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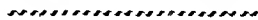
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**ACTS**  
**AND**  
**MONUMENTS**  
**OF THE**  
**CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.**

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**EXTRACTED FROM**  
**MR. JOHN FOX.**

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**To which is prefixed,**  
**SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE.**

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TO

# THE READER.

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AFTER the venerable remains of Ignatius and Polycarp, closed with the artless, yet lively discourses of Macarius, and John Arndt's nervous account of *True Christianity*, worthy of the earliest ages; I believed nothing could be more acceptable to the serious reader, than to see this Christianity reduced to *practice*. I was, therefore, easily determined to subjoin to these, *The Acts and Monuments of the Christian Martyrs*. Here we see that pure and amiable religion, *evidently set forth before our eyes*: assaulted indeed by all the powers of earth and hell, but more than conqueror over all.

2. In abridging this vast work, I have purposely omitted not only all the secular history; but likewise those accounts, writings, and examinations of the Martyrs, which contained nothing particularly affecting or instructive.

3. Whoever attends to the power of God, which was so eminently shewn both in the lives and deaths of these his saints, will easily excuse that manner of expression, which might give disgust to a curious reader. Near two hundred years cannot but make a very considerable

change in a living language : so that many phrases which were then both clear and beautiful, have now lost both their elegance and perspicuity. I had not leisure to alter the language much : only, to change some obsolete expressions, for such as are now in common use ; and, therefore, more intelligible to ordinary readers.

4. May we all learn from these worthies, to be not almost only, but altogether Christians ! To reckon all things but dung and dross for the excellency of the *experimental* knowledge of Jesus Christ ! And not to count our lives dear unto ourselves, so we may finish our course with joy !

THE  
**LIFE OF MR. JOHN FOX.**

WRITTEN BY HIS SON.

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**JOHN FOX** was born at Boston, an ancient town in the county of Lincoln, in the year 1517; his father and mother being of that town, well reputed of, and of good estate. While he was very young, his father dying, and his mother being married again, he came into the tutelage of his father-in-law, with whom he dwelt during his childhood; which he had scarce passed over, when his friends sent him to study at Oxford. He was first of Brazen-Nose College, where he was chamber-fellow with Dr. Nowell, so famous a man in this city afterwards; and it was no great marvel if their manners were so alike in the course of their lives, whose education was the same. The native excellence and sharpness of his wit, were well seconded by the fitness of the place; where each student's proficiency was narrowly sought into. Neither was industry wanting, which as it seldom accompanieth the greatest wits, so where it is conjoined, is most available. He was afterwards chosen fellow of Magdalen College. Here he wrote divers Latin comedies, in a copious, graceful style. But even then he began to give earnest of what he afterwards proved. For neither those first flourishes of his youth were spent, but in histories of the Bible; nor followed he that vein

long. He betook himself to the study of divinity, with more fervency than circumspection, and discovered himself in favour of the reformation then in hand, before he was known to them that maintained the cause, or were of ability to protect the maintainers of it; whence grew his first troubles. This was the time when King Henry the Eighth was uncertain what course to take, thinking the affairs of the church, neither in all respects tolerable, nor that it was necessary wholly to alter them. Never were the people in more distraction, or less security of their lives and estates; there being in the laws such contrarieties, as no man could tell what to take to with safety. For although the pope's supremacy had been renounced, yet was his doctrine still retained. The first news of abolishing the pope's supremacy, was as prosperous as welcome to the reformers: and divers joined themselves to them out of love to the truth; being further assured of the king's intentions, by the punishment taken by some of the contrary part; and especially when the abbeys were dissolved. Nor was their hope a little increased, when they perceived the noblemen to rise in the favour of the king, as any of them most opposed the pope's dominion. In the mean while the act of the six articles was still in force; and if any were found guilty of the breach thereof, they were sure of punishment. So that as long as the king held the middle way between his own genius, and the advice of his counsellors, feeding them with favours, upon which they could build no assurance, and pleasing himself in his own severity, fear and hope equally prevailed.

But when the pillars of the reformed religion were taken away; the Duke of Suffolk by untimely death; the Lord Cromwell, by the sword; the Archbishop Cranmer, and his friends, borne down by those of the contrary side; and when neither in the laws, nor the protection of the peers, there was the least help remaining; then began all things to hasten back again headlong to their former abuses.

In the universities and schools there was yet no open change: I know not whether through fear, or that they would not be followers.

This was the estate of the church-affairs, when Mr. Fox began attentively to seek into the substance of the controversy then in agitation.

He found the contention to have been of great antiquity, and no age to have been free from some debate in the church. But those first quarrels were rather for dominion. The Romans endeavouring, by pretext of religion, to retain the ancient honour of their city, which by open force they could not defend.

Then no sooner could any shew himself to differ from them in point of faith, but his punishment prevented any infection that might spread among others.

Thus, by their cruelty, and the patience of princes, who suffered it, the greatest part of these dissensions were appeased. Neither hitherto were all tracts of the old Roman virtue worn out; at least, some resemblances of virtue remained among many things, however perverted.

Afterward the pope, grown bolder by good success, began to draw to himself all power and authority; and not contented to have weakened the estate of the Roman empire, now longed to be fingering the sceptres of other princes; and to compass his design, spared not to violate any human or Divine right. Meanwhile the clergy little weighed with how great damage to religion, men of spotted life and conversation were sometimes chosen to the papacy; by whose example the strictness of life, used by their forefathers, was drawn into scorn, and their poverty into reproach, the industry of the priesthood languished; and, on the contrary, ambition, riot, and avarice began to reign among them. Then at length were the practices of the churchmen brought to light, and their delusions laid open. It was then known why the ceremonies and rites in the church, had been brought to that excessive multitude, to wit, that the number of the clergy might be increased to perform them. These of ne-

cessity were to be maintained ; and to that end were such opinions broached, as seemed most likely to draw money from all places : of the merit of works ; of purgatory ; of the power of absolution, and the pope's indulgencies : all which being in themselves false, and soon subject to decay, were cemented together with that new and subtle invention of the pope's infallibility.

By this handsome linking one opinion to another, the credulity of the people was easily ensnared. All this while the new opinions yielding a plentiful increase, great sums of money came daily to the court of Rome.

I have often heard Mr. Fox affirm, that the first matter which occasioned his search into the Popish doctrine was, that he saw divers things repugnant to one another, thrust upon men, to be both believed : as, that the same man might, in matters of faith, be superior, and yet, in his life and manners, inferior to all the world besides. Upon this beginning, his obedience to that church was somewhat shaken, and by little and little followed dislike to the rest. His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern history of the church, to learn what beginning it had ; what growth and increase ; by what arts it flourished, and by what errors it began to decline ; to consider the causes of all those controversies which had sprung up, and to weigh diligently what on either side was produced. This he performed with such heat of study, and in so short a time, that before the 30th year of his age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin fathers had left in their writings ; the schoolmen, in their disputations ; the councils, in their acts ; or the consistory, in their decrees ; and had acquired no mean skill in the Hebrew language.

By report of some, who were fellow-students with him, he used, over and above his day's exercise, to bestow whole nights at his study ; or not till it were very late to betake himself to rest. Near the college was a grove, wherein the students took delight to walk, and spend some idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the

dead time of the night, Mr. Fox chose, with solitude and darkness, to confirm his mind.

Many nights he watched in these solitary walks ; many combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself ; many heavy sighs and tears he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God. But no sooner was the fame spread of his nightly retirements, than the more understanding sort interpreted all in the worst sense. At length those with whom he was intimate, being drawn into suspicion of him, there were some employed, who might observe his walks, and pry with more curiosity into his words and actions. And there wanted not others, who, comparing his customs formerly used, with the course he now took, did with more bitterness aggravate the fact. Why should he not come to church, as often as in former times ? Why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself after his wonted manner, unless he had felt in his mind some sudden alteration ? And if that alteration were for the better, he would not conceal it.

Being thus reported of, when he could neither hide his resolution longer, nor, being a man of plain dealing, excuse himself by forging a lie ; by the judgment of the college he was convicted, condemned as an heretic, and removed from the house. Nevertheless his adversaries affirmed, he was favourably dealt with by that sentence, and might have been questioned for his life, if they had not rather used elemency towards him than extremity. But this wound raged worse than was thought it would. His friends, upon the report of this accident, being sorely displeased, and especially his father-in-law, who was now grown implacable, and determined to withhold from him his own father's estate. He knew it could not be safe for one in danger of the law to seek remedy by it ; and also that Mr. Fox was so ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times with much ado confess himself wronged, even when he had ability of revenge in his hands.

When he was thus forsaken by his friends, and left naked of all human assistance, God's Providence began to shew itself, procuring him a safe refuge in the house of a gentleman of Warwickshire, Sir Thomas Lucy, by whom he was sent for, to instruct his children : in which house he afterwards married a wife, and there continued till the children, coming to riper years, had no longer need of a tutor. But the fear of the popish inquisitions hastened his departure thence ; which now, relying on the favour of the laws, were not contented to pursue publick offences, but began also to break into the secrets of private families.

He now consulted with himself what was best to be done, and of two ways only left, whereby he might free himself from farther inconvenience, long debated whether to go to his wife's father, or his father-in-law by marriage of his mother.

His wife's father dwelt nearest, being a citizen of Coventry, not yet bearing any hatred towards him. His father-in-law was better known to him, but more suspected. At last he resolved to go first to his wife's father, and in the mean while by letters to try, whether his father-in-law would receive him or not. His father-in-law's answer was, that it seemed to him a hard condition to take one into his house whom he knew to be condemned for a capital offence ; neither was he ignorant what hazard he should undergo in so doing : nevertheless he would shew himself a kinsman, and for that cause neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come and stay as long as himself desired : but if he could not be persuaded to that, he should content himself with a shorter tarriance, and not bring him and his mother into hazard of their fortunes.

Mr. Fox thought no condition to be refused : besides he was advised by his mother to come, and not to fear his father-in-law's severity ; for that it was needful to write as he did, but when occasion should be offered, he would make recompence for his words with his actions.

The truth is, he had better entertainment with both of them, than he any way hoped for : and by often going to and fro, from the one to the other, (which carried with it some show of business,) he both deceived their diligence who inquired after him, and effected that neither grew weary of his company.

Afterward he took his journey towards London ; but upon what motives is uncertain ; unless we may imagine the convenience of the place enticed him thither ; which being full of all sorts of company, might give him occasions, whether he should choose to conceal himself, or make known his abilities, and get acquaintance with those of like inclination.

I think the chief cause of his going thither was, that religion began a little to recover itself, especially about the city. For he came not to town till within a few years before King Henry departed this life. Who, when he grew into years, perceiving his health every day impaired, and that his death could not be far off ; then began to consider which side was most trusty, and at what age he should expose his son, to the raging hatred of the papists, who was yet, by reason of his youth, unfit to govern, and brought up in a religion which they opposed.

He, therefore, at last resolved upon that, which in reason seemed most wholesome, and in the end proved most fortunate ; and having put the papist officers from their authority, by his will he appointed his son such tutors, whose love to himself he always found readiest, and by long trial of their fidelity, thought likely to continue the same to his successor. This set religion again in safety : but howsoever the professors thereof were secured for their lives ; yet hence no publick benefit was afforded them : so that Mr. Fox was still in as much want as before, having already spent what either his friends had bestowed on him, or his own daily industry had acquired.

I should forbear to speak of a great example of God's mercy, were not the matter so well known abroad. As

Mr. Fox one day sat in Paul's church, spent with long fasting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before, who sitting by him, and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust a sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer; adding withal, that he should accept in good part that small gift from his countryman, which common courtesy had enforced him to offer; that he should go and make much of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; for within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain livelihood. Never could Mr. Fox learn who that man should be, by whose seasonable bounty he had been relieved; though he earnestly endeavoured to find him out. Some who looked further into the event, believed that this man came not of his own accord, but was sent by some others, who desired Mr. Fox's safety; and that it might be through the servant's negligence that he suffered extreme miseries, before any relief came. Certain it is, that within three days' space the issue seemed to make good the presage, there being some sent from the Duchess of Richmond, who invited him into her service. Not long before, the Duke of Norfolk, the most renowned general of the time, together with his son, the Earl of Surrey, a man of sharp understanding, was committed to custody in the tower of London; for what crimes is uncertain. While they were in prison, the earl's children were sent to the aforesaid duchess, their aunt, to be brought up and educated: Thomas, who succeeded in the dukedom; Henry, who was afterwards Earl of Northampton; and Jane, afterwards Countess of Westmorland.

To these young lords Mr. Fox was appointed tutor, to instruct them both in manners and learning: in which charge he deceived not the expectation which the duchess, a woman of great wisdom, had of him. For the two sons grew to that proficiency in their behaviour and scholarship, that, building in their riper years upon this

foundation, the elder, Thomas, seemed to deserve more than the kingdom could bestow upon him ; the younger, Henry, came to be eminent in all virtues ; and the young Lady Jane, profited so wondrously in the Greek and Latin tongues, that she might well stand in competition with the most learned men of that time.

There he dwelt during the last years of King Henry's reign, and through the reign of King Edward the Sixth, till the beginning of Queen Mary's sovereignty ; who coming to the crown, and turning the stream of religion, all things again yielded to the papists' authority.

Mr. Fox was at that time sheltered by the duke, his scholar ; though he was secretly laid wait for by Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who both saw something in him which he greatly feared ; and also disdained much, that the heir of one of the greatest families in the kingdom, and nearest joined to himself in friendship, should by his company be depraved.

Mr. Fox, although he was cherished in the bosom of the duke ; yet after he saw all sorts of men troubled for their religion, some imprisoned, and others burnt ; in brief, nothing on all sides, but flight, slaughter, and gibbets ; and that the bishop of Winchester was the principal incendiary, who, for private respects was already his enemy, began to fear what might become of him, and to think of some speedy way for his departure hence. As soon as the duke knew his intent, gently chiding his fearfulness, he used many words to persuade him to leave all thought of going away ; affirming it neither agreeable to honour or modesty, for him to suffer his tutor, so well deserving at his hands, to be taken from him : that he remembered with what precepts he had fortified his younger years ; neither had he with more attention hearkened to his instructions, than he would with constancy put them in practice ; only let him be of good courage, and so avoid the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his friend's company : that this

he spake, as hoping by his authority to prevail with him ; but if that might not be obtained, he would further him in the course he intended.

There was in the duke's speech the more credit, because it was known to proceed from the sincerity of his heart. His answer was, that it was indeed for the duke's honour to defend his tutor from any injury ; but it was his own part to have a care, lest for his safety the duke might incur apparent danger. Neither did his fear want excuse. For, though he well knew the duke could not be drawn from his good intentions towards him ; yet he was not ignorant that, by some wile or other, he might be circumvented and deceived.

