy habitation in my diocese."

*Philpot.*—"In none of these respects I am of your Lordship's diocese. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at Winchester, am at that present of London diocese."

*London.*—"What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?"

*Philpot.*—"But what shall I win, if you do not?"

*London.*—"I will give thee my bishopric, if I prove it not."

*Philpot.*—"Yea, but who shall deliver it me if I win?"

*London.*—"Thou art an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses' depositions. I must be gone to the parliament-house."

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After this spake unto me a priest standing by, asking me whether I was kin to my Lord Riche, or no.

*Philpot.*—I said, "He said so himself to me the other day, but how, I know not."

*Chedsey.*—"I heard him say he was his nigh kinsman."

*Balaamite.*—"Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my nigh kinsman. How chanceth it that you and I be of contrary judgments?"

*Philpot.*—"It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied, That the father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, for my truth's sake."

*Balaamite.*—"You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass."

*Philpot.*—"If you can prove it a sacrament, I will not hold against you."

*Balaamite.*—"What, prove it a sacrament, quoth he! Doth not St. Paul say, That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?"

*Philpot.*—"That saying of St. Paul concerneth nothing your sacrament; but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful believers."

*Balaamite.*—"Why, then I perceive you understand not St. Paul. By God, you are deceived."

*Philpot.*—"You ought not to swear, kinsman, if you will that I shall so call you; and without disworship of our kindred, I understand St. Paul as well as you, and know what I say." [And with that showed him a Greek Testament with Erasmus's translation, and with the old also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted withal.]

*Balaamite.*—"I knew Greek too once, as well as you; I care not which you read."

*Philpot.*—"You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other." With this my Balaamite kinsman departed in a fury.

The next day after I was brought down again, after dinner, to the chapel, and there my Balaamite kinsman (to verify the Scriptures, that a man's own kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the bishop as a witness against me: and there the bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a priest also; saying, "You shall swear to depose all the truth of certain articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy presence."

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me: and require you, Master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour."

*Registrar.*—"Your appeal shall be entered at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me."

*Philpot.*—"I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbishopric of Canterbury; for I know not who is bishop thereof at this present." With that the bishop went away, and my Balaamite kinsman, looking big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haste scribbled out all my examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the papists' unjust proceedings, and nakedness in their false religion, might be known to their confusion. Jesus is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. Amen. 1555.

*The examinations of Master Philpot in open judgment, by Bishop Bonner, in the consistory at Paul's, on the thirteenth and fourteenth of December.*



HE bishop, having sufficiently taken his pleasure with Master Philpot in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at Paul's, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other, had the eleventh day of the same month in his chapel, appears in a manner to be all one. The bishop therefore first speaking to Master Philpot, said:—

"Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal. The first is, that you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And the third is, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can show you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can show, why I should not now give sentence against you?"

*Philpot.*—"Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the mass,

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and the sacrament of the altar, I never spake against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, as in the reign of good King Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep, *quia teneor reddere Domino juramentum*. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you; otherwise not."

Bonner then, not able, with all his learned doctors, to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatenings, to return to their church: to the which Philpot answered, "You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

Upon these words, the bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on Monday the sixteenth day of the same month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

*The last examination of Master John Philpot; December the sixteenth.*

At which day and time, Master Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner, bishop of London, began to talk in this manner.

*London.*—"My Lords, Stokesley my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer: *Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisque tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, et illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum*. Amen. Which I will follow." And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which Master Philpot said, "I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand."

Whereupon the bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to his name;" Philpot said, "Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name, (meaning Christ's name,) and God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand."

*London.*—"Whom do you mean?"

*Philpot.*—"You, and all other that be of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this realm." And then turning himself unto the people, he further said, "Oh! all you gentlemen, beware of these men, (meaning the bishops,) and all their doings, which be

contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what authority you proceed against me."

*London.*—"Because I am bishop of London."

*Philpot.*—"Well, then ye are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese. And moreover I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me; especially being brought hither from another place by violence."

*London.*—"Why, who sent you hither to me?"

*Philpot.*—"That did Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other the king and queen's commissioners. And, my Lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but ye must also meddle with other men's sheep?"

Then the bishop delivered to Philpot two books, one of the civil law, and the other of the canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Master Philpot then, perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said unto the bishop, "I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, it is not yet known. At last Bonner spake unto him, and said, "Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case; for it is written in the law, *A iudice dispositionem juris exequente non est appellandum.*"

*Philpot.*—"My Lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the law: for, if ye did, ye would not bring in that text."

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, that it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a Christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge, that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered, "No, I am no Jew, but you, my Lord, are a Jew; for you profess Christ, and maintain antichrist; you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition: and ye be able to charge me with nothing."

*London and other bishops.*—"With what can you charge us?"

*Philpot.*—"You are enemies to all truth; and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, saving in the article of the Trinity."

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriffs of the same city, and sat down with the said bishops in the said consistory; where and what time Bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as followeth "Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend

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to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a prayer both in English and in Latin, which Bishop Stokesley, my predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give sentence against a heretic."

And here Bonner did again read the said prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said, "Philpot, amongst other, I have to charge you specially with three things. First, whereas you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could show unto you. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination. And thirdly, that you have spoken and holden against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same."

This being spoken, the bishop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

### *Bishop Bonner's exhortation to John Philpot.*

"Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and Christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ: if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be: if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic (as ye be indeed). Now do you choose what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably."