For even at that time was the bishop of Winchester very intimate with the duke. Thither he often resorted, and at several times desired of him that he might see his old tutor. At first he denied his request, faining several delays to put him off. At length it chanced, that Mr. Fox (not knowing the bishop was in the house,) entered the room where the duke and he were in discourse ; and seeing the bishop, withdrew himself. The bishop asking who that was ? The duke answered, " My physician." " I like his looks well," says the bishop, " and upon occasion will use him." The duke understood that speech as the messenger of some approaching danger ; and now he himself thought it high time for Mr. Fox to remain no longer in the city. From that time he caused all things necessary to be provided ; sending one of his servants before to Ipswich to hire a bark, and make ready all things for the voyage. And, because it seemed scarce safe for Mr. Fox to stay in any city, he chose out the house of one of his servants, a farmer, where he might with convenience expect a fair wind. Thither Mr. Fox went as secret as he could, taking his wife as a companion in his travels, then great with child, but resolved to go with him, nor yielding to the intreaty of those who persuaded her to the contrary ; and as soon as

it was told him, his company expected him, he made haste to the port, and went aboard.

Scarce had they weighed anchor, when suddenly a rough wind rising from the contrary shore, troubled the sea, that the stoutest mariner began to tremble. Then followed a dark night, with continual showers, and a thick storm of rain and hail. That night, with much ado, they lay at anchor, and as soon as the day appeared, when the tempest seemed not like to cease, they began to make back again to the shore. The tide a little favouring them, with much difficulty they arrived in the evening at the same haven again. While Mr. Fox had been at sea, a pursuivant from the bishop of Winchester had broke open the farmer's house with a warrant to apprehend him, and bring him back prisoner to the city; but understanding he was gone already, after he had pursued him to the port, and found that the ship he was embarked in, was sailed, he returned without his errand. Mr. Fox, as soon as he came to shore, hearing what had passed, presently took horse, and left the town; but the same night returning, he bargained with the master of the ship to set sail again, telling him that so his business required, nor did he much care what shore he landed at. The pilot took upon him this venturous task, and performed it accordingly. For loosing thence in the night, as soon as the tide turned, though the sea were rough, and the weather blustering, within two days space he landed his company in safety at Newport haven.

Mr. Fox, when he had spent a few days at Newport, went to Antwerp, and thence by small journies to Basil.

This city was at that time much spoken of, for the great friendship shewed to those of the English nation: for which cause many famous men, withdrawing from the cruelty of the times, had escaped out of England thither. Of these were many but of slender estate, who, some one way, and some another, but the most part of them, maintained themselves by reviewing and correcting the press; this place, for careful printing, and plenty of

diligent and wealthy men of that profession, then surpassing all the cities of Germany; and preferring the industry of our men, in that employment, before any of their own countrymen.

To these Mr. Fox joined himself, so much the better liked of, because, having been always inured to hardiness, he had learned how to endure labour; and that which seemed the greatest misery to others, to sit up late, and keep hard diet, was easy to him.

His industry may be from hence testified, that being so full of employment at Basil, there, nevertheless, he began to write his history of the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*. At first it sufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the first lines or rudiments: The whole body of the history he added, after he returned into his own country. First he wrote it in Latin, and sent the copy to Basil to be printed; where the work is still in great estimation. Shortly after, to gratify the unlearned, he wrote it in his mother-tongue.

In the mean while, the reformed religion began again to flourish in England, and the Papists to decline, by the death of Queen Mary; a woman, while she followed her own inclination, every way excellent; but while she denied not any thing to some wicked counsellors, losing that praise she had otherwise deserved.

Dr. Elmare, sometime bishop of London in presence of many yet living, was wont to say, that he was himself at a sermon, wherein Mr. Fox, to comfort the banished English, did with confidence tell them, "That now was the time come for their return into England; and that he brought them that news by commandment of God." For which words he was then sharply reprov'd, but excused afterwards by the event; when, by comparing of times, it was found, that Queen Mary died but the day before Mr. Fox had thus presaged.

They who had forsaken their houses, were now called home: they who had suffered imprisonment, were released: they who by loss of goods were decayed, were by

gifts repaired : they who had been thrust from places of honour, were restored : the unjust laws were in the mean while abrogated, and wholesome laws established in their place. In such sort did Queen Elizabeth, even in the infancy of her reign, dispose the affairs of the commonwealth.

I shewed before, that Mr. Fox first applied himself to write the history of the church, whilst he was at Basil ; the cause he did not finish it there was, that he might use the testimony of more witnesses. This work, not a little, vexed the papists. For well they saw, that in vain they had spilt so much blood, if an account of these proceedings must be rendered to succeeding ages. There was no hope left, but by charging the author with falsehood, to lessen his credit and authority ; which whilst Mr. Fox endeavoured to remove, he could not avoid, but by adding a new heap of matters and testimonies. And let us by this judge of his industry, that he not only gathered together so many several things, as the materials of his work, from all distances of times or places, and through all shires of the kingdom, collected the acts of both courts ; but also searched out, examined, and reduced into order those things themselves, being partly eaten out by antiquity, partly by hatred, or flattery of authors corrupted, and partly hid in the rugged and short form of old writing. I find, by the author's own notes, that in the eleventh year after he began to write it, the work was finished. Neither in all that time used he the help of any servant in writing, or other business. So much doth industry, employed to one purpose, afford more useful assistance, than a mind divided into many cares at once, though it hath ever so many helping hands.

When he had, for many years, left no time free from study, not affording himself what nature required, he was at length brought to that pass, that his natural liveliness and vigour being spent, neither his friends nor kindred could by sight remember him. By this means he first fell into that withered leanness of body, in which

many afterward saw him, never again returning to that pleasing and cheerful countenance which he had before ; but even then he would by no means be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours, or lay aside his study.

From this time Mr. Fox began to be much spoken of, for a good historian. The other virtues of his mind, as they were less known abroad, so they were overshadowed by that which was known. Shortly after, he began to wax famous, not only as a man learned, but as one for his friendliness, useful, and no less by art than natural inclination, helpful to others. Either by good advice, comfortable persuasions, or a charitable hand, he relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires of innumerable persons ; whereupon no man's house was, in those times, more thronged with clients than his. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common people of all degrees ; and almost all for the same cause, to seek some salve for a wounded conscience.

Thus spending the day at home in such like duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those, who were not able to come to him ; he both fulfilled that, which by the courtesy of his own disposition was enjoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty, which the office of his ministry had imposed upon him. That little time which his friends, either called away by other occasions, or ashamed of being too tedious, had left free to his own disposal, he bestowed not in sleeping, or taking his pleasure, but in prayer and studying ; in both which, he always retired into some private place, or made use of the night's silence for seerisy ; unless by chance, sometimes the vehement groans he mingled with his prayers, being heard by some that were near, gave notice how earnest he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his labours ended ; but they often lasted until morning light.

The titles of those books he wrote, are these ; *Comædiarum libri 2. Syllogisticon. Admonitio ad Parliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis.*

*Oliva Evangelica. De Christo gratis justificante. De Christo Crucifixo. Papa confutatus. Contra Osorium de Justitia. Meditationes supra Apocalypsin Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii. The Acts and Monuments of the Church.*

We may now give the readers a full sight at once, of the rest of Mr. Fox's life. We shall first observe, a deliberate and resolved contempt of all things, which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of pleasures ; which mind of his gave him great ability, to perform whatsoever he listed to take in hand ; there being nothing which can mislead the mind that would otherwise hold the right way ; but what proceedeth from some pleasure or other, lying in wait to entrap us in our journey.

He never declined the friendship of illustrious persons ; not to gain honour to himself, but that his commendation might be more effectual, when he should desire favour for others. The money, which sometimes rich men offered him, he accepted, returning it to the poor. He likewise frequented the tables of his friends, not for pleasure, (being of a spare diet) but in courtesy to keep them company, and to provoke them to love and to good works. He behaved so in those things, which are followed by delight, that none of those who were always in his company, can remember any speech or action of his, which might bewray the least desire to them. And so far was he from thirsting after honour, riches, applause, or any outward good, that he would not suffer even the care of his private estate to enter his mind ; much less would he take thought for to-morrow. The love of God, wherewith his mind was filled, left no room, nor any affection free for other pleasures. Like one who had found an invaluable treasure, he bent his mind upon this only ; neither hoping, nor expecting any thing besides ; but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires. Hence it fell out, that they who observed his mind so steadfastly fixed upon God, and that he both spoke and did many things,

beyond the opinion of an ordinary good man, believed that he could not be void of some uncommon inspiration. And now some began to honour him, not as a good man only, but as one more immediately sent from heaven.

I will neither deny the truth of any story, nor make any additions thereto. Many things did Mr. Fox foretell, to comfort the afflicted, or terrify those that were stubborn.

It hath been already related, with what constancy, whilst he remained at Basil among his banished countrymen, he signified the time of their return. It is likewise well known, what answer he gave concerning the Lady Ann Hennage, lying sick of a violent fever. When the disease had so far increased, that the physicians had pronounced it deadly, Mr. Fox was called to be present at her ending. After he had performed what he came for, in reading prayers and comforting the sick woman, "Well have you done," said he, "and according to your duty, to prepare yourself for all events; but know this from me, that of this sickness you shall not die." Among those who stood by was Sir Moyle Finch, the lady's son-in-law, who, either moved with so unusual a speech, or desirous to get somewhat more out of him, as soon as Mr. Fox was withdrawn, began to chide him; telling him, that he could not but marvel what his intent was, that, contrary to the opinion of the artists, he, being an unskilful man, should presume to determine the end of the disease. To this Mr. Fox, smiling, made answer, "That he hindered not any man to think of him as he pleased; but concerning the sick lady, it had so seemed good unto God, that she should recover of that disease; and that he had said no more than was commanded him." The lady recovered; nor can I tell an untruth in this, there being many yet living, who could reprove me.

Like to this was that story of Mrs. Honiwood, an honourable gentlewoman, who had almost twenty years lain sick of a consumption through melancholy, neither did any one seem to have advice or courage sufficient

against the force of so mischievous a disease ; though she had already consulted with the gravest divines, and the best physicians, and with all, who, either in the art of curing, or power of persuading, were accounted to excel. At length she sent for Mr. Fox. They who went with him related afterward, that they never had entered into a more heavy, or afflicted house. There sat by the sick woman her friends, kinsfolk, children, and servants ; some upon seats, and some on the chamber-floor, not weeping or sighing, as those commonly do that lament ; but having spent all their tears, resolutely silent, neither rising to those that came in, nor answering those who asked any question. The sick woman lay upon her bed, without any hope of life, with her frequent sighs, faintly breathing forth some few words, the effect of which was, that she desired to end her days. Mr. Fox, when he had so many patients under his hands at once, left all other means of consolation but prayer. At length he told her, " That she should not only grow well of that consumption, but also live to an exceeding great age." At which words the sick gentlewoman, a little moved, and earnestly beholding him : " As well might you have said," quoth she, " that if I should throw this glass against the wall, it would not break to pieces ;" and holding a glass in her hand, out of which she had newly drank, she threw it forth ; neither did the glass, first lighting on a chest, -standing by the bed-side, and afterward on the ground, either break or crack in any place. And the event fell out accordingly. For the gentlewoman, being then threescore years of age, lived afterward many years, and was able, before the 90th year of her age, (for she lived longer,) to reckon three hundred and threescore of her children's children and grandchildren. Among which, at this day, (to wit, in the year of our Lord 1641, in which this book is set forth,) there liveth Mrs. Grace Hennage, the daughter of the said Mrs. Honiwood, a gentlewoman of great worth, and the widow of an honourable gentle-

man, Mr. Michael Hennage ; who affirmeth, that she was present at the same time this was done.

I could here relate many stories of like nature ; but they, for the most part, are dead, who might justify the particulars. That which followeth is more commonly known, than that it should need to be confirmed by witnesses.

Mr. Fox went one day, as his custom was, to see the Earl of Arundel, son to the Duke of Norfolk. The Earl, when he was going away, brought him to the water-side, at the lower end of his garden ; but observing the river very rough, on the sudden rising of the wind, he counselled him not to trust himself upon the waters. But he continuing in his resolution of going : “ So, my Lord,” quoth he, “ let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth and sincerity delivered to you all that I have spoken.” And with that entering into the boat, before they put off from the bridge, the wind ceased, and the river ran with a smooth stream.

Being often asked by his friends, why he had no more regard to the straitness of his estate, it being the first precept of charity to begin at home, his answer was, “ That God, by his covenant, had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to bestow it ; and since He had never yet failed him, how could he doubt of him, without manifest ingratitude ? ”

There want not some, who accuse Mr. Fox of injustice ; which, because many are interested in it, I shall further inquire into.

In that part of his history, wherein he describes the troubles in the reign of Queen Mary, he hath by name mentioned, not only the authors of those executions, but also many assistants, among whom were some persons of great note. This, some of their posterity complain to have been done unjustly ; pleading, that the fatal necessity of those times ought not to be a scandal to them, or their posterity. I answer, the same excuse of necessity,

which they allege for their ancestors, ought to suffice on Mr. Fox's behalf; since he could no way leave the ministers nameless, but he should leave his adversaries occasion of cavilling.

I likewise think fit, that some answer should be made to the Papists, who affirm that he is a lying author. Is it then a lie, that Mr. Rogers, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Hooper, Bishop Ridley, Bishop Latimer, and many others, were burned for their religion? If this, even by their own confession, be true, what (I marvel) may those matters be, by whose falsehood the whole work hath incurred the infamous title of a lye, as they make their followers believe? At first they alleged mistakes in the names of such as suffered, or in the time of their suffering; but these were so well defended by the author, that, as long as he lived, no man exclaimed any more. But let us grant them somewhat. If I shall take quite out of the history all that they have said to be false, will they promise to suffer their followers to read the rest? They will no more yield to this condition, than they will be contented to be quiet. What shall a man do to such men as are never satisfied, whether you grant what they plead for, or deny it?

He always used among his friends a pleasant kind of familiarity, wherewith he seasoned the gravity and severity of his behaviour.

Being asked at a friend's table, what dish he desired to begin his meal with, he answered, *The last*. Which word was taken, as if he meant some choicer dish, such as are usually brought for the second course; whereas he only signified the desire he had to see dinner ended, that he might depart home.

Going abroad, he met a woman, who pulling a book from under her arm, and saying, "See you not that I am going to a sermon?" Mr. Fox replied, "Go home rather: for to-day you will do but little good at church." And when she asked, "At what time therefore he would

counsel her to go ?” “Then,” answered he, “when you tell no body before hand.”

It happened at his own table, that a gentleman there spake somewhat too freely against the Earl of Leicester. Which, when Mr. Fox heard, he commanded a bowl, filled with wine, to be brought him. Which being done : “This bowl,” quoth he, “was given me by the Earl of Leicester ;” so stopping the gentleman, without reprehending him.

When a young man, a little too forward, had, in the presence of many, said, “That he could conceive no reason, in the reading of the old authors, why men should so greatly admire them.” “No marvel, indeed,” quoth Mr. Fox, “for if you could conceive the reason, you would then admire them yourself.”

At length, being full of years, and stored with friends, ere he had quite passed through his scventieth year, he died ; not through any known disease, but through age. Yet did he foresec the time of his departure ; nor would suffer his sons, (whom notwithstanding he entirely loved,) to be present at his death ; but forbad the one to be sent for, and sent the other on a journey threc days before he died ; whether he thought them unable to bear so heavy a spectacle, or would not have his mind at that time troubled with any thing that might move him to desire life. This, to me and my brother, was the most grievous of all, that we could neither come to close his eyes, to receive his last blessing and exhortations, nor satisfy our minds with that last sight of him. Perchance we could with more patience have endured to see the approaches of his death, than to have lost in him so good an example how to die.

Upon the report of his death, the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral which was made for him, with the concourse of a great multitude of people ; as if, among so many, each man had buried his own father or his brother.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.

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IN the following book I commend two special points to the reader ; first, to observe the disposition and nature of this world ; secondly, the nature and condition of the kingdom of Christ ; the vanity of the one, and the establishment of the other ; the unquiet state of the one, ruled by man's violence and wisdom, and the happy success of the other, ever ruled by God's blessing and providence ; the wrath and revenging hand of God in the one, and his mercy upon the other. The world I call all such as are without or against Christ ; either by ignorance, not knowing him, or by a heathenish life, not following him, or by violence resisting him. On the other side, the kingdom of Christ in this world I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Christ ; the number of whom, although it be much smaller than the other, and always hated and molested of the world ; yet it is the number which the Lord doth peculiarly bless and prosper, and ever will. And this number of Christ's subjects is that which we call the visible church in earth.

In the reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus, the son of God, in the 34th year of his age, which was the seventeenth of this emperor, by the malice of the Jews suffered

his blessed passion for the conquering of sin, death, and satan, the prince of this world, and rose again the third day. After whose passion and resurrection, Tiberius lived six years ; during which time, no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the Christians, through the commandment of the emperor.

In the reign also of this emperor, and the year which was next after the passion of our Saviour, or somewhat more, St. Paul was converted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned twenty-three years, succeeded C. Cæsar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero. By Caligula, Herod, the murderer of St. John Baptist, and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetual banishment, where he died miserably. Caiaphas also, who wickedly sat upon Christ, was at the same time removed from the high-priesthood.

Domitius Nero, succeeding Claudius, reigned fourteen years with such fury and tyranny, that he slew most part of the senators, and destroyed the whole order of knight-hood in Rome. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother-in-law, his sister, his wife great with child, all his instructors, Seneca, and Lucan, with divers more of his own kindred. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, which continued six days and seven nights in burning. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Christians, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable emperor in his reign fourteen years ; until at last the senate proclaiming him a publick enemy unto mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the city, and to be whipped to death. For fear whereof, he, fleeing the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his servant's in the country, where he was forced to slay himself ; complaining that he had neither friend nor enemy left that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony and faith of Christ, Anno 69.

In the year 73, 40 years after the passion of Christ, and the third year after the suffering of St. Peter and Paul, were destroyed by Titus, and Vespasian, his father, (who succeeded after Nero in the empire,) 1,100,000 Jews; besides those which Vespasian slew in subduing the country of Galilee, and those also which were sold to vile slavery: 2,000 were brought with Titus in his triumph; of which, part he gave to be devoured by wild beasts, part were otherwise cruelly slain. By whose case all nations may take example, what it is to reject the visitation of God; and much more to persecute them which are sent of God for their salvation.

Now to return. I propose, first, to declare the persecutions raised up against the servants of Christ, within 300 years after Christ. Which persecutions are commonly called ten; besides those moved by the Jews in Jerusalem, and other places, against the apostles. In which, first, St. Stephen was put to death, and divers others were either slain or cast into prison.

After the martyrdom of St. Stephen, suffered next, James the apostle of Christ, and brother of John. Of the death of the other apostles, we know little of a certainty; the common accounts being mostly fabulous.

The first general persecution was stirred up by Nero, about the year of our Lord 67. The rage of which emperor was so fierce against the Christians, that a man might see cities lie full of men's bodies; the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked in the open streets; not only in Rome, but also through all the provinces, Nero thinking to abolish the name of Christians in all places.

In this persecution the apostle Peter was condemned to death. Touching the cause and manner of his death, the words of Jerome are these: "Simon Peter, of the province of Galilee, and of the town of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, after he had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispersion of them that

believed of the circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of Claudius the emperor, (which was about the year of our Lord 44,) came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus; and there abode until the last year of Nero, which was the 14th year of his reign, by whom he was crucified, his head being down, and his feet upward; himself so requiring, because he was (he said,) unworthy to be crucified after the same manner as the Lord was."

Eusebius affirmeth, that Peter, seeing his wife going to her martyrdom, (as he was yet hanging upon the cross,) was greatly glad, and cried unto her with a loud voice, "Woman, remember the Lord Jesus." Such was then the blessed bond of marriage among the saints of God.

Paul the apostle, after his great travail and unspeakable labours in promoting the gospel of Christ, suffered also in this first persecution, and was beheaded.

The persecution beginning under Nero, ceased under Vespasian, who gave some rest to the poor Christians. But not long after the second persecution began by the emperor Domitian, brother of Titus.

He put to death all the nephews of Jude, called the Lord's brother; and caused to be sought out, and to be slain, all that could be found of the stock of David, for fear lest He were yet to come of the house of David, which should enjoy the kingdom. In the time of this persecutor, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, after other torments, was crucified.

In this persecution, John the apostle and evangelist, was exiled by Domitian into Patmos. But Domitian being slain, and his acts repealed by the senate, John was released under Pertinax the emperor, and came to Ephesus in the year 100. Here he continued until the time of Trajan, and governed the churches in Asia, where also he wrote his gospel, and lived till the year after the passion of our Lord 68, which was the year of his age 120.

When St. John was returned to Ephesus, he was desired to resort to the places near unto him ; partly to regulate the matters of the church, partly to ordain such as the Holy Ghost should elect. When he was come to a certain city not far off, and had comforted the brethren, he looked earnestly upon him who was the chief bishop among them, and beholding a young man strong in body, of a beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind : “ I commend this man (saith he,) to thee with great diligence, Christ and the church being witnesses.”

Some time after St. John was sent for to those quarters again. The causes being decided, and his business ended, meeting with the bishop, he required of him the pledge which, before Christ and the congregation, he left in his hands. The bishop, something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant some money committed to his custody, could not tell what to answer. Then John, uttering his mind more plainly, said, “ The young man, the soul of our brother, committed to your custody, I require.” The bishop, with a loud voice, weeping, said, “ He is dead.” To whom John said, “ How, and by what death ?” The other said, “ He is dead to God : for he is become an evil man, and now he doth frequent this mountain, with a company of villains and thieves like himself.” The apostle rent his garments, and with a great lamentation said, “ I have left a good keeper of my brother’s soul : get me a horse, and let me have a guide.” This being done, he hasted as much as he could, and, coming to the same place, was taken of the robbers that watched. But he, neither fleeing nor refusing, said, “ I came for this cause ; lead me to your captain.” So he being brought, the captain all armed, fiercely began to look upon him ; and soon coming to the knowledge of him, was stricken with confusion and shame, and began to flee. The old man followed him, forgetting his age, and crying, “ My son, why dost thou flee from thy father ? an armed man from one naked ? a young man from an old man ? Have pity on me, my son, and fear not, for

there is yet hope of salvation. I will answer for thee unto Christ. I will die for thee if need be; as Christ hath died for us. I will give my life for thee. Believe me, Christ hath sent me." He, hearing these things, first, as in amazement, stood still. After that, he cast down his weapons. By and by he trembled, and wept bitterly; and, coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping, (as well as he could,) being baptized afresh with tears; only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the apostle, (after he had ascertained him, that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissed his right hand, which for shame he durst not shew before,) brought him to the congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind, he went not from him before he had restored him to the congregation again, and made him a great example of faith and holiness.

St. John going to Ephesus to be washed, and seeing Cerinthus in the bath, he leaped out unbathed, because he feared the bath should have fallen; seeing such an enemy to the truth was within. Such fear had the apostles, (saith Irenæus,) that they would not exchange a word with them that adulterate the truth.

In this persecution, besides innumerable other martyrs, suffering for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, was Flavia, the daughter of Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman consuls, who, with many others, was banished out of Rome, into the isle of Pontia.

There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lord's kindred, which were the nephews of Jude, that was called the Lord's brother; when the lieutenant of Jewry had brought them to Domitian to be slain, the emperor demanded, whether they were of the stock of David? Which when they had granted, he asked again, "What possessions and what substance they had?" They answered, "That they both had no more between them

in all than 39 acres of ground, and that they got their living, and sustained their families with the hard labour of their hands," shewing their hands to the emperor, being then hard and rough. Then the emperor inquiring of them concerning the kingdom of Christ, "What manner of kingdom it was; how and when it should appear?" They answered, "That his kingdom was not a worldly, but an heavenly kingdom, and that it should appear in the end of the world; at which time He, coming in glory, should judge the quick and the dead." Domitian hearing this, did not condemn them; but despising them, let them go, and also stayed the persecution against the Christians.

In this persecution, every person accused was sworn to declare the truth, whether they were Christians or not: and if they confessed, then, by the law, the sentence of death proceeded.

Neither were the tyrants content with their death only, but whatsoever man's invention could devise, was practised against the Christians. Imprisonment, stripes, and scourgings, tearings, stonings, plates of iron laid unto them burning hot, deep dungeons, racks, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, tossing upon the horns of bulls: moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and dogs left to keep them, that no man might bury them.

And yet, notwithstanding all these continual persecutions, the church of the Christians daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apostles, and watered plentifully with the blood of saints. Thus Justin Martyr: "That none can terrify or remove us which believe in Jesus, it daily appeareth; for when we are slain, crucified, cast to wild beasts, into the fire, or given to other torments, yet we go not from our confession; but, on the contrary, the more cruelty is wrought against us, the more there are that come to faith in the name of Jesus: no otherwise than if a man cut the vine-tree, the better the branches grow."

Between the second persecution and the third was but one year, under the emperor Nerva. Trajan succeeded him, who, in other respects, was a commendable prince : but toward the Christians he was impious and cruel. In his persecution, Pliny the Second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved to pity, wrote to Trajan, that there were many thousands daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws : whereby the persecution, by command of the emperor, was greatly diminished. The epistle of Pliny I thought convenient to set down as follows.

#### THE EPISTLE OF PLINY TO TRAJAN.

“It is my manner, (my sovereign,) to make relation of all those things unto you, wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my slackness, or instruct mine ignorance, than you ? I was never yet present myself at the examination and execution of these Christians ; and, therefore, what punishment is to be administered, and how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am ignorant ; not able to resolve whether any difference is to be had in age and person ; whether the young and tender ought to be treated with like cruelty as the elder and stronger ; whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to deny, who hath been a Christian ; whether the name only of Christians, without other offences ; or whether the offences, joined with the name of a Christian, ought to be punished. In the mean season, as touching such Christians as have been presented unto me, I have kept this order. I have inquired the second and third time of them, whether they were Christians ; menacing them with fear of punishment ; and such as did persevere, I commanded to execution.

“There was a libel offered me, bearing no name ; wherein were contained the names of many which denied

themselves to be Christians, content to do sacrifice to the gods, and to your image, and to blaspheme Christ : whereunto no true Christians could be compelled ; and those I discharged and let go. Others confessed that they had been Christians, but afterward denied the same ; affirming unto me the whole sum of that sect or error to consist in this, " That they were wont, at certain times appointed, to meet before day, and to sing hymns to one Christ, their God, and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery ; to keep their faith, and to defraud no man : " which done, they departed for that time ; and afterward resorted again to meet in companies together, both men and women ; and yet without any act of evil.

" To be further certified in the truth whereof, I caused two maidens to be laid on the rack, and examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but only immoderate superstition, I thought to cease further inquiry, till I might be further advertised in the matter from you ; especially considering the great number of those that were in danger from your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both men and women, who had incurred the same peril of condemnation."

#### THE ANSWER OF TRAJAN TO PLINY.

" THE act and statute, my Seeundus, concerning the Christians, you have rightly executed. For no such general law can be enacted, wherein all special cases particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for ; but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution : so notwithstanding, that whosoever shall deny himself to be a Christian, and do sacrifice to our gods, let him be released. Such libels as have no names, suffice not to any just crime ; for that would give

both an evil precedent ; neither doth it agree with the example of our time."

Tertullian, writing upon this letter of Trajan, says, "O sentence of a confused necessity! He would not have them to be sought, as men innocent ; and yet causes them to be punished as persons guilty." And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time ; although, notwithstanding, many cruel officers ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers provinces : as in Jerusalem, after the emperor Trajan had sent commandment, that whosoever could be found of the stock of David should be put to death. Certain of the Jewish nation accused Simeon, the bishop of Jerusalem, to come of the stock of David. This Simeon was scourged many days together, being 120 years old. In which both the consul and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer : and so at last being crucified, he finished his course in the Lord.

In this persecution suffered Phocas, bishop of Pontus, whom Trajan, because he would not do sacrifice to Neptune, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kiln, and afterward to be put into a sealding bath, where he, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life.

Also in this persecution suffered the blessed martyr Ignatius, appointed bishop of Antioch next after St. Peter ; who was given to wild beasts to be devoured. (See Vol. I.)

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appears by the letter of Pliny, above recited.

Next after Trajan succeeded Adrian the emperor ; under whom suffered Alexander, the bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, Euentius and Theodorus ; also Hermes and Quirinus, with their families.

Moreover, in the time of Adrian, Zenon, a nobleman of Rome, with 10,203, were slain for Christ.

There was one Eustachius, a captain, whom Trajan, in time past, had sent out to war against the barbarians.

After he had, by God's grace, valiantly subdued his enemies, and was now returning home with victory; Adrian, for joy, meeting him in his journey, to bring him home with triumph, by the way would first do sacrifice to Apollo for the victory gotten; willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no means be thereto enforced, being brought to Rome, there, with his wife and children, he suffered martyrdom under the aforesaid Adrian.

We read also of Faustinus and Jobita, citizens of Brixia, who suffered martyrdom with grievous torments. One Calocerius, seeing their patience, cried out, "Verily, great is the God of Christians!" Forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom.

While Adrian was at Athens, Quadratus, a man of no less excellent zeal than learning, being then bishop of Athens, exhibited unto him a learned apology, in the defence of the Christian religion; wherein he declared the Christians, without all just cause, to be so cruelly treated and persecuted. The like did Aristides, another no less excellent philosopher. Also Serenus Granus, a man of great nobility, wrote letters to Adrian, declaring it was not consonant with right or reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the fury of the people, and to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they followed.

The emperor being better informed concerning the Christians, became more favourable unto them: and immediately wrote to Minutius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, willing him to exercise no more such extremity against the Christians, as to condemn any of them; having no other crime objected against them, but only their name.