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, Master Philpot turned himself unto the lord mayor, and said "To you, my Lord Mayor, bearing the sword, I speak; I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word. But I am sorry to see that the authority which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist; and ye" [speaking to the bishops] "pretend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ, and yet be the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. And I am glad that Christ hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ. Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend

to be the catholic church) is the Church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the catholic church: of that church I am not. As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's word. Therefore ye have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which ye make a masquing. Thirdly, whereas you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ. And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope.

"Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist's name; prove me that to be of the catholic church, (which ye shall never do,) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be also traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail upon good kings, as King Henry, and King Edward his son, which have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can show me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good queen."

Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to show where the true church was, saying, "The true catholic church is set upon a high hill."

*Philpot.*—"Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical church."

*Coventry.*—"No, in our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church."

*Philpot.*—"Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be."

*Coventry.*—"Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of."

*Philpot.*—"I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same; for it is *una, catholica, et apostolica*, and doth follow the doctrine that the apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward's days was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholic church?"

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince Master Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore, turning

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himself unto the lord mayor of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and said:

"My Lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so was it sent him, being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal; for when his keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my Lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is."

*Philpot.*—"Ah, my Lord! have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the Church of Rome to be a catholic church?" &c.

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the catechism made in King Edward's days, anno 1552, the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed. Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to Master Philpot's charge, two letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts, which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenor whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

*A letter exhibited by Bonner, written by some friend of Master Philpot's, and sent to him, concerning the handling of Master Green in Bishop Bonner's house at London.*

"You shall understand that Master Green came unto the bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received: for what policy the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my Lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr. Chedsey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men, (who were suitors for him, but to him unknown,) that he in no case should be examined; before which, Master Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the bishop objected against him singularity and obstinacy, his answer thereunto was thus: 'To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young, and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned, (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord,) yet let me have such books as I shall require; and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby answer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you.' Whereunto the bishop, and his, assented, permitting him at the first to have such books: who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and rife in the Scripture and godly fathers, that since, they have not only taken from him such liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him so much as the New Testament. Since, they have baited and used him most cruelly. This Master Fecknam reported, saying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become further of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing

to die, as I understand. Concerning your bill, I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same court is able to redress the same: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his."

*The copy of another letter, written by the faithful and Christian-hearted lady, the Lady Vane, to Master Philpot, exhibited likewise by Bishop Bonner.*

"Hearty thanks rendered unto you, my well-beloved in Christ, for the book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolations, and, according to the doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanish back to the burdens of reproof. And so, in the strength of my God I trust to leap over the wall; for his sweetness overcometh me daily, and maketh all these apothecary drugs of the world even medicinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseech thee, my dear fellow-soldier, make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladsome conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you so often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and small relief to you. But if you would love me so much that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be such, as agreed with my heart. And for the short charges ye speak of, the means are not so pleasant, if God (whom my trust is in) will otherwise prepare; but Solomon saith, All things here have their time; you to-day, and I to-morrow, and so the end of Adam's line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time, his glory be not defaced through our weakness! Because you desire to show yourself a worthy soldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the scarf ye wrote of, that ye may present my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense, which our beloved Christ offereth for his own; to whom I bequeath both our bodies and souls.

"Your own in the Lord.  
F. E."



ver and besides these letters, the bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by Master Philpot unto the high court of parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two letters last mentioned; the copy whereof doth here ensue as followeth "To the king and queen's Majesty's Highnesses, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled.

"In most humble wise complaineth unto this honourable court of parliament John Philpot, clerk, that whereas there was by the queen's Highness a parliament called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a convocation of the clergy, your suppliant then being one of the said convocation-house, and matters there rising upon the using of the sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there spoken: and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the said parliament, your said suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to prison to the King's Bench by the late lord chancellor, where he hath

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remained ever since, until now of late that my Lord the bishop of London hath sent for your said suppliant to examine him (being none of his diocese) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your orator to declare his conscience, which, the said bishop saith, he hath authority to do, by reason of an act of parliament made in the first and second years of the king and queen's Majesties' reigns, for the reviving of three statutes made against them that hold any opinion against the catholic faith: whereby be affirmeth, that every ordinary may, *ex officio*, examine every man's conscience And for that your said orator hath and doth refuse, that the said bishop of London hath any authority over your said orator, for that he is neither his diocesan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the catholic faith, (notwithstanding the said bishop of London detaineth him in the coal-house, in the stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but straw,) and for that your said orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the said bishop, to any other judge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by their law, and therefore hath no succour and help, but by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the said act; therefore may it please you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen's Majesties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no bishop nor ordinary shall commit or detain in prison any suspected person or persons for the catholic faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the catholic faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convicted for any such offence or offences; the said former statute, made in the said first and second year of our said sovereign lord and lady notwithstanding: whereby your said orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers others now remaining in prison; but also the blood of divers of the queen's Majesty's true and faithful subjects preserved."

### *The condemnation of the worthy martyr of God, John Philpot.*

These books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, If the book intituled, "The true Report of the Disputation," &c., were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, that it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting-forth.

The bishops, waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of Master Philpot, (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you,) whether he had any just cause to allege, why he should not condemn him as a heretic. "Well," quoth Master Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend; but ye cannot, nor ever shall."

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmovable stedfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, *Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, et impœnitentem*, &c., Master

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Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic, out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church."

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My Lord, my Lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no." Then Bonner said, (full like himself,) "O let him alone; and so read forth the sentence."

And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster Row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him he said, "Ah! dear master."

Then Master Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again."

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah! good people; blessed be God for this day." And so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would go speak with my master." Master Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

Then the under-keeper said to Master Philpot, "Is this your man?" and he said, "Yea." So he did license his man to go in with him: and Master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander the chief keeper did come unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him with these words; "Ah!" said he, "hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said Master Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment: and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance." "Well," said Alexander, "I will show thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me." Then said Master Philpot, "I pray you show me what you would have me to do." He said, "If you would recant, I will show you any pleasure I can." "Nay," said Master Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Master Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none." "No!" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? That I will know, for I will search thee." "Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant "he hath given me a token or two to send his friends, as to his brother and sisters." "Ah!" said Alexander unto Master Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics: thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity; but he shall be known well enough." "Nay," said Master Philpot, "I do send it to my friends: there he is, let him make answer to it. But good Master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off." "Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still." Then said Master Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said four pound was his fees. "Ah," said Master Philpot, "I have not so

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much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison." "What wilt thou give me then," said Alexander?" Sir," said he, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will lay my gown to gage. For the time is not long (I am sure) that I shall be with you; for the bishop said I should be soon despatched."

Then said Alexander unto him, "What is that to me?" And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo. And so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Master Philpot said to his man, "Go to Master Sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire Master Sheriff to be good unto me." And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Master Sheriff, (which was Master Macham,) and showed him how Master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff, hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Master Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff. Alexander took the ring, and said, "Ah! I perceive that Master Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters." Yet at ten of the clock he went in to Master Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the seventeenth day of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered and said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, "Ah! dear master, farewell." His master said unto him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What! will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first, coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the 106th, the 107th, and the 108th Psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the

officers, "What have you done for me?" and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto that constant martyr, who the eighteenth day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.



**John Philpot in Smithfield**

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the life and doings of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: first penned and written

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with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written; for the which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison, of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

### 327. The Martyr's Prayer

*A prayer to be said at the stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.*

"Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort; gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign Holy Spirit! which in the midst of all crosses and death didst comfort the apostle St. Paul with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known. O be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice doth require (in respect of my sins) that now thou shouldst not hear me,—measuring me in the same measure with which I have measured thy Majesty, contemning thy daily calls,—yet let thy mercy, which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake, in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life there-for (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, no, not the thief that hanged with him on the cross): I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy name's sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted; and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, where-through the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which now plenteously endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight, dear Father! whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea, even before the world was made; to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea, even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee entirely to give once more to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same. O dear Father! now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purify me by this fire in Christ's death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, world without end, Amen."

### 328. Letters of Master Philpot.

*A letter which he sent to the Christian congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous service of the papists, and to serve God after his word.*



T is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women. from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion. which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. If that earth be cursed of God. which, eftsoons, receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which, having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not show forth God's worship after the same! If the Lord will require in

the day of judgment a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women; how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto us, (which is of all other talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life,) if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confession! God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his name.

"It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St. Paul writeth to the Romans, The belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe. It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to show forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith, Either make the tree good and his fruits good; or else make the tree evil and the fruits evil: because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits. So that the person which knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. And, Not all they which say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father. And, Whosoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my words, of him the Son of man will be ashamed before his Father. After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders into the true church of God, upon the rock and not on the sand; and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us, The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you might

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keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for ensample aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

"Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God's word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, Go behind me, Satan; thou savourest not the things of God. Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me? For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity: we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

"Now since the time is come that we must show our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in the which, through knowledge, we are ingrafted; from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength. But they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions; for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

"God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto the which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold, through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked. In the Apocalypse the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and

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therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos. Also we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted as whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God than the adulterous abuse of the body. Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, be said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass, (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and advoutry?

"Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul. Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh! Better it were for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the Head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave unseparably to the gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise, in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

"St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him: therefore he saith also, that we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life. St. John in the Apocalypse telleth us plainly that none of those who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagoge, either in their foreheads, or else in their hands; that is, apparently or obediently.

"St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which signifieth that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled

as well as the inward; that with a clean spirit and rectified body, we might serve God justly in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

"Finally in the Apocalypse, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass: St. Paul to the Thessalonians commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

"Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain; which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used of us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing. And if they do not agree with this adversary, (I mean the word of God,) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is, to the devil; and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell-fire, (where is the portion of all hypocrites,) with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end. But yet many will say, for their vain excuse, 'God is merciful, and his mercy is over all.' But the Scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him. Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God that serve him; and to fear God is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

"Another sort of persons do make them a cloak for the rain, under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Cæsar that is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God; and with St. Peter, to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word; otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death there-for, as we have the apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates, as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, Judge you whether it be more righteous that we should obey man rather than God.

"Also Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, than to obey the king's wicked commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man doth it voluntarily or at commandment: although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that, for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved, whatsoever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election, and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as St. Paul saith. God's predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation, according to God's word, and not set cock in the

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hoop, and put all on God's back, to do wickedly at large. For the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness after that they be once called to true knowledge: for so saith St. Paul to the Ephesians, that God hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in his sight.