After the death of Adrian, succeeded Antoninus, about the year of our Lord 140, and reigned 23 years; who, for his clemency and modest behaviour, had the name of Pius. His saying was, "That he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries." At

the beginning of his reign, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it ; in which, although there was no edict to persecute the Christians, yet the rage of the heathens did not cease to afflict the people of God ; ascribing to the Christians whatsoever misfortune happened. Moreover, inventing against them all false crimes and contumelies, whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof there were divers in sundry places molested, and some put to death : but not by the consent of the emperor ; who was so mild and gentle, that either he raised up no persecution against the Christians, or else he soon stayed the same.

After the decease of Antoninus Pius, (who, among all other emperors of that time, made the most quiet end,) followed his son, M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius, his brother, about the year of our Lord 162, a man more stern and severe. And, although in civil government no less commendable, yet, toward the Christians, sharp and fierce ; by whom was moved the fourth persecution. In whose time, a great number of them, which professed Christ, suffered most cruel torments, both in Asia and France. In the number of whom was Polycarp, the worthy bishop of Smyrna : who, in the great rage of this persecution in Asia, was martyred. (See Vol. I.)

In the same persecution suffered Pionius ; who, after much boldness of speech in his apologies and sermons made to the people, in the defence of the Christian faith, and after much relieving and comforting many that were in prisons, and otherwise discomforted, at last, was put to cruel torments ; then given to the fire ; and so finished his martyrdom.

As these suffered in Asia, so in Rome suffered Felicitas with her seven children. The names of those children were Januarius, Felix, Philip, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom Januarius, after he was whipped and scourged with rods, was pressed to death with leaden weights. Felix and Philip had their brains beaten out with mawls. Silvanus was cast down headlong, and had

his neck broken. Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis were beheaded. Last of all, Felicitas, the mother, was slain with the sword.

In this persecution suffered also Justin, a man excellent in learning and philosophy, and a great defender of the Christian religion ; who first exhibited unto the emperor, and to the senate, an apology in the defence of the Christians, and afterwards himself died a martyr.

Under the same Antoninus suffered Ptolemeus and Lucius, for the confession of Christ, in a city of Egypt, whose history is recited in Eusebius as follows.

“There was a certain woman married unto a husband, who was given much to lasciviousness, whereunto she herself, in times past, was addicted. But she, being instructed in the Christian religion, and being chaste herself, persuaded her husband to live chastely ; often telling him, that it was written in the precepts of the Christians, that they should be punished eternally who lived not chastely in this life. But he, still continuing in his filthiness, caused his wife to estrange herself from his company. To revenge which, he accused her of being a Christian. Whereupon she, being in great danger, delivered to the emperor a supplication ; desiring, first, to set her family in order, and that done, to answer all that might be laid against her : whereunto the emperor condescended. Her husband, seeing this, accused also her instructor in the faith of Christ : who being brought before Urbicius, the judge, was by him condemned to suffer. One Lucius, standing by, said to Urbicius, ‘What reason or equity is this, that this man, who is neither adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor felon ; neither hath committed any crime, is condemned only for his name and confession of being a Christian ? This condemnation, and this manner of judgment, O Urbicius, are neither seemly for the virtuous emperor, nor for the philosopher his son ; nor yet for the estate of his senate of Rome.’

“Urbicius, making no further examination, said unto Lucius, ‘Thou art also a Christian.’ And when Lucius had given him to understand that he was, the judge, without further delay, commanded him to be had away to execution. To whom he answered, ‘I thank you with all my heart, that you release me from most wicked governors, and send me unto my good and most loving Father, the King of all gods.’ A third man also, coming unto him, and using the like liberty of speech, had the like sentence of death, and was crowned with the same crown of martyrdom.”

In the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other countries also, suffered the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne; giving to Christ a glorious testimony, and to all Christians a spectacle of singular constancy. The history of whom, because it is written by their own churches, where they suffered, I express in their own words.

*The Servants of Christ, inhabiting the cities of Vienne and Lyons, to the Brethren in Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope of redemption with us : peace and glory from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord.*

THE greatness of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against us, and the torments which the blessed martyrs have suffered, we can neither in words, nor yet in writing, exactly, as they deserve, set forth. For the adversary with all his force, in every place, instructed his ministers how in the most spiteful manner to set upon the servants of God: so that we were universally commanded, that none should be seen in any place. But God hath always mercy in store, and took out of their hands such as were weak; and others did he set up as firm and immoveable pillars, able to abide all force, and

valiantly to withstand the enemy, enduring all the punishment they could devise. They fought this battle to come unto Christ, esteeming their troubles but as light: thereby shewing, that all that may be suffered in this life, is not able to countervail the great glory which shall be shewed upon us. And, first, they patiently suffered whatsoever the multitude did unto them; as railings, scourgings, flinging of stones, and imprisonings. Then being led into the market-place, and there judged of the rulers of the city, after their confession made openly, they were commanded again to prison, until the return of the chief governor. After this they were brought before him, and he used all the extremity that possibly he might against them. Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, replenished with fervent zeal both towards God and his brethren, (whose conversation, although he were a young man, was counted as perfect, as was the life of Zachary the priest: for he walked diligently in all the commandments of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren blameless;) he, having within him the love and Spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked judgment which was given upon the Christians; but being vehemently displeased, desired the judge would hear the defence which he was minded to make in the behalf of the Christians. But the people cried that it might not be so, though he was a nobleman born, neither did the governor grant him his lawful request; but only asked him, "Whether he himself was a Christian or not?" He immediately, with a loud and bold voice, answered, "I am a Christian." And thus was he received into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the advocate of the Christians.

By this man's example the rest were the more animated to martyrdom, and made more joyous to accomplish the same. Some indeed were not so well prepared, and not able to bear the vehemency of so great a conflict; of whom there were ten that fainted, ministering to us much heaviness and lamentation. Those, by their example, caused the rest, who were not yet apprehended, to be

less willing thereunto. Then were we all astonished : not that we feared the punishment intended against us, but having respect to the end, and fearing lest others should fall. Every day there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulfil the number of them which were fallen : insomuch that, of two churches, all that were chief, and which were the principal governors, were apprehended. With these also certain of the heathens, being our men-servants, were apprehended, (for so the governor commanded, that all in general should be taken,) who, fearing the torments which they saw the saints suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the soldiers, feigned against us, that we kept the feastings of Thyestes, and incest of Œdipus, and many other such crimes, which are neither remembered, nor named of us.

These things being now told abroad, every man began to shew cruelty against us, insomuch that those, who before were more gentle towards us, now waxed mad against us. And thus was fulfilled that which was spoken : "The time will come, that whosoever killeth you, shall think he doth God service." Then marvellous was the rage both of the people and prince ; especially against Sanctus, who was deacon of the congregation of Vienne ; against Maturus, being but a little before baptized, yet a worthy soldier of Christ ; against Attalus, who was the foundation and pillar of that congregation, and also against Blandina : by whom Christ sheweth those things, which the world esteemed vile and abject, to be glorious in God's sight. For when we were afraid, and specially her mistress in the flesh, who was herself one of the martyrs, lest haply, for weakniess of body, she would not stand to her confession ; Blandina was so replenished with strength and boldness, that they which had the tormenting of her by course, from morning to night, for very weariness gave over, and were themselves overcome, confessing they could do no more against her, and marvelled that she yet lived, having her body so torn and rent : and testified that any one of those torments alone,

had been enough to have plucked the life from her body. But that blessed woman, fighting this worthy battle, became stronger and stronger; and as often as she spake these words, (*I am a Christian; neither have we committed any evil,*) it was to her a marvellous comfort and boldening to abide the torments.

Sanctus, who in the midst of his torments endured more pains than the nature of a man might away with, abode, notwithstanding, in such constancy of mind, that he told them not his name, nor what countryman he was, nor in what city brought up; but unto every question that was asked him, he answered, *I am a Christian*. Neither could the Gentiles get any more of him: whereupon both the governor and tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. At length, they clapped plates of brass red-hot, to the tenderest parts of his body; yet he never shrunk, but was bold and constant in his confession; being strengthened and moistened with the fountain of living waters flowing out of Christ's side. Truly, his body was a sufficient witness what torments he suffered; for it was all drawn together, wounded, and scorched so, that it had lost the shape of a man: in whose suffering Christ obtained unspeakable glory; for that he overcame his adversaries, and declared, 'That nothing ought to be feared where the love of God is; and nothing is grievous, wherein the glory of Christ is manifested.'

Satan, now thinking to have settled himself in the heart of one Biblides, being one of those who had denied Christ, and thinking to have caused her, being weak in faith, to have damned her soul, in blaspheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution. But she, in the middle of her torments, returning to herself, and waking as it were out of sleep, against all men's expectations, broke out, *How should we Christians eat young infants, (as ye report of us,) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any beast?* Upon that, so soon as she confessed herself to be a Christian, she was martyred with the rest.

When Christ had ended those torments, by the patience and sufferance of his saints, the devil invented other engines and instruments. For the Christians were shut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in the rack; and many other such punishments suffered they; so that very many of them were killed in prisons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlasting life. And surely these good men were so tormented, that if they had had all the medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to live: yet, thus remaining in prison, destitute of all human help, they were so strengthened of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed, that they comforted the minds of the rest. But the younger of them, which had not felt the lash of the whip, were not able to endure the sharpness of their imprisonment, and so died for the same.

The blessed Photinus, who was deacon to the bishop of Lions, though about eighty-nine years old, and a very feeble man, yet was of a lively courage and spirit: and for the great desire he had of martyrdom, when he was brought unto the judgment-seat, although his body was weak, both because of his old age and also through sickness, yet was his life preserved to this purpose, that by the same Christ might be glorified. He being by the soldiers brought to the place of judgment, many citizens and men of great ability followed him; and the whole multitude cried upon him diversly, as though he had been Christ himself. For being demanded of the chief ruler what was the Christian man's God? he answered, *If thou be worthy to know, thou shalt know.* He, being with these words touched, caused him to be very sorely beaten. Those that stood next him did him all the spite they could, both with hand and foot, having no regard to his old age or white hairs. And they which were further off, threw whatsoever came next to hand. By this means they thought they revenged the quarrel of their gods. Photinus, now gasping for life, was thrown into prison, and within two days after died.

And here is the mighty providence of God declared. Those who in the first persecution denied Christ, were also put in prison, and made partakers of the others afflictions. Neither did it any whit help them that had denied Christ; but they which confessed him were imprisoned as Christians, and the other sort as homicides and wicked doers. These were refreshed with the joy of martyrdom, the hope of God's promises, their love towards Christ, and the Spirit of God: the others, by their countenances, bewrayed unto all their guilty consciences. The Christians went forth having cheerful countenances, adorned with glory and grace, insomuch that the very bonds wherewith they were tied, set them out as men in seemly apparel; whereas the others were sad, abject, ill-favoured, filled with shame, and reviled of the very Gentiles themselves, as degenerate wretches, having the crime of homicide, and destitute of the most precious, glorious, and lively calling. By these sights the rest were confirmed; and being apprehended, confessed Christ without any staggering. After these things the martyrdom of these holy saints was divided into divers kinds; as the offering to God the Father a garland, decked with divers kinds of flowers. And so it behoved the worthy champions of God, after they had suffered divers kinds of torments, to obtain the reward of immortality.

Then Maturus, Blandina, and Attalus were brought together to the scaffold—there, in the face of the people, to be devoured of the beasts. And Maturus, with Sanctus, being brought the second time to the scaffold, suffered again all kind of torments, as though hitherto they had suffered nothing. They, as striving for the crown, suffered again more scourgings, the tearing of wild beasts, and whatsoever the frantick people cried for. Above all, they brought an iron chair, in which their bodies being set, were fried and scorched, as on a gridiron. And yet for all that the tormentors ceased not, but waxed more fierce and mad against them, labouring to overcome the patience of the saints. Notwithstanding they could not

get out of Sanctus any other thing but the confession, which at the beginning he declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued in this conflict, at length were slain; being made all that day a spectacle unto the world.

Blandina, being fastened upon a stake, was cast to the beasts to be devoured; which thing was not done without the determinate will of God; that while she seemed to hang, as it were upon a cross, by the ferventness of her prayer she might comfort the rest of the saints; as beholding Christ with their bodily eyes, which in that agony suffered for them all; and that all which believe in him, and suffer for the glory of Christ, might be assured to live with him for ever. When they saw that no beast would come near her, they cast her again into prison, that she, having the victory of many battles, might triumph over the devil; and being a weak and silly woman, armed with Christ, the invincible conqueror, might encourage her brethren, and win a crown of incorruptible glory.

Attalus, being also called for of the people, cometh forth to the fight. When the table was carried before him, wherein was written, *This is Attalus the Christian*, the people were in a marvellous rage against him. But the governor, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him again to prison; whereof he wrote to the emperor, and waited for an answer, what his pleasure herein was. The prisoners were not idle in the mean season, nor unprofitable to their brethren. For those which were dead before, were now revived by them that lived, and the church did much rejoice, receiving them again, whom she had lost before. For many of them, which before had denied, now were restored, and learned to be confessors. And being strengthened, and tasting the sweetness of him, *who desireth not the death of a sinner*, they came, of their own accord, to the judgment-seat again, that they might be examined of the judge. He caused all the holy martyrs to be brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once again examined

them; and as many of them as were Romans he beheaded, the residue he gave to the beasts to be devoured. And truly Christ was much glorified by those who a little before had denied him; and, contrary to the expectation of the infidels, confessed him even unto death. When they were examined, one Alexander, a Phrygian, who had dwelt long in France, and was known of all for the love he had to God, standing near the bar, by signs persuaded such as were examined to confess Christ; so that he was derided of the standers by. The people soon cried out against him. And when he was demanded what religion he was of? He answered, *I am a Christian*. He had no sooner spoken the word, but he was adjudged to the beasts to be devoured.

The next day Attalus and Alexander were brought forth together. When they had suffered the greatest tortures they could put them to, they were at length slain; of whom Alexander never gave so much as a sigh; but, from the bottom of his heart, praised and prayed to the Lord. Attalus, when he was set in the iron chair, and began to fry, spake to the multitude in the Roman language, thus: *Behold, you eat man's flesh; but we neither eat men, nor commit any other wickedness*. And being demanded, what was the name of their God? *Our God* (says he,) *hath no such name as men have*. Then said they, *Now let us see whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands*.

This being the last day of the spectacle, Blandina again, and one Pontieus, a child of fifteen years old, were brought forth. And this had been done every day, to the intent that they, seeing the punishment of their fellows, might be compelled to swear by the idols. But because they constantly abode in their purpose, the whole multitude was in a rage, neither sparing the age of the child, nor the sex of the woman, but put them to all the torment they could devise, and yet were not able to prevail. For Pontieus, being so animated by his sister, after he had suffered all torments, gave up the ghost. Blandina, being

the last that suffered, after she had, like a worthy mother, given exhortations unto her children, and had sent them before, as conquerors, to their heavenly King, rejoiced so much at her children's death, and so hastened her own, as though she had been bidden to a bridal. After her whipping, her delivery to the beasts, and her torments upon the gridiron, at length she was put in a net, and thrown to the wild bull; and when she had been sufficiently gored with his horns, was thus slain; insomuch that the very heathens themselves confessed, there never was woman put to death of them that suffered so much. Neither yet was their furious cruelty asswaged; but those whom they murdered, they threw to the dogs, setting keepers day and night to watch them, that they should not be buried; and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, some half burned, some left of the wild beasts, and some all mangled; also bringing forth the heads of others which were cut off, they in like manner committed them to the charge of the keepers, to see them remain unburied.