"Therefore St. Peter willeth us, through good works, to make our vocation and election certain to ourselves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel: and he that conformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they fall, they do not lie still.

"Let all vain excusations be set apart, and while ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. Oh! that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

"But what said I, conscience? Many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling of mind is called conscientia, which soundeth by interpretation, as much as, with knowledge.

"And therefore, if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused, as St. Paul beareth witness, saying, Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified. And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments; a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all; and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby. The Lord, which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation, Amen.

"John Philpot, prisoner in the King's Bench, For the testimony of the truth. 1555."

*To his dear friend in the Lord, John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.*

My dearly beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters full of love and compassion, insomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to see you so careful for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been and am in Christ's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you cease not to pray for me, but cease to weep for him who hath not deserved such gentle tears: and praise God with me, for that I now approach to

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the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament. God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation! Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deserts down into hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful brethren in the King's Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same the consolation of heaven, I praise God; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me, as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench.

"You know, brother Careless, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ugliness of mine imprisonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you, in these cruel days, in the which the devil so rageth at the faithful flock of Christ: but in vain (I trust) against any of us, who be persuaded that neither life, neither death, is able to separate us from the love of Christ's gospel, which is God's high treasure committed to our brittle vessels to glorify us by the same. God, of his mercy, make us faithful stewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing, whatsoever in his good pleasure we shall suffer for the same. That I have not written unto you erst, the cause is our strait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day serveth us but a while in our dark closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations; and I am fain to scribble it out in haste.

"Commend me to all our faithful brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken his prest money a great while, and now let them show themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember that in the Apocalypse the fearful be excluded the kingdom. Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. Blessed is the servant, whom, when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earnestly one for another, that we be not led into temptation! Be joyful under the cross, and praise the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and desire him to love and continue in the unity of Christ's true church, which he hath begun, and then shall he make me more and more to joy under my cross with him. Tell my brother Clements, that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in signification of an unfeigned unity with us; let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, Master Me-ring, Master Crooch, with the rest, and specially Master Marshal and his wife, with great thanks for his kindness showed unto me. Farewell, my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil awhile, but now I am over the shoes: God send me well out.

"Out of the coal-house, by your brother,  
JOHN PHILPOT."

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*Another letter to John Careless, profitable to be read of all them which mourn in repentance for their sins.*

"The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil, Amen.

"That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice, to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any others, and oftentimes do set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God: Oh that I had the like contrite heart! God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable iniquities. Praised be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness, and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalene wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her seven-fold sins?

"Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest penny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow, laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: Blessed be they, saith Christ, that mourn, for they shall be comforted. They went forth and wept, saith the prophet: such shall come again, having their gripes full of gladness. And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of his sins, be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by much sorrow. St. Paul would not the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men which have no hope. Such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For God, to this end, by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall superabound; and bringeth them down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven.

"Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin: yea, and he will forgive him, which with hope is sorry for his sins.

"But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the help of God's Spirit, to do that is good, the evil spirit, Satan, layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mix the detestable dame! of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how that continually he assaulteth that good, which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours; yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

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"Be not discomforted that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the same to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares, but overcome he shall not: yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever; and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

"This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God: for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong Goliath hath the hold, all things are in peace which he possesseth; and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's promises smite him on the scalp: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, Resist the devil, and he will fly from thee. It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet; or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory: for he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults which be occasions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a sinner repenteth him of his sins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? first, your vocation to the gospel, and after your vocation the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are God's own dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind for these temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require.

"Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be Careless, why do you make yourself careful? Cast all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right side, that you should not be then moved. Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to Master F., and thank him for his law books: but neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty. I would for your sake the unjust

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dealing were noted unto the parliament-house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop meetly plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written far uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you.

"Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ,  
JOHN PHILPOT."

*Another letter, to certain godly women, forsaking their own country for the gospel, full of fruitful precepts and lessons for all good women.*

"The Spirit of truth, revealed unto you my dearly beloved, by the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

"I read in the Evangelists, of certain godly women, that ministered unto Christ; following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until that he had showed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them show unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was risen, and that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you, my loving sisters in Christ, who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministered to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable assistance, even to the death. And now, since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them whom the tyrants have slain, he willed you to go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity; and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways which he, with his holy martyrs, hath gone on before.

"God therefore, entire sisters, direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias, unto a strange land! God give you health both of body and soul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed martyrs and saints. Let there be continual ascensions unto heaven in your hearts: let there be no decrease of any virtue which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as, Solomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobriety, to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your godly conversation speak where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the counsel of St. James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contentions among the saints. Let your faith shine in a strange country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven may be glorified by you to the end.

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"This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful, (which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same,) but as one that would have you understand that he is mindful of your godly conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be as a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

"Farewell again, mine own bowels in Christ! and take me with you wheresoever you go, and leave yourselves with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their country without witness of the gospel, after that we all be slain, which already be stalled up and appointed to the slaughter; and in the mean season to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

"Yours for ever,  
JOHN PHILPOT."

*An exhortation to his own sister, constantly to stick to the truth, which she had fruitfully professed.*

"God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, he sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

"I have occasion, mine own dear sister, to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to show yourself a natural loving sister to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have eftsoons testified being absent, as also by presently visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith after Christ's gospel, I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other; and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege sister, give you grace so to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever.