Thus the bodies of the martyrs lay six days in the open streets: at length they burned them, and threw their ashes into the river Rhone, that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they, as though they had been able to hinder the regeneration of the saints, and take from them the hope of the resurrection; "whereof they being persuaded, (said they,) bring in this new and strange religion, and set thus light by death and punishment."

Soon after the persecution was stayed: some think on occasion of a wonderful miracle; the story whereof is this. At what time the two brethren, Marcus Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius Commodus, emperors, joining together, warred against the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germans. In the expedition against them, their army was shut in within the Straits and hot dry places, where their soldiers, besides other difficulties, being destitute of water five days, were like to perish. In this

great distress, a legion of Christian soldiers suddenly withdrew from the army, and falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer obtained of God a double relief. God gave pleasant showers, whereby their soldiers quenched their thirst; and a great number of their enemies were discomfited, and put to flight by continual lightnings. This miracle so pleased the emperor, that ever after he was gentle to the Christians, and directed his letters to his rulers, (as Tertullian in his Apology witnesseth,) commanding them to give thanks to the Christians, no less for his victory than for the preservation of him and all his men.

Severus raised the fifth persecution against the Christians; who, through false and malicious accusations, was so incensed against them, that by proclamations he commanded no Christians any more to be suffered. Hereby great persecution was stirred up on every side, and an infinite number of martyrs slain, about the year of our Lord 205. The crimes objected against the Christians are partly touched before; as sedition, and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, worshipping the head of an ass; but especially because they would not worship the idolatrous gods, they were counted as enemies to all men.

The places where this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, and Cappadocia. The number of them that suffered was innumerable. Of whom the first was Leonides, the father of Origen, who was beheaded: with whom Origen his son, being then seventeen years old, should have suffered, (such a fervent desire he had to be martyred,) had not his mother privily in the night conveyed away his clothes. Whereupon, more for shame to be seen, than for fear to die, he was constrained to remain at home: and when he could do nothing else, he wrote to his father a letter with these words, *Take heed to yourself, that you turn not your thought and purpose for our sake, &c.* Such a fervency had this Origen, being

yet young, to the doctrine of Christ's faith, that his father divers times would uncover his breast, being asleep, and kiss it, giving thanks to God, which had made him the father of such a happy child. After the death of his father, all his goods being confisecated, he, with his poor mother, and six brethren, were brought to such extreme poverty, that he sustained both himself and them by teaching a school; till at length he transferred his study only to the knowledge of the Scriptures, and other learning conducive to the same. He profited so much in the Hebrew and other tongues, that he conferred the Hebrew text with the translation of the Seventy; and moreover did confer the other translations, which we call the translation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also he adjoined four other translations.

Origen was of a quick and sharp wit; patient of labour; a great traveller in the tongues; of a spare diet; of a strict life; a great faster. His teaching and his living were both one; his going was much barefoot; a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, *Have but one coat*, &c. The copies of his books he used to sell for his living. He was so zealous in the cause of Christ, that he, nothing fearing his own peril, would assist and exhort the martyrs going to their death, and kiss them; insomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and many times he was compelled to shift houses for such as laid wait for him in all places. But great was the providence of God to preserve him in the midst of all this tempest of Severus. Among others which resorted unto him, and were his hearers, Plutarch was one, who died a martyr; and with him Serenus, his brother, who was burned. The third was Heraclides, the fourth, Heron, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another Serenus, beheaded also. Rhais, and Potamiena, tormented with pitch poured upon her, with her mother, Marcella, died in the fire. This Potamiena was of a fresh and flourishing beauty; who because she could not be removed from her profession, was committed to Basilides, one of the captains

there in the army, to see the execution done. Basilides receiving her at the judge's hand, and leading her to the place, shewed her some compassion in repressing the railings of the adversaries: for which Potamiena, to requite his kindness, bade him be of good comfort; saying, *That she would pray the Lord to shew mercy upon him;* and so went to her martyrdom.

Not long after, Basilides was required to give an oath in a matter concerning his fellow-soldiers, which he denied to do; plainly affirming, that he was a Christian: for their oath was wont to be by the idols and the emperor. When he constantly confirmed the same, he was had before the judge, and so by him committed to ward. The Christians, marvelling thereat, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden conversion. To whom he answered, *That Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord:* adding, moreover, *It should not be long but he should be received.*

About the same time died Irenæus, martyred, with a great multitude of others, about the fourth or fifth year of Severus. This Irenæus, as he was a great writer, so was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning. He was first a scholar of Polycarp; from thence came to France, and there by Photinus, and the rest of the martyrs, was instituted into the ministry. At length, after the martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed bishop of Lyons, where he continued about three and twenty years. In the time of Irenæus, the church was much troubled, not only by outward persecution, but also by divers sects and errors, against which he diligently laboured. He ever loved peace, and sought to make agreement when any controversy rose in the church. And therefore, when the question of keeping Easter-day was renewed between Victor, bishop of Rome, and the churches of Asia, and when Victor would have excommunicated them as schismatics, for disagreeing from him therein,—Irenæus, with other brethren of the French church, convened themselves together in a common council, and directing their

letter, subscribed with their common consent, sent it unto Victor, entreating him to stay his purpose. And afterwards he wrote divers other letters concerning the same contention; declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

After the death of Alexander the emperor, who, with his mother, Mammea, was murdered in Germany, followed Maximinus, chosen by the will of the soldiers, rather than by the authority of the senate, about the year of our Lord 237; who raised the sixth persecution against the Christians; especially against the teachers and leaders of the church; thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captains of them were removed. In the time of this persecution, Origen wrote his book *De Martyrio*; which book, if it were extant, would give us some knowledge of such as suffered in this persecution, who now lie in silence unknown; and no doubt but they were a great number; and more should have been, had not the provident mercy of God shortened his days, for he reigned but three years. After him succeeded Gordian, in the year of our Lord 240; a man no less studious for the good of the commonwealth, than mild and gentle to the Christians.

Decius invaded the crown about the year of our Lord 250; by whom was moved a seventh, and that a terrible persecution, against the Christians.

Origen continued about the space of fifty-two years, unto the time of this Decius. He sustained divers and great persecutions for the doctrine of Christ; as bands, and torments in his body, and rackings with bars of iron. All this he suffered unmoved; but after sundry torments, at length he was brought to an altar where a woman was appointed to be, and there this choice was offered unto him, *Whether he would sacrifice to the idols, or have his body polluted.* Then the judge, putting incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire upon the altar; for which he was excommunicated. Whereupon, being driven away with shame and sorrow out of Alexandria, he went into Judea, where, being in Jerusalem among the congre-

gation, and there requested of the priests and ministers to make some exhortation in the church, he refused a great while so to do. At length, being constrained by importunate petition, he rose up, and turning the book as though he would have expounded some place of the Scripture, he only read this verse of the 50th Psalm, "But God said to the sinner, why dost thou preach my law, and take my covenant in thy mouth?" &c. Which verse being read, he shut the book, and sat down weeping and wailing; the whole congregation also weeping and lamenting with him. He died and was buried at Tyre, under the emperor Gallus, about the year of our Lord 255, and the 70th year of his age, in great misery and poverty.

"This perscution" (saith Dionysius of Alexandria) "began, not with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but a whole year before, by the means of a soothsayer. He, coming to our city, stirred up the multitude of the heathen, and incited them to maintain their old superstition; declaring all piety and religion to consist only in the idolatrous worship of devils, and in our destruction. At first, flying upon a certain priest of ours, named Metra, they apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speak after their wicked blasphemy; which, when he would not do, they laid upon him with staves and clubs, and with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes; and afterwards, bringing him out into the suburbs, they stoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compel her to worship; which when she refused to do, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole street of the city upon the stones; and then, scourging her, brought her to the same place of the suburbs, as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her life. This done, with a multitude running together, they burst into the houses of the Christians, spoiling, sacking, and carrying away all they could find of any price. Such things as were of less value they brought into the open market, and set them on fire. In the mean time, the brethren

withdrew themselves, taking joyfully the spoiling of their goods : neither do I know any of them, who, revolting from his profession, denied the Lord, to this present day.

“ Amongst the rest that were taken, there was a certain virgin, well stricken in years, named Apollonia, whom they brought forth, and dashing all her teeth out of her jaws, made a great fire before the city, threatening to cast her into the same, unless she would blaspheme with them, and deny Christ : whereat she staying a little, as one that would take a pause, suddenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and was burned.

“ There was also one Serapion, whom they took in his own house ; and after they had assailed him with sundry kinds of torments, and had broken almost all the joints of his body, they cast him down from an upper loft, and so completed his martyrdom. Thus was there no way, neither private nor publick, left for us, neither by day nor by night, to escape ; all the people making an outcry against us, that unless we uttered blasphemy, we should be burned. And this outrageous tumult endured until the miserable wretches fell at dissension among themselves, which turned the cruelty they exercised against us, upon their own heads. And so we had a little breathing time, while the fury of the heathens assuaged.

“ Shortly after followed the edict of the emperor. Upon which such fear came over us all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for fear came running, some were drawn by their neighbours, to those idolatrous sacrifices. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themselves never to have been of that profession. Of the residue, some continued constant to bonds and torments. Others, after long imprisonments, renounced their faith. Some, when they had suffered torments, afterwards revolted. But others, being valiant pillars of the Lord, were made faithful martyrs of the kingdom of God.

“ Of whom the first was Julianus, a man diseased with

the gout, and not able to go, being carried by two men, of whom the one quickly denied the faith. But Cronion, surnamed Eunus, with Julianus, confessing the Lord, were laid upon camels, and there scourged, and at length cast into the fire and consumed.

“As these were going to their martyrdom, there was a certain soldier who took part against those that railed upon them. For which the people crying out against him, he also was apprehended, and being constant in his profession, was forthwith beheaded.

“Likewise one Macar, being admonished of the judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his persuasions, was burned alive.

“After these suffered Epimachus, and one Alexander, who, being long detained in prison, after innumerable pains and torments with razors and scourges, were cast into the fire, with four women.

“Also Ammonarion, an holy virgin, whom the judge had long and bitterly tormented, suffered martyrdom with two other women; one of whom was an aged matron, named Mercuria; the other was called Dionysia, being a mother of many fair children, whom yet notwithstanding she loved not above the Lord. These, after they could not be overcome by any torments, at length were slain with the sword.

“Heron, Ater, and Isidorus, and with them Dioscorus, a child of fifteen years old, were crowned with the same crown of martyrdom. And first the judge began with the child, thinking him more easy to be won with words to entice him, than with torments to constrain him. But he persisted immovable, giving neither place to persuasions nor punishment. The rest, after he had grievously tormented them, being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. The judge, greatly marvelling at Dioscorus for his wise answers and grave constancy, dismissed him, sparing, as he said, his age to a longer respite: which Dioscorus is with us at present, waiting for a longer trial.

“Nemesion was first accused for a companion of thieves ; but being purged thereof before the centurion, he was then accused of Christianity ; and for that cause, being in bonds, was brought to the president ; who, tormenting and scourging him double to all other thieves and felons, at length, among the thieves, burned him to death, making him a blessed martyr.

“Ischirion, one that was in service with a certain nobleman, was commanded by his master to sacrifice ; who, for not obeying, was rebuked ; and after persisting in the same, grievously threatened with sharp words. At last his master, when he could not prevail against him, taking a pike, ran him through the body, and slew him.

“What shall I speak of the multitude of them, who, wandering in deserts and mountains, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickness, thieves, or wild beasts ; of whose blessed victory they which be alive are yet witnesses ? In the number of whom was Cheremon, bishop of the city called Nilus, an aged man. He, with his wife, fleeing to the mountains of Arabia, never returned, nor ever could be seen after. And though they were diligently sought for by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found. Many others there were, who, fleeing to these mountains of Arabia, were taken of the barbarous Arabians ; of whom, some with much money could scarce be ransomed ; and some were never heard of to this present day.”

Dionysius, in another place writes thus. “Before this persecution of Decius did rage against us, Sabinus sent a farmer to seek me, at what time I, remaining at home, waited three days for his coming. But he, searching narrowly for me by all ways, fields, woods, and corners, where he thought I might have hid myself, or have passed by, never came to my house, thinking nothing less, than that I would abide at home in so dangerous a persecution. These three days being past, upon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to flee, and also

marvellously opening to me the way, I with my children, and many other brethren, went out together."

St. Jerome recites a story of a certain soldier, whom, when the pretor could not with torments remove from his christianity, he devised another way. He commanded the soldier to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant garden, among flourishing lilies and roses ; which done, all others being removed away, a beautiful harlot came to him, who embraced him, and used all other incitements to provoke him to sin. But the soldier, fearing God, bit off his own tongue, and spit it in the face of the harlot, as she was kissing him, and so got the victory.

Mean time, some for dread, some of their own accord, others after great torments, revolted from their profession. Saint Cyprian, with great sorrow, testifieth that a great number, at the first threatening of the adversary, neither being compelled, nor thrown down with any violence of the enemy, but of their voluntary weakness, fell down themselves. Neither, says he, tarrying, while the judge should put incense into their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, turned their backs ; not only coming to their sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compulsion ; bringing moreover their infants and children, either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord, and exhorting others to do the like after their example.

Amongst others of this sort, St. Cyprian also maketh mention of one Euaristus, a bishop in Africa, who, leaving his charge, and making shipwreck of his faith, went wandering about in other countries. But although some did relent, yet a very great number there was, whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cause them to betray their confession, but they stood like glorious martyrs unto the end.

Gallus succeeded Decius about the year of our Lord 255.

This Gallus, although the beginning of his reign was quiet, yet shortly after set forth edicts for the persecution

of Christians. Unto this time I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage ; of the which banishment he himself testifieth in divers of his epistles.

After the reign of Gallus, and his son Volusianus, who reigned but two years, Emilianus, who slew them, succeeded in their place, and reigned but three months, and was also slain. Next to him Valerian and his son Galienus, were advanced to the empire.

The persecution which began under Decius, and slackened in the time of Gallus, was now extinguished for a time ; partly for a great plague reigning in all places ; partly by the change of the emperors.