"Look therefore that you continue a faithful sister, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Christ, yea, to Christ himself, who voucheth you, in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal portion of the everlasting inheritance of Christ, if now in no wise you do show yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will never for any kind of worldly respect do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people

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through a sieve of great affliction: for so Satan desireth us to be sifted, that through fear of sharp troubles we might fall from the stableness of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which are prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, to prepare themselves to suffer temptations.

"Since then that, for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand, this, Christ, our first-begotten Brother, looketh for at our hands; and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith, through afflictions, to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number; and the universal church, here militant, rejoiceth at our constancy, whom all, by the contrary, we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked world; prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And if you see any untowardness in you, (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God,) ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh, and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that tendeth to our salvation.

"You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the prophet David, Unto the saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them. You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholied and defiled, lest the last be worse than the first. I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have had so good experience; but, because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of every one of us to exhort and stir up one another, I am bold to put you, my good sister, in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy together eternally, with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory. None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord shall make you one of those faithful virgins, that shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth; the which Christ grant both you and me. Amen.

"Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his gospel! That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you, by all means you can, to accomplish my request, that my sureties might be satisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged: therefore I pray you help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look for daily; but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth.

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Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long imprisonment, for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live.

"The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith as in body,

JOHN PHILPOT "

*Another letter of exhortation to certain godly brethren.*

"The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our Comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end. Amen.

"I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; who do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for the which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted church. Therefore that ye may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you, with the wise man, to prepare yourselves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so saith our Saviour in his gospel: Blessed are they that persevere to the end.

"Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise merchantman, after the gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same. God, in the Apocalypse, doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth; from the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word there is called the word of patience; to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

"Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory; and St. Peter telleth us, now we are afflicted with divers assays, as it is need it should so be, that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. St. Paul to the Hebrews showeth us, that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we, being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said Epistle is written, My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he

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receiveth, &c. Christ, in the Gospel of St. John, biddeth his disciples to look after afflictions, saying, In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the twenty-first of St. Luke, he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, saith he, is at hand. And in the twenty-second, he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, You are those that have abiden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom.

"Oh how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly! Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness. Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly en-samples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

"Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the rewards of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, insomuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be showed unto us.

"Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be, merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to haste the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rout which came to apprehend him, saying, I am he whom ye seek. It is commanded us by the gospel, not to fear them that kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we may fear God more than man! The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him! Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love we will stick. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christ's sake, if the confession of the truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth a hundred-fold more in this life, (as our Saviour said to Peter,) and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this life receiveth a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say, If I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all: but where is this hundred-fold in this life to be found? Yes truly; for instead of the worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God,

angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than a hundred-fold? Is not the peace of God, which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ, (which the world cannot take from us,) tenthousand-fold more than those things that most highly be esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

"Oh that we would weigh this with indifferent balances! Then should we not be dismayed of this troublous time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner, for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory; for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy, If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ: and if we deny him, he will deny us.

"Oh that we would enter into the veil of God's promises! Then should we, with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ. God, which is the lightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our own religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies; and then death shall be as great a gain to us, as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more present with us than when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father. Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which, by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

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"I beseech you, with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, horribly afflicted, cause us to say, The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord! Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass. If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now, as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac by interpretation doth signify mirth and joy; who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live, and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signify that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh, entangled through sin with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

"And to withstand these present temptations wherewithal we are now encumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample; that if the devil himself, or any other by him, willeth you to make stones bread, (that is, to take such a worldly-wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands, and goods, to live on still,) ye must say, that man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the devil counselleth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content herewith; ye must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

"Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship idols in his synagogue, ye must say, Go behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only.

"Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman, or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

"Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity,  
JOHN PHILPOT, anno 1555."

*To his friend and faithful brother in the Lord, Master Robert Harrington.*

"Gentle Master Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of

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others our afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God, for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness of so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever.

"Methinketh I see you desiring to be under the same. The flesh draweth back, but the Spirit saith, it must be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to show himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified. I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me most unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. Oh what unspeakable condition is that! May any worldly thing stay us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us?

"Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the savour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore, dearly beloved in the Lord, let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten-thousand-fold greater than the price.

"Since you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this mart, but you must bring your wife for a usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring you that we are made worthy through Christ of the kingdom for the which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end!

"Commend me to Master Heath, and tell him that I would wish him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own: commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to Master Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease in prison; and tell them, that though my Lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful than the queen's palace. God make

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her a joyful mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother.—Written in post-haste because of strait keeping.

"This day I looked to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them, I thank God I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, Amen.  
JOHN PHILPOT."

*Here followeth another letter of Master Philpot to the Lady Vane: which because, for the length, I could not wholly insert, I have excerpted certain specialties thereout as followeth.*

"The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart, worshipful and dear sister in the Lord, may attain and taste, with all the saints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweet cross of Christ, Amen.

"O happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious stone which is hidden in the gospel; for the which we ought to sell all other things, and to purchase the same. O happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy); by this shall ye see whatever your heart can desire; by this ye shall have a full sight of all the beautiful heavenly powers, and of all the celestial paradise; by this shall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end!