Valerian moved the eighth persecution against the Christians, about the year of our Lord 259. Concerning which St. Cyprian saith, “ We must confess, that this calamity riseth chiefly of our own wickedness, while we walk not in the way of the Lord. The Lord observed the will of his Father in all points ; but we observe not the will of the Lord. All our mind and study is set upon lucre and possession. We are given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing this world in word only, but not in deed ; every man pleasing himself, and displeasing others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and that worthily. For what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when the confessors themselves, such as ought to be an example to the rest, keep no discipline ? We suffer these things for our sins, as we have been forewarned by the Lord, saying, ‘ If they shall forsake my law, and will not walk in my judgments ; I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges.’ These rods and scourges we feel ; who neither please God in our good deeds, nor repent of our evil deeds.”

Cyprian, being an African, and born in Carthage, was first an idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the magical arts. His conversion unto the Christian faith was through the means of Cecilius, a priest, whose name afterwards he bare ; and through the occasion

of hearing the history of the prophet Jonas. Immediately upon his conversion he distributed all his substance among the poor. And after that being ordained a priest, was not long after constituted a bishop of the congregation of Carthage.

He was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and yet sharp and severe, according as the cause required. Furthermore, he was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the martyrs.

He was full of godly courage in executing his office. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection ; but was adorned with marvellous modesty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own judgment, but with the consent of his fellow bishops and other inferior ministers. He was of a wonderful liberal disposition towards the poor brethren of other countries. For so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poor men to his fellow officers, and wrote to them, that of their own goods, they should help their banished brethren to that which was necessary for them.

He took no less care, as well of his own church, as of other bishops, being absent, than he did being present. He returned out of exile in the reign of Valerian, but he was a second time banished by Paternus, the proconsul of Africa, into the city of Thurbin. When Paternus was dead, Galienus Maximus succeeded, who, finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended, and to be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice. Which when he would not do, the proconsul, breaking forth into these words, said, "Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast shewed thyself an enemy to the gods of the Romans, and to their holy laws : neither could the sacred emperors Valerian and Galienus revoke thee to their ceremonies." At length, being condemned to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted to the stroke, in the year of our Lord 259.

About this time suffered also Sixtus, bishop of Rome, who, being accused of his adversaries to be a Christian, was brought with his six deacons to the place of execution; where he with his deacons suffered martyrdom. Laurenec, being also a deacon, followed after: and when he saw his vigilant shepherd led, as an harmless lamb, to his death, he cried out, "O dear father, whither goest thou without the company of thy son? Whither hastenest thou, O reverend priest, without thy deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister." Sixtus answered, "I forsake thee not, O my son; a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. O, I am a weak old man, and therefore I run the race of a lighter and easier death: but thou art lusty and young, and shalt more gloriously triumph over this tyrant. Cease to weep; three days hence thou shalt follow me."

The tyrant, understanding that St. Laurence was not only a minister of the sacraments, but also a distributor of the church's riches, promised to himself a double prey; and demanded where Laurence had bestowed the substance of the church? Who, craving three days respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the mean time, he had caused a good number of poor Christians to be congregated. So when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then Laurence, stretching out his arms over the poor, said, "These are the precious treasures of the church. These are the treasures indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigneth." On this the judge commanded a large grated bed of iron to be brought, and laid upon the fire. After many tortures the martyr was laid thereon, and roasted to death, praising God to the last.

Dionysius, making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution, saith, "It were superfluous to recite the names of our brethren slain in this persecution. There were men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, soldiers, and of all sorts and ages of men.

Of whom some with scourgings and fire, some with sword obtained victory, and got the crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been preserved. In which number am I reserved hitherto, to some other time, known unto the Lord. Faustinus and Aquila wander abroad in Egypt. Of the deacons, besides them, whom sickness hath consumed, Faustus, Eusebius, and Chcremon are yet alive. Eusebius God hath raised and stirred up to minister to the confessors lying in bonds, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the president cease to this day, cruelly murdering such as are brought before him, tearing some with torments, imprisoning others, and commanding that no man should come to them; yet notwithstanding God doth comfort the afflicted."

Dionysius himself, surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, unto the twelfth year of the reign of Galienus, which was about the year of our Lord 268; and so departed in peace in great age.

From the time of Valerian, the church of Christ was in quietness until the death of Quintilian. After whom Aurelian possessed the crown. His beginning was not unfruitful to the commonwealth; neither was he any great disturber of the Christians, whom he did not only tolerate in their religion, but also their councils; and they being at the same time assembled at Antioch, he seemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding, in continuance of time, through the instigation of certain about him, his nature, inclinable to severity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny he shewed first with the death of his own sister's son. After that he proceeded to move persecution against the Christians: and this was the ninth persecution. But not long after, in the fifth or sixth year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 278, he was slain.

After this the church was in quiet and tranquillity, until the nineteenth year of Dioclesian: so that, counting the

time from the latter end of Valerian, the peace of the church continued above forty-four years.

But as the nature of all men commonly seeketh prosperity, and yet can never well use it ; so here it happened with these men ; who, through this liberty and prosperity, began to degenerate into idleness and delicacy, and one to work spite against another ; contending amongst themselves on every occasion ; bishops moving hatred and sedition against bishops, and people against people ; besides cursed hypocrisy and dissimulation increasing more and more. By reason whereof the judgment of God began, by little and little, to visit ; falling first upon the brethren which were abroad in war. But that touched not the others, neither did they seek to appease God's wrath, but heaped iniquities more and more one upon another. And they which were pastors, refusing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions. And thus, whilst they were given only to threatenings, emulations, mutual hatred, and discord, every man seeking his own ambition, and persecuting another, the Lord took away the beauty of the daughter of Sion, and the glory of Israel fell from heaven ; neither did He remember the footstool of his feet in the day of his wrath.

By reason hereof (the wrath of God being kindled) ensued the tenth persecution against the Christians. This was so grievous, that never was any persecution before comparable to it, as lasting the space of ten years together. This persecution, although it passed through the hands of divers tyrants, yet it principally beareth the name of Dioclesian. It began about the nineteenth year of his reign ; who, in the month of March, when the feast of Easter was nigh at hand, commanded all the churches of the Christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, and the books of Holy Scripture to be burned.

Next, edicts were given forth for the displacing of such as were magistrates, and that with great ignominy, imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity.

Not long after, new edicts were sent forth, for casting the elders and bishops into prison, and constraining them, with sundry kinds of punishments, to offer unto their idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution against the governors of the church; among whom many stood manfully, passing through bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diversly. Some were scourged, all over their bodies, with whips and scourges; some tortured with racks; some one way and some another put to death. Some again were violently drawn to the sacrifice, and, as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they had not, were let go. Some they cast down upon the pavement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Others there were, which stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice, that they had done no sacrifice. Of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the name. Some cried, that neither they had nor would ever be partakers of that idolatry; and those, being buffeted by the soldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. All this did nothing prevail against the holy and constant servants of Christ. Notwithstanding; of the weak sort, innumerable there were, who for fear and infirmity, fell.

After this, the rage of the emperors being let loose, proceeded more and more, making havock of God's people throughout all the world. Dioclesian (who had purposed with himself to subvert the whole Christian religion) executed his tyranny in the east, and Maximian in the west. But Dioclesian began subtilly; for he put the matter first in practice in his own camp; among whom the marshal of the field put the Christian soldiers to this choice, whether they would obey the emperor's commandment by sacrificing, and so keep their offices; or else lay down their armour and weapons. Whereunto the Christian men answered, "That they were not only ready to lay down their armour and weapons, but also to

suffer death, rather than they would obey the wicked commands of the emperor."

It can hardly be expressed what blood was shed throughout all cities and regions, for the name of Christ. Eusebius saith, that he himself knew the worthy martyrs that were in Palestine. But in Tyre certain Christians, being given to the wild beasts, were preserved without hurt, to the great admiration of the beholders, and those lions, bears, and leopards (kept hungry for that purpose) had no desire to devour them; which notwithstanding raged most vehemently against those by whom they were brought to the stage; who standing, as they thought, without danger of them, were devoured. The Christian martyrs, because they could not be hurt by the beasts, being slain with the sword, were afterward thrown into the sea. At that time was martyred the bishop of Sidon. Sylvanus, the bishop of Gaza, with thirty-nine others, were slain in the metal-mines of Phenicia. And Pamphilus, the elder of Cesarea, being the glory of that congregation, died a most worthy martyr.

In the beginning, when the emperor by his subtlety rather dallied than shewed his rigour, he threatened them with bonds and imprisonment; but within a while, when he began in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments; as whipping, and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire, and ship-boats, wherein a great number being put, were sunk in the bottom of the sea. Also hanging them upon crosses; binding them to the bodies of dead trees, with their heads downward; hanging them by the middles upon gallows, until they died for hunger; throwing them alive to wild beasts; pricking and goring them with bodkins and talons of beasts, until they were almost dead; lifting them up on high, with their heads downward, even as they did in Thebais to the women, who, being stripped naked, they tied on high by one foot, and so let them hang down with their bodies; with other inhuman sorts of punishments; such as the binding of them to trees; the tearing

asunder of their members and joints, by tying them to the boughs and arms of trees ; the mangling of them with axes ; the choaking of them with smoke by small and soft fires ; the dismembering of their hands, ears, and feet, with other joints. The holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered the seorching and broiling of their members with coals ; not unto death, but every day renewed. With such kind of torments the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. In Pontus they suffered other horrible punishments. Some had their fingers' ends, under the nails, thrust in with sharp bodkins. Some all besprinkled with boiling lead, had their most necessary members cut off. Others suffered intolerable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members.

How great the outrage of the persecution in Alexandria was, and with how many kinds of new devised punishments the martyrs were afflicted, Philcas, bishop of the Thumitans, hath described. " Every man (saith he,) tormented the holy martyrs as he listed ; some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords ; and this example of beating was sundriwise executed, and with much cruelty. For some of them, having their hands bound behind their backs, were lifted up upon timber-logs, and with certain instruments their members and joints were stretched forth, whereupon their whole bodies hanging were subject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments ; and not on their sides only, but upon their bellies, thighs, and legs, they seratched them with the talons and claws of wild beasts. Others were seen to hang by one hand upon the engine, whereby they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the rest of their joints and members. Others were bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no stay under their feet, and very violently weighed down with the poise of their bodies ; that by reason of their strict binding, they being drawn out, might be more grievously tormented. And this they suffered, not only during the

time of their examination, and while the sheriff had to do with them, but also the whole day long. And whilst the judge went thus from one to another, he appointed officers to attend upon those he left, that they might not be let down. Another torment our adversaries devised to augment their former plagues: after they had most lamentably beaten them, they invented a new kind of rack, wherein they lying upright were stretched by both the feet, with sharp shells strewed under them. Others were cast down upon the pavement, where they were oppressed so grievously with torments, that it is not to be thought what afflictions they suffered.

Thus they, lying in pains and torments, some died therewith; not a little confounding their enemies. Some half dead were thrust into prison, where, shortly after by pains and wounds, they ended their life. Some again, being cured of their wounds by their endurance in prison, were the more confirmed; who being put to the choice, whether they would come to their sacrifice, and enjoy their liberty, or else sustain the sentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremity."

But, notwithstanding, the martyrs were neither dismayed nor overcome by their torments, but joyfully sustained whatsoever was put unto them. Eusebius saith, that he himself beheld the huge persecution in Thebais, insomuch that the very swords of the hangmen being blunt with the slaughter, they themselves for weariness sat down to rest, and others were fain to take their places. And yet the murdered Christians shewed their marvellous readiness and Divine fortitude; with joy receiving the sentence of death, and, even unto the last gasp, sung hymns and psalms to God.

It was not yet one year from the day in which Dioclesian and Maximian, joining together, began their persecution, when they saw the number of Christians rather increase than diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty they could shew. And now they were out of all hope of rooting them out: which was the cause of the first

enterprize ; and having their fill of blood, they ceased of their own accord to put any more Christians to death. But yet they thrust out the right eyes, and maimed the left legs of many, and afterwards condemned them to the mines. And this was the clemency of those princes, who said, that it was not meet that the cities should any longer be defiled with the blood of citizens, to make the emperors stained with the name of cruelty. Thus they shewed princely beneficence to all men.

But, not long after, the persecution was renewed by Maxentius, till the citizens and senators of Rome, being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints with letters unto Constantine, desiring him to release their country and city. Who, understanding their miserable state, first sent letters to Maxentius, exhorting him to restrain his cruelty. But, when no letters availed, he gathered together his army in Britain and France, and entered Italy, the year 318. Maxentius, understanding of the coming of Constantine, durst not encounter him in the open field, but laid in wait for him by the way. With whom Constantine had divers skirmishes, and, by the power of the Lord, did ever put them to flight. One day, as he was drawing toward Rome, and casting up his eyes to heaven, in the south part, about the going down of the sun, he saw a great brightness in heaven, appearing in the similitude of a cross, with this inscription in Latin letters, *in hoc vince*, that is, *in this overcome*. Eusebius, witnesses that he had heard Constantine himself often report this, which he did see with his own eyes, and also his soldiers about him.

The next day Constantine caused a cross to be made of gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his standard ; against whom Maxentius, being constrained to issue out of the city, sendeth all his power to join with him in the field beyond the river Tiber ; where Maxentius, craftily breaking down the bridge, caused another deceitful bridge to be made of boats,

being joined together, and covered over with boards and planks in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. After the hosts met, he, being not able to sustain the force of Constantine, was put to flight. Retiring back, he thought to get to the city ; but upon the bridge laid for Constantine, was overturned by the fall of his horse into the bottom of the flood ; and there, with the weight of his armour, he with a great part of his men, were drowned.

By this victory of Constantine, and by the death of Maxentius, no little tranquillity came unto the church. And here is an end of the persecutions of the primitive church, during the space of 300 years, from the passion of our Saviour Christ, till the coming of Constantine ; under whom the church had rest after long trouble ; and the malice of satan was at length restrained, through the great mercy of God in Christ : to whom, therefore, be thanks and praise, now and for ever. Amen !

But here ended the life and power of religion : Christians *from this time growing more and more dissolute*, and thereby making way for all the errors and corruptions of the Romish church.



HAVING given a brief history of the *ten first persecutions of Christianity*, I proceed now to give some account of the *beginning and progress of religion in our own country*.

That our Christian faith was not first derived from Rome, I prove by several conjectural reasons. The first is the testimony of Gildas, our countryman : that Britain received the gospel in the time of Tiberius the emperor, under whom Christ suffered : that Joseph of Arimathea was sent by Philip the apostle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord 63, and remained in this land

all his time ; and, with his fellows, laid the first foundation of the Christian faith among the Britons ; which other teachers afterwards confirmed.

The second reason is out of Tertullian, who living before the time of pope Eleutherius, testifies, that the gospel was dispersed abroad by the sound of the apostles : and reckoning up the Medes, Persians, Parthians, with many more, at length cometh to the borders of Spain, with divers nations of France ; and, amongst others, recites also the parts of Britain, which the Romans could never attain ; but which, saith he, are now subject to Christ. If so, then pope Eleutherius was not the first who sent the Christian faith into this realm ; but it was here received, before his time, either by Joseph of Arimathea, or by some of the apostles, or their scholars.