"Ah! I lament the infidelity of England, that, after so great light, is stepped into so huge darkness again. The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Ah! great be the plagues that hang over England, yea, though the gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah! the great perjury which men have run into so wilfully against God, by receiving antichrist again and his wicked laws, which do threaten a great ruin unto England: Oh that the Lord would turn his just judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low, (as Nebuchadnezzar was,) that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wishing only. Ah, Lord! take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies (those hypocrites) as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

"Thus, dear heart, you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted brethren and sisters. I cannot but

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praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks' calamities to heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have so armed me to the Lord's battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to so good and gracious a General of the field, to so victorious a Captain, and to so favourable a Marshal, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no sparkle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your coat-armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The scarf I desire as an outward sign to show our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christ's cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the truth of his gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed, whatsoever torment we do suffer for his name's sake; and our weak brethren, seeing the same, might be more encouraged to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, Amen!

"The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme misery; but our God is omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me, dear sister, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you: for when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God; when they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ? which afflictions do work in us.

"God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy partakers of the same! Let us rejoice in nothing, with St. Paul, but in the cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The cross of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever! While I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate tediousness: but you must impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their bosoms. Therefore, though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that come of love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever: Farewell, O elect vessel of the Lord! to the comfort of his afflicted flock: farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the cross most joyfully; and, until we meet, always remember what Christ saith, Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c.

"God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ! until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect, in the everlasting Sion. I send to you the kiss of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of our merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort; hold out your buckler of faith—for by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory to the which Christ bring both us, Amen, Amen!—The tenth of December, 1555.

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"Death! why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

"Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the verity of the gospel for ever.

JOHN PHILPOT "

*Another letter written to the same lady, being a great supporter of him.*

"I cannot but most heartily give God thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding, that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the south shall rise with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon, then shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christ's people, (being a woman of right worshipful estate and wealthy condition,) condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world, (wherewithal you are sufficiently indued above a great many,) can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you: whereby it appeareth that the seed of God's word which was sown in you, fell neither in the highway, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, a hundred-fold, to the glory of God and the increase of his church. In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith, God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. I that am under the cross with you, (thanks be given to God therefore,) have felt in the same more true joy and consolation than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before: for the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, In me ye shall have joy, but in the world affliction. Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him! For this cause, in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the true church, which Christ in the twenty-first of Luke prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

"Oh that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do possess, nobody can take it away from us; to the which joy all other joys, being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetness sour, all beauty filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this than I. Ask yourself, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not persuaded yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have

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overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed, in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil.

"God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and are entered into light; God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation! Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the Amalekites shall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop Leviathan's mouth, that he swallow not up God's silly people, according to his expectation!

"Praise the Lord for the faithful testimony and sacrifice which two of our brethren of late have, through fire, rendered to the truth of the gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. Thpray.—The hand, therefore watch and pray.—The last of May, 1555. Captive in the King's Bench.

"Yours, with heart in Christ,  
JOHN PHILPOT "

*Another letter to the godly Lady Vane.*

"God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, increase in your godly heart the faith of the gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your spirit with all spiritual consolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

"I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly, my dear and faithful lady, for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his kingdom: for it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plenteously in well doing; albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star! I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Jesus, and do rejoice of the verity of his word, for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer; and indeed who that giveth a draught of water in the name of a disciple, as Christ promised, shall lose his reward? Therefore what your gentleness doth in the name of him, the Lord recompense unto you in all his blessings which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfeignedly.

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"Good lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the world shall lament their infidelity without end.

"I would I were able to do any thing that might show condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God, which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you, and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for commissioners to sit on me and my fellow prisoners in prison, lest the spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not so good as John the Baptist, which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire, for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the cross of Christ; and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with St. Paul, I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes, nor powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature, is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This faith God plant both in you and in me unmovably. In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

"All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them that here do with patience abide the cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength of him that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity, of our faint gospellers. Christ, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching ourselves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready a way to go unto God, and so good occasion to show our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed: if we lose all that we have, we are blessed a hundred-fold; if we die, we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore, O elect lady, of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in body and soul; and my prayer shall follow you wheresoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to Oxford: I could not before have a convenient messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The twentieth day of August.

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"By yours, with all his power in the Lord,  
JOHN PHILPOT."

*Another letter full of spiritual consolation to the said lady.*

"The mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost, through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the gospel, Amen!

"As your good Ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so I am desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the King's Bench into the bishop of London's coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison as any is about London, (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness,) where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my Master, was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocese to London, I trust, to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master! I have been already this seven-night in his coal-house, and have of late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment awhile, in the which God's will be done.

Pray, dear lady, that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful companions; who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy; for you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wish your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not, dear heart, my strait imprisonment any thing molest you; for it hath added, and daily doth, unto my joy: but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

"Ah, my dear sister! I thank you again for the last letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross be acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. Oh how do I rejoice, your Ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Methinketh I see you to mourn,

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and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitacle of this body. Oh how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lord's tabernacle! Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us: let us haste and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord! be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now, dear mother, you need not to burden so much yourself, (as my last letters did signify,) for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me: wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. God's peace be with you for ever.

"Out of my Lord of London's coal-house, the last of October.

Your own,

JOHN PHILPOT."

*Another letter to the said lady, wherein partly lie complaineth of the dissimulation and perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the pope, and partly he expresseth his joy in his afflictions.*

"I cannot but joy with you, my heartily beloved in Christ, of the fall of Sennacherib: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked. God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning myself, I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still live. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation, (and that of such as do know the truth,) do threaten to come.

"The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here, or else in another world, he will punish this gross infidelity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. We have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest penny of that eternal kingdom, which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him: if we die with him, we shall live with him.

"Wherefore, mine own dear bowels! praise God with me most entirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God! what am I, on whom he should show this great mercy? To Him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory there-for, Amen.

"This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. Oh how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness, and unworthiness of so great glory. The swords which pierced Mary's heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and

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to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they shall eternally be comforted! God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, most wretched sinner, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament; but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised there-for for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness! Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation. And it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God; it is mere foolishness and abomination to them.

"Be thankful unto God, mine own dear helper, for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel; and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray, for our weak brethren and sisters' sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But, touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift, to suffer for his gospel's sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God! I trust my marriage garment is ready. I will send you my examinations, as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

"God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come.

"Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

"Your own lover, JOHN PHILPOT. "

*A letter to a friend of his, prisoner the same time in Newgate; wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of infants to be baptized.*

"The God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

"I received yesternight from you, dear brother saint, and fellow prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel, a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants; what is the effect thereof. And before I do show you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church, touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night, while musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelations to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

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"Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful city, all of the colour of azure, and white, four square, in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof, yea, the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others, (I cannot tell whom,) and while they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

"This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven, and that, according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth; for as the prophet David saith, The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God. And, the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world, as the prophet affirmeth, saying, God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house. And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church; for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms: As of joyful persons, is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe it by the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you, with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and stablishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments, and having, with a greater fulness than we have now, the first-fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

"And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves: for there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

"Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers; for we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow; and they shall teach thee, saith the Lord, and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of

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our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her; for as St. Paul writeth, If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom.

"Hitherto I have showed you, good brother S., my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and specially answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Arians' sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and some others that were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the devil to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith: for we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him., but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: I will set my covenant between thee and me, (saith the Lord,) and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee. To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws: for Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants, (that is, of such as yet believe not,) Let thy little ones come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Again, It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones do perish. Also, He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face. And what may be said more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish: whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto this grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise,

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which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

"Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations: therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, 'all nations.' Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, That thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean. But God doth repute children among the faithful: ergo, they be faithful—except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he. And without all doubt the apostles baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

"The gospel is more than baptism, for Paul said, The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize: not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the apostles. But children be received by the doctrine of the gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded. Who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water? St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, May any body forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants, for he knew certainly, both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

"None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with his Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

"The apostles in times past, being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, Let the babes come unto me. Why then do not these rebellious Anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days else, that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in times past, which brought their children to the Lord; and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and, both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, 'Why then did not Christ baptize them?' Because it is written, Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

"Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants: therefore baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism oft is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; being buried together with him through baptism. Behold, Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a Christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministered without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised; albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people. To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise; but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision? Item, the apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children; because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the women, in the Holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same. Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof: therefore we may conclude, that the apostles did baptize infants or children; and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the seventeenth of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

"Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the Scripture by the declarers themselves. Origen, upon the declaration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter saith, that the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles. St. Jerome maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his Epistle to Leta. St. Augustine reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople, in his first book against Julian, chap. ii., and he again, writing to St. Jerome, saith, that St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized. The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his Epistle to Fidus. Also St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatists, saith, that the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles.

"Cyril, upon Leviticus, approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to show how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment.

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"After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned, &c.

"To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by the baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require; for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers, because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

"And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in 1 Cor. vii. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts proving that such as confessed their faith first were baptized after: I answer, that if the order of the words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us; for in St. Mark we read, that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after. And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise: All power is given me, saith the Lord, in heaven and in earth, therefore, going forth, μαθητεσατε [Greek: matheteusate], that is, disciple ye, (as I may express the signification of the word,) that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, baptizing them and teaching: by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Now then baptism goeth before doctrine.

"But hereby I do not gather that the Gentiles, which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end; but this I have declared to show you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught; neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized: but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion. Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess, that which is preached and taught, but so cannot infants: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism. It is a general rule, He that doth not labour must not eat; but who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that children should be famished?

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"The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up of his true religion, unto all nations unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God: and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks, to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

"Even so faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized: when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house; semblably we read in the acts and writings of the apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called *catechumeni*, they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles into the church, whom being yet rude of faith they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them: but the same ancient fathers, notwithstanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

"And because you do require a hasty answer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's true primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me, (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called,) to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days might take an ensample by you to dissent from Christ's true church. I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same: decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so, with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace. To the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory! Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your

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sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.

"Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith,

JOHN PHILPOT

Divers other letters were written by Master Philpot to divers, but these as most principal I have excerpted and inserted: amongst which I thought here, not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous gospeller, (whose name in her writing doth not appear,) who, in defending and commending the quarrel of this Master John Philpot, Christ's most famous and worthy martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before Bishop Bonner; and therefore being appointed by the said bishop to appear upon a certain day to answer for herself, indeed kept not her day with the bishop, but instead of her appearance sent him this letter here following.