My third is out of Origen, Hom. 4, *in Ezekielem* ; whose words are these, *Britanniam in Christianam consentire religionem*. “ Britain consents to the Christian religion.” Whereby it appears that the faith of Christ was in England before the days of Eleutherius.

For my fourth proof, I take the testimony of Beda : that in his time, and almost 1,000 years after Christ, Easter was kept in Britain, after the manner of the Eastern church, in the full of the moon, on what day in the week soever it fell ; and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Whereby it is plain, that the first preachers in this land came from the East, where it was so used ; and not from Rome, where they kept it on the Sunday.

I add, fifthly, the words of Petrus Cluniacensis, who, writing to Bernard, affirms, that the Scots, in his time, celebrated their Easter, not after the Roman manner, but after the Greek. And as the said Britons were not under the Romans in the time of this abbot of Cluniaek ; so neither were they, nor would be, under the Roman legate, in the time of Gregory ; nor would admit any primacy of the bishop of Rome.

I grant the Christian faith was confirmed in this realm by Fagan and Damian, sent from Eleutherius. And it con-

tinued among them 216 years, till the coming of the Saxons, who then were Pagans.

King Lucius, after he had founded many churches, and given great riches and liberties to the same, died with great tranquillity in his own land, and was buried at Gloucester, the 14th year after his baptism. After him the commonwealth was miserably rent, and divided into two sorts of people ; differing not so much in country as in religion. For when the Romans reigned, they were governed by infidels ; when the Britons ruled, they were governed by Christians. What quietness could be in the church, in so unquiet and doubtful days, may easily be considered.

But, notwithstanding these heathen rulers, who governed this island, we read of no persecution that touched the Christian Britons, before the last persecution of Dioclesian and Maximine, who exercised much cruelty here. This was the first of many that followed in England ; and those so fierce and vehement, that, as all our English chronicles record, Christianity was destroyed almost in the whole land ; churches were subverted ; the Scriptures burned ; and many of the faithful, both men and women, slain.

As the realm of Britain, almost from the beginning, was never without civil war, at length came Vortigern, who, causing Constantius his prince to be murdered, ambitiously invaded the crown ; and then, fearing Aurelius and Uter, the brethren of Constantius, sent over for the aid of the Saxons. Vortigern, not long after, was dispossessed of his kingdom by Hengist and the Saxons, and the people of Britain driven out of their country ; after the Saxons had slain of their chief nobles and barons at one meeting (joining subtilty with cruelty,) to the number of 271.

This was the coming in of the Angles or Saxons into this realm, which was about the year of our Lord 469. After they were settled in England, they distributed the realm among themselves into seven parts. But the seven

kingdoms continued not much above 200 years, before they were joined in one; coming all into the possession and subjection of the West Saxons, under king Egbert, about the year 795.

From the coming of the Saxons the gospel decayed more and more, till, in the year 598, Austin, being sent from pope Gregory, came into England. He and his companions landed on the Isle of Thanet, lying upon the east side of Kent. Near to which was then the palace of the king, which the inhabitants of the isle then called Richbrough; whereof some part of the ruinous walls is yet to be seen. The king then reigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, who at that time had married a French woman, being christened, named Berda; whom he had received of her parents upon this condition, that he should permit her, with her bishop, to enjoy the freedom of her religion. By their means he was sooner induced to embrace the doctrine of Christ. Austin, being arrived, sent messengers to the king, signifying that he was come, bringing glad tidings of life and salvation to him and all his people, if he would willingly hearken to the same.

The king, within a few days, came to the place where Austin was; who then preached the word of God to him. The king answered, "The words that you preach are fair: nevertheless, I cannot soon start from my country-law. Yet, for that ye are come so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be well intreated, having all things ministered to you necessary for your support. Besides this, we grant you free leave to preach to our people, and to convert whom ye may to the faith of your religion." Then they went to the city of Canterbury, where the king had given them a mansion for their abode: and there continued, preaching and baptizing such as they had converted, in the east-side of the city, in the old church of St. Martin, (where the queen used to resort,) unto the time that the king himself was converted to Christ, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign. After the king was converted,

innumerable others came in and were joined to the church of Christ ; whom the king specially embraced, but compelled none ; for he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary. Then he gave Austin a place for the bishop's see at Christ's church, and built the abbey of St. Peter and Paul, in the east-side of the city, where afterward Austin and all the kings of Kent were buried. And that place is now called St. Austin.

Afterwards Austin gathered together the bishops and doctors of Britain ; and charged them that they should preach with him the word of God to the Englishmen ; and also, that they should reform certain rites and usages in their church ; especially of their keeping Easter, and baptizing after the manner of Rome. To this the Scots and Britons would not agree, refusing to leave the custom which they had so long continued. Then Austin gathered together another synod ; to which came seven bishops of Britain, with the wisest men of that famous abbey of Bangor. But first they took counsel of a certain wise and holy man amongst them, whether they should be obedient to Austin or not ? And he said, " If he be the servant of God, agree unto him." " But how shall we know that," said they ? To whom he answered, " If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know, that he is the servant of God." To this they said again, " And how shall we know him to be humble and meek of heart ?" " By this, (quoth he,) seeing you are the greater number ; if he, at your coming into the synod, rise up, and courteously receive you, perceive him to be an humble and a meek man." The Britain bishops entering into the council, Austin, after the Romish manner, kept his chair, and would not move. Whereat they being offended, after some heat of words, in great displeasure departed. To whom then Austin said, " If they disdained to preach the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer the revenge of death by their enemies." Which not long after came to pass, by means of Ethelfrid,

king of Northumberland, who, being yet a pagan, came with a great army against the city of Chester. There was, at the same time, at Bangor, in Wales, an exceeding great monastery; all the monks whereof lived by the sweat of their brows. Out of this monastery came the monks of Chester, to pray for good success against the Saxons. The Britons being overcome, the king commanded his men to turn their weapons against the monks; of whom he slew 1,100, only 50 persons of that number fled and escaped away: the rest were all slain.

About the 30th year of the reign of Egbert, the Danes, who a little before had made horrible destruction in Northumberland, where they had spoiled the churches, and murdered the ministers, with men, women, and children, after a cruel manner, entered the second time with a great host into this land, and spoiled the Isle of Sheppy, in Kent. Egbert hearing thereof, assembled his people there, and met them. But in that conflict he was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding, in the next battle, he, with a small power, overthrew a great multitude of them, and drove them back. But although they were many times driven out of the land, and chased from one country to another, they ever gathered new strength and powers, so that they could not wholly be expelled.

In the reign of king Ethelwolf, son to Egbert, the Danes returned: through the barbarous tyranny of whom much bloodshed and murder happened. At length, King Ethelwolf, warring against them, drove them to sea; where, they hovering a space, after a while, burst in again with horrible rage and cruelty. The cause of this great affliction, sent of God unto this realm, is thus expressed by an ancient author: "In the primitive church of the Englishmen, religion did clearly shine; insomuch that kings, queens, princes and dukes, barons and rulers of churches, inflamed with the desire of the kingdom of heaven, forsook all, and followed the Lord. But, in process of time, all virtue so much decayed among them,

that, in fraud and treachery, none seemed like unto them: neither was any thing odious or hateful to them, but piety and justice. Neither was any thing in honour, but civil war, and shedding of innocent blood. Wherefore Almighty God sent upon them pagan and cruel nations, like swarms of bees, which neither spared women nor children. Who, from the beginning of the reign of King Ethelwolf, till the coming of the Normans, for the space of near 230 years, destroyed their sinful land, from the one side of the sea to the other, from man even to beast." To this we may add, the wickedness, not only of them, but of their fore-fathers; who, breaking the faith and promise made with the Britons, cruelly murdered their nobles, wickedly oppressed their commons, impiously persecuted the innocent Christians, injuriously possessed their land and habitation; chasing the inhabitants out of house and country: besides the murder of the monks of Bangor, and divers foul slaughters among the poor Britons, who sent for them to be their helpers. Wherefore God's just recompence falling upon them from that time, never suffered them to be quiet from foreign enemies, till the coming of William the Norman.

Alfred, son of Ethelwolf, in the beginning of his reign, perceiving his lords and people much wasted and decayed, by reason of the great wars against the Danes, as well as he could, gathered an army of men; and in the second month after he was made king, met the Danes beside Wilton, where he gave them battle. But being far over-matched, he was discomfited; although not without so great a slaughter of the pagan army, that the Danes agreed to depart out of his dominion; and accordingly removed from Reading to London, where they abode all that winter. In the fourth year of his reign they returned; yet, finding Alfred ready, they made peace with him for a season.

In the seventh year of Alfred, the Danes, having all the rule of the north part of England, from the river of Thames, disdained that Alfred should bear any dominion

on the south side of the Thames. Whereupon, with all the strength they could make, they marched toward Chippenham in West-Sex, with such a multitude, that the king with his people was not able to resist them. Of the people, which inhabited there, some fled over the sea; divers submitted to the Danes. Alfred being overcome by the multitude of enemies, and forsaken of his people, withdrew himself, with a few of his nobles, into a certain wood in Somersetshire, called Selwood. In this wood, king Alfred, at his first coming, spied a cottage of a poor swineherd, named Dunwolf, by whom the king, then unknown, was entertained and cherished, with such fare as he and his wife could provide. King Alfred afterward set the poor swineherd to learning, and made him bishop of Winchester.

Notwithstanding, the king, in process of time, was strengthened, through the Providence of God. For the brother of King Halden, the Dane, coming in with 33 ships, landed in Devonshire; where he fell into an ambush of King Alfred's men, and was slain. After this, King Alfred shewed himself at large; so that the men of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire, daily resorted to him, till he was strongly reinforced. Then the king put himself upon this bold and dangerous adventure: apparelling himself in a mean habit, he entered into the tents of the Danes, lying then at Eddendun; where he saw all their sloth and idleness, and heard much of their counsel; and returning unto his company, declared to them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortly after, he suddenly fell upon them in the night, and slew a great multitude of them. His subjects hearing of this, drew to him daily out of all coasts: who, through the help of God, held the Danes so short, that he won Winchester, and divers other good towns from them. At length, he forced them to seek for peace; which was concluded upon certain covenants. The principal was, that their king should be christened: the other, that

such as would not be christened should depart the country.

After King Alfred had Christianly governed the realm 29 years and 6 months, he departed this life, in the year 901, and lyeth buried at Winchester. Of whom, moreover, I find this noted, that wheresoever he was, he carried in his bosom a little book, containing the Psalms of David, and certain prayers. In this book he continually read or prayed, whensoever he was at leisure.

Edgar, the great grand-son of Alfred, began to reign over all England, in the year 959. He was a pious and wise prince. Such as were wicked he kept under; he repressed them that were rebels; he maintained the godly; he loved the modest; he was devout to God, and beloved of his subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietness. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God blessed him with abundance of peace and rest from all wars: so that he neither suffered any treason among his subjects, nor any invasion of foreign enemies. So studious was he of the publick profit of his realm, that no year passed in all the time of his reign, wherein he did not in some singular and necessary way profit the commonwealth. He was a great maintainer of religion and learning, not forgetting herein the footsteps of King Alfred his predecessor. Among his other princely virtues, this is chiefly to be regarded: that whereas other princes, in much peace and quietness, are commonly wont to grow into a dissolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed to them; this king ever kept such a watch, and vigilant severity, joined with a seemly clemency, that he would suffer no man, of what degree of nobility soever he was, to elude his laws without condign punishment. Moreover, as the industry of this prince was forward in all other points, so it was manifested in his prudent provision, in driving out the wolves throughout the land. In this he used great policy; causing Ludwall, prince or king of Wales, to yield him

yearly, by way of tribute, 300 wolves. By this means, within the space of four years after, scarce one wolf could be found alive in England and Wales.

In winter, during all the time of his life, his manner was, to ride over the land in progress, searching and inquiring diligently, how his laws and statutes were kept ; that the poor might suffer no prejudice, or be oppressed any manner of ways by the mightier.

## THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES.

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IN the reign of King Henry the Second, about the year of our Lord 1178, in the city of Tholouse was a great number of men and women, whom the pope's commissioners perscuted, and condemned for hereticks; of whom some were scourged, some chased away, and some compelled to abjure. We have not a particular account of their opinions; only that they denied the sacramental to be the natural body of Christ. About the same time sprang up the doctrine and name of them, which were called Waldenses. Not long before this time, rose up Francis and Dominic, maintaining blind hypocrisy, no less than proud prelacy. As these laboured to corrupt the sincerity of the Christian religion; so it pleased Christ, working against them, to raise up the Waldenses, to testify against their pride and hypocrisy.

The name of the Waldenses came of Waldus, a man of great substance in the city of Lyons; the occasion whereof is declared by divers writers as follows. About the year of our Lord 1160, it chanced that divers of the heads of the city of Lyons were talking and walking, as their manner was, especially in the summer-time. One of them (the rest looking on,) fell down by sudden death. Waldus being amongst them, beholding the matter

more earnestly than the others, and terrified with so heavy an example, was stricken with a deep and inward repentance; whereupon followed a careful study to reform his life. And first, he began to minister large alms to such as needed. Secondly, to instruct himself and his family in the knowledge of God's word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him on any occasion, to repentance and amendment of life. Whereby, partly through his large giving to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more people daily came about him; whom when he saw ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himself into the French tongue. For as he was a wealthy man, so he was also not unlearned: for, by old parchment monuments, it appears, that he was both able to translate the Scriptures, and to collect the mind of the doctors upon the same. The bishops seeing him so to intermeddle with Scripture, and to have such resort about him, could not bear that the Scripture should be declared by any other; neither would they take the pains to declare it themselves. So, being moved with great malice against the man, they threatened to excommunicate him, if he did not leave off that practice. Waldus, neglecting the threatnings of the wicked, said, "That God must be obeyed rather than man." The more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ, the more their fierceness increased. Insomuch that when they saw their excommunication despised, they ceased not to persecute, with sword and banishment, till they had driven both Waldus, and all the favourers of his preaching, out of the city.

Their chief Doctrines were these :—

I. Only the Holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to salvation.

II. All things are contained in Holy Scripture which are necessary to salvation; and nothing is to be admitted as such, but what is commanded in the Word of God.

III. There is only one Mediator ; other saints are in no wise to be made mediators, or to be invoked.

IV. There is no purgatory ; but all men, either by Christ are justified to life, or without Christ are condemned.

V. All masses sung for the dead are wicked, and to be abrogated.

VI. Men's traditions are not to be reputed necessary to salvation. Such difference of meats, variety of degrees and orders of priests, friars, monks, and nuns ; superfluous holidays ; sundry benedictions, and hallowing of creatures ; vows and peregrinations, ought to be abolished.

VII. The supremacy of the pope, usurped above all churches, and especially above all realms and governments, is to be denied ; neither is any degree to be received into the church, but only bishops, priests, and deacons.

VIII. The communion under both kinds is necessary to all people, according to the institution of Christ.

IX. The church of Rome is the very Babylon spoken of in the Apocalypse ; and the pope is the very antichrist.

X. The marriage of priests, and of ecclesiastical persons is godly, and also necessary in the church.

XI. Such as hear the word of God, and have a right faith, are the right church of Christ. And to this church the keys of the church are to be given, to drive away wolves, to institute true pastors, to preach the word, and to minister the sacraments.

These Waldenses were dispersed in divers places, of whom many remained in Bohemia ; who, writing to their king, Uladislaus, to purge themselves against slanderous accusations, gave up their confession, with an apology of their Christian profession ; defending, with strong and learned arguments, the same, which is now received in most reformed churches. Concerning the Supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be shewed and worshipped ; to be received at the

table, not to be carried out of the doors ; according to the ancient use of the primitive church.

Encas Sylvus, writing of their doctrines, reporteth thus of them :—

“ They hold, that the bishop of Rome is equal with other bishops : that there is no difference of degree among priests : that no priest is to be esteemed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthiness of his life.

“ That the souls of men departed, enter either into everlasting pain, or everlasting joy : that no fire of purgatory is to be found : and that to pray for the dead is vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of priests.

“ That the images of God, (as of the Trinity,) and of the saints, are to be abolished. The hallowing of water is a mere jest. The religion of begging friars was found out by the devil. That priests should not heap up riches in this world : and that the preaching of the word is free for all men called thereunto.

“ That no sin is to be tolerated, for any respect of a greater commodity to ensue thereupon. The confirmation which bishops exercise with oil, and extreme unction, are not to be counted among the sacraments of the church. Auricular confession is but a toy. That baptism ought to be administered only with pure water, without any mixture of oil. The temple of the Lord is the wide world. The majesty of God is not to be restrained within the walls of temples, monasteries, or chapels.

“ That priests’ apparel, ornaments of the high altar, patins, and other church-plate, serve in no stead : that it matters not in what place the priest consecrates, or ministers to them that require it : that it is sufficient to use the sacramental words only, without any other ceremonies.

“ That the suffrages of saints are craved in vain ; they being not able to help us : and that a man ought to cease from labour on no day, but only upon the Sunday.”

These assertions of the Waldenses are the less to be doubted, being published by a pope's pen ; so that we may the better know both what they were, and also that the doctrine, now taught in the church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost 400 years ago.

As I have spoken hitherto concerning their doctrine ; so now we will touch on the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registered in a certain ancient book. The manner of the Waldenses is this : " They, kneeling upon their knees, continue in their prayers with silence, so long as a man may say *Pater noster* 30 or 40 times. And they do this every day with great reverence, amongst such as are of their own religion, both before dinner and after ; likewise before supper and after ; also what time they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times, as well in the day as in the night. Before they go to meat, the elder beginneth thus, in their own tongue : " God, which blessed the five barley-loaves and two fishes in the desert, bless this table, and what is set upon it : in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen ! " And likewise when they rise from meat, he giveth thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse : " Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, virtue, and strength, to God alone, for ever and ever. Amen ! " And addeth, moreover, " God reward them in their bosoms, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us. And the God which hath given us corporeal feeding, grant us his spiritual life ; and God be with us, and we always with him. " To which they answer again, " Amen ! " After their meat, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, conferring together upon their doctrine.

" In their teaching they were so diligent and painful, that Reincrus (an extreme enemy against them,) testifieth, that one of them, to turn a certain person away from our faith, and to bring him to his, in the night, and

in the winter-time, swam over the river called Ibis, to come to him, and teach him. Moreover, they were so perfect in the Scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith, he heard and saw a man of the country unlettered, who could recite the whole book of Job word by word; with divers others who had the whole new testament by heart. He adds, "There was none durst stop them, for the multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their examination, and there were numbered forty churches infected with their heresy; insomuch, that in one parish of Cammach, there were ten schools of them." The same Reinerius, when he hath said all he can against them, is driven to confess this; "This sect hath a shew of great holiness: They live justly before men; and believe all things well of God; and hold all the articles contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the church."

"After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into divers places, (the providence of God so disposing,) that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some went to Bohemia; many into the provinces of France; some into Lombardy; others into other places. But as the cross commonly followeth the sincere preaching of God's word, so neither could these be suffered to live at rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops, for the abolishing and extirpating of them, written above 300 years ago; whereby it appeareth, that there was a great number of them in France.

"There was also a council kept in Thoulouse about 355 years since, against these Waldenses; who were condemned in another council at Rome before. What great persecutions were raised against them in France by the bishops, appears by their own writings. Some of their words are these: 'Who is such a stranger, that knoweth not the condemnation of the Waldenses, the hereticks, so many years ago; so famous, so publick, followed with so great labours, expenses, and travel of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so

solemnly condemned, and so publickly punished?' In Bohemia likewise, after that, the same people, called by the name of Thaborites, (as Silvius recordeth) suffered no little trouble.

"Reinerius speaketh of one in the town of Cheron, a glover, who was brought in at this time to examination, and suffered martyrdom. There is also an old monument of process, wherein it appeareth that 443 were brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts, about the year of our Lord 1391."

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and first persecutions of the Waldenses.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
JOHN WICKLIFF.

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JOHN WICKLIFF, being the publick reader of Divinity in the university of Oxford, was, for the time wherein he lived, a great clerk, a deep schoolman, and no less expert in all kinds of philosophy : which doth not only appear by his own writings, but also by the confession of Walden, his most bitter enemy : who writes unto pope Martin the Fifth, “ That he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, the places of authority which he had gathered, and the vehemency and force of his reasons.” He flourished about the year of our Lord 1371, Edward the Third reigning in England. The most lamentable ignorance and darkness had overshadowed the whole earth, when this man stepped out like a valiant champion ; unto whom may justly be applied that in Ecclesiasticus : “ Even as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon being full in her course, and as the bright beams of the sun ; so doth he shine and glister in the temple and church of God.”

In these times, while there seemed in a manner to be not one spark of pure doctrine remaining ; Wickliff, by God’s providence rose up. After he had a long time professed divinity in Oxford, perceiving the true doctrine

of Christ to be adulterated and defiled with so many filthy inventions, and having long deliberated with himself, (with secret sighs, bewailing in his mind, the general ignorance of the whole world,) he at last determined to remedy such things as he saw to be out of the way. But forasmuch as he saw, that this dangerous meddling could not be attempted without great trouble, and that these things, which had been so long rooted in men's minds, could not be suddenly plucked away, he thought with himself this should be done by little and little: wherefore taking small occasions, he opened a way to greater matters. And first he assailed his adversaries in logical and metaphysical questions of no great effect: but yet, it did not a little help him, who minded to dispute of greater matters.

By these, the way was made unto higher points, so that he came at length to touch on the sacraments, and other abuses of the church: protesting openly in the schools, that it was his principal purpose, to call back the church from her idolatry. But this sore could not be touched without great grief and pain. For first, the whole order of monks and begging friars were set in a rage, and assailed him on every side. After them the priests, and then the archbishop, took the matter in hand, being then Simon Sudbury; who, for the same cause, deprived him of his benefice, which he then had in Oxford. Notwithstanding, he continued and bare the malice of the friars, and of the archbishop, till about the year of our Lord 1377. After which, his main troubles and conflict began; of which it remains to give an account.

King Edward III. having reigned about 51 years, after the decease of Prince Edward, his son, who departed the year before, was so feeble, that he was utterly unable to govern the affairs of the realm. Hereupon, twelve governors were appointed by parliament, to attend the publick affairs of the realm. These remained for a space about him; till afterward, they being removed, all the

government of the realm, next under the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster, the king's son. For Richard, the son of Prince Edward, lately departed, was as yet very young. This duke of Lancaster had a long time conceived a displeasure against the popish clergy, for their corrupt doctrine, joined with abominable excess of life. He sent for Wickliff, who had been deprived of his benefice. The opinions for which he was deprived were these: "That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man than another bishop had. That if it were given by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolve the same was as much in the power of another priest as in his." He affirmed moreover, "That neither the king nor any temporal lord could give any perpetuity to the church; and that in the sacrament, the bread remained unchanged, and was not the natural body of Christ."

Yet, through the favour and support of the duke of Lancaster, he continued hitherto in some quiet: but about the year of our Lord 1376, the bishops still urging the archbishop, obtained an order of citation to have him brought before them. The duke, having intelligence that Wickliff was to come before the bishops, fearing that he, being but one, was too weak against such a multitude, called four batchelors of divinity to him; and when the day appointed was come, which was Thursday, February 19, John Wickliff went, accompanied with these four friars, and with them also the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, lord marshal of England; the Lord Percy going before them to make room where Wickliff might come.

Thus Wickliff (through the providence of God) being sufficiently guarded, came to the place where the bishops sat; whom, by the way, they exhorted not to fear; neither to dread the concourse of people, whom they themselves would keep off, so that he should take no harm. When Wickliff approached to St. Paul's church in London, a vast crowd of people was gathered to hear

what should be said : so that the lords (notwithstanding the power of the high marshal) could not get through without great difficulty. Then the bishop of London, seeing the stir that the lord marshal kept among the people, said; " If he had known it before, he would have stopped him from coming there." At which the duke, not a little moved, answered the bishop again, " That he would come there, though he should say nay."

At last, after much pressing, they forced their way through, and came to our Lady's chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting with the archbishops and bishops. Before whom John Wickliff, according to custom, stood to know what should be laid against him. But the lord Percy bid him sit down, saying, " That he had many things to answer to." The bishop of London, enraged at those words, said, He should not sit there. Neither was it according to law or reason, that he, who was cited to appear before his ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer. Upon these words, a fire began to kindle between them : insomuch, that the whole multitude began to be set on a hurry.

The duke took the lord Percy's part. To whom the bishop returned not only as good as he brought, but far excelled him in this art of scolding. The duke fell to plain threatening ; menacing the bishop, " That he would bring down the pride, not only of him, but also of all the prelaey of England." The Londoners heard him, and being set in a rage, they cried out, " They would not suffer their bishop to be abused ; but would rather lose their lives." Thus the council was dissolved before nine o'clock. And the duke, with the lord Percy, went to the parliament ; where the same day, a bill was put up in the name of the king, that the city of London should no more be governed by a mayor, but by a captain, as in times past. Which bill being read, John Philpot, burgess for the city, stood up, and said to them, who read the bill, " That it was never seen so before ;" adding, " that the mayor would never suffer any such thing."

The day following, the Londoners assembled themselves in a council, to consider upon the bill, and also concerning the injuries done to their bishop. While they were busy in consultation, there came in the lord Fitz-Walter, declaring, he could not but inform them, "That the lord marshal, Henry Percy, had one in custody, whether with their knowledge or without, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the lord marshal was not allowed any prison in his house, within the liberties of the city." These words of the lord Fitz-Walter were no sooner spoken, but the citizens, in all haste, running to their weapons, went straight to the house of the lord Percy, where, breaking up the gates, they took out the prisoner by violence, and burned the stocks wherein he sat, in the midst of London. Then was the lord Percy sought for, whom they would doubtless have slain, if they could have found him. All corners and privy chambers were searched; beds and hangings torn asunder. But the lord Percy, as it pleased God, was then with the duke, whom one John Yper the same day had invited to dinner. The Londoners, not finding him at home, and supposing he was with the duke at the Savoy, turned their forces thither, running as fast as they could to the duke's house, where they were also disappointed. Mean while, one of the duke's men came running to him and to the lord Percy, declaring what was done. The duke, without any further tarrying, took boat with the lord Percy, and went by water to Kingston, where the princess, with Richard, the young prince, then lay. He there declared the whole matter to the princess. To whom she promised, that such an order should be taken, as should be to his content. Neither would the rage of the people have ceased thus, had not the bishop of London, leaving his dinner, come to them at the Savoy, and putting them in remembrance of the solemn time of Lent, persuaded them to be quiet.

After this, the princess sent to London three knights, Sir Albred Lewer, Sir Simon Burle, and Sir Lewis

Clifford, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled to the duke. The Londoners answered, "That they, for the honour of the princess, would obey, and do what she required with all reverence." The duke then caused the chief of them to be brought before the king; who were rebuked for their misdemeanour by the lord chamberlain, in the presence of the king, archbishops, bishops, and other states of the realm. In conclusion: the Londoners were compelled, at length, at the publick charges of the city, to make a great taper of wax, which, with the duke's arms set upon it, should be brought in solemn procession to the church of St. Paul, there to burn continually before the image of our Lady. And thus the duke and the Londoners were reconciled; and the same reconciliation publicly declared in the church of Westminster.

But no sooner was king Edward dead, than the bishops, seeing the duke, with the lord Percy, remain in their private houses, thought this the time to have some advantage against John Wickliff, who hitherto had some rest and quiet. Out of whose sermons they collected the following articles: "The holy Eucharist, after the consecration, is not the very body of Christ. The church of Rome is not the head of all churches: nor had Peter any more power than any other apostle. The lords temporal may lawfully take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending. That the Gospel is sufficient to rule the life of every Christian man, without any other rule. That neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors." Besides these, divers other conclusions were afterwards gathered out of his writings and preachings by the bishops, which they diligently sent to pope Gregory at Rome; where the said articles being read, were condemned as heretical and erroneous.

In the year 1378, being the first year of king Richard II. pope Gregory, taking his time, after the death of king Edward, sent his bull, directed to the university of Oxford,

rebuking them sharply for suffering the doctrine of John Wickliff to take root so long. When this bull came to their hands, the proctors and masters of the university, joining together in consultation, stood long in doubt, whether to receive or reject it. Beside this bull, Gregory directed his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishop of London, strictly enjoining them to cause the said John Wickliff to be apprehended, and cast into prison; and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliff, or to his doctrine. He wrote also to the king to the same effect. From these letters the bishops took no little heart, fully determining with themselves, that no person, high or low, should hinder them; neither would they be moved by the entreaty of any man, nor by any threatenings. The day of examination being come, a certain person of the prince's court, named Lewis Clifford, entering in among the bishops, commanded them, that they should not proceed with any definitive sentence against John Wickliff. With which words they were all so amazed, that they became speechless, having not one word to say. And thus, by the wondrous work of God, John Wickliff escaped the second time out of the bishop's hands, only being charged and commanded, that he should not teach any such doctrine any more.

This good man, being escaped with this charge, notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had began. Unto whom also (as it happened by the providence of God) this was a great help, that in the same year pope Gregory, the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, died. After whom ensued such a schism in Rome, between two popes, and others succeeding after them, one striving against another, as endured 39 years, until the time of the council of Constance.

It would require an Iliad to comprehend, in order, all the circumstances and tragical parts of this schism; what

trouble in the whole church ; what parties in every country ; what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelates ; what shedding of blood followed thereupon. Otho, duke of Brunswick, was taken and murdered. Joan, his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicilia, who before had sent to pope Urban, beside other gifts at his coronation, 40,000 ducats in pure gold, was after, by the said Urban, committed to prison, and there strangled. Cardinals were racked, and miserably tormented to death on gibbets ; several battles were fought between the two popes, in one whereof 5000 were slain on one side. Five cardinals