*A godly letter addressed to Bishop Bonner, reproving his cruelty.*

"Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds of England, that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flock? But ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wool. The best fed have ye slain, but the flock have ye not nourished; the weak have ye not holden up, the sick have you not healed, the broken have you not bound together, the out-casts have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly have ye ruled them, Ezek. xxxiv.

"Forasmuch, my Lord, as my business is such that I cannot come to your Lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your Lordship's demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promise with you, in not coming again at the hour appointed, your Lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the angel, which warned the wise men not to come again to Herod, according to their promise, but to turn home again another way. Now, my Lord, I perceiving your Lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor members than ever he was, who, to destroy Christ, killed his own son, I thought good to take the angel's counsel, and to come no more at you: for I see that you are set all in a rage, like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cutthroat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's stall as long as we can; especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, lest you should break your belly: and therefore let them lie still, and die for hunger. Therefore, my Lord, I thought it good to tarry a time until your Lordship's stomach were come to you a little better: for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's flesh yet, and belike you are almost glutted with supping so much blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest die in prison, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows. But yet, my Lord, it were a great deal more for your Lordship's honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roasted in Smithfield at the fire of the stake, yea,

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and when it is something fat and fair-liking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the dogs come hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choked; and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my Lord, that some of the butcherly cure came of late to my house to seek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David saith) grinning, and grudging that they have not meat enough: therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and sisters that have lain so long upon the butcherly stall, and eaten them up: for I hear say their friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more.

Therefore I perceive now, that if I had come again according to my promise, your Lordship, like a ravening wolf, or else some of your hellhounds, would quickly have worried me: but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank Him for my deliverance, with continual songs of laud and praise. Thus have I been bold to trouble your Lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again according to my unpurposed promise. I trust your Lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuse; and not doubting but your Lordship would have done the like, if you had been in my case.

"Now as concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your Lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle, or rather cruel, demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, good Master John Philpot, I will answer your Lordship simply and plainly, what peril soever shall come thereof. Truly, my Lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he, as a very man of God, died a true martyr and constant confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his sweet soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Also, my Lord, I do verily believe and know that your Lordship hath committed a horrible and most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him; and that you shall make as heavy an account for his blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather cruel Cain did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am credibly informed that your Lordship doth believe, and have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your Lordship did never any thing in all your life that so much did redound to your Lordship's dishonour and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the body of this blessed prophet doth; especially seeing that he was none of your diocese, nor had offended any of your Lordship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every body say in all places where I come, that your Lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellows—bite-sheep bishops, I would say; yea, the very papists themselves begin now to abhor your blood-thirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me, my Lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call you by your name and say, 'Bloody Bonner is bishop of London;' and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers' ends, as his Pater-noster, how many you, for your part, have burned with fire, and famished in prison: they say, the whole sum surmounteth to forty persons within this three quarters of this year. Therefore, my Lord, though your Lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your Lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long ago, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true Christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most; yea, even your old friends, the rankest papists that be. For, say they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame and sin, to see a bishop that beareth the name of a Christian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than a heathen, Turk, or infidel. This is men's sayings in every place, not only of this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and the common talk they have of your

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Lordship; therefore I thought to be bold so with your Lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your Lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for.

"Finally, my Lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant martyr and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom, than you shall ever be able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and set as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pendleton, that wicked apostate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my Lord, by all men's reports, his blessed life could never have done the like sorrow to Satan's synagogue, whereof some say your Lordship is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious nard contained therein is so notably therewithal shed abroad, that the sweet savour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking savour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your Lordship's Judases do set them to sale every where to fill your bags. I put your Lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loathe your popish pedlary wares.

"Thus have I (according to your Lordship's commandments) showed you simply what I think of that good man's death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your Lordship's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of hosts, who will shortly avenge the same upon your pilled pate, and upon the rest of all your poll-shorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great antichrist of Rome. The measure of your iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then I, when your new-made proselytes will be glad to cover their crowns with cow-dung (saving your Lordship's reverence, I should have said first)—Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion; the Lord send the one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory. Amen.

"I signify also unto your Lordship, that the railing words which your lying preacher showed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday against the dear servant of God, good Master Philpot, do greatly redound to your Lordship's dishonesty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Verily I see that the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea, contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belie him now he is dead? O viperous generation, seed of the serpent, and right children of the devil! Full well do you counterfeit your father's steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, lying and murder. For those whom ye cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof; yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very disciples of Christ, for he hath said, Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my name's sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in

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heaven. And doubtless great is that good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your Lordship's damnation shall be great in hell, except you repent and surcease from shedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh's was, seeing that with Judas ye have sold and betrayed your Master. Take heed, my Lord, lest you come to the same end, or a worse than he did; for verily I cannot perceive how you should escape it long. Therefore say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do: for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months.

"It is found very true that one holy doctor saith, 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel; when one is put to death, a thousand do rise for him.' And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people showed unto good Master Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adder's brood would bear men in hand: but they worshipped God, which gave such strength to his dear child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, unto the utter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your Lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famish men in prison again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own tormentors, that the six prisoners that you have in your prison, be put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the stocks. Forsooth, my Lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the country, and yet all will not help your Lordship's pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same; for Zerubbabel will be found no liar, which said, The truth shall have victory. You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the prick. The Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought, (as knoweth the Lord God,) who of his great mercy shortly convert your Lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you. Amen!

"Your Lordship's orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds. Anno 1556."

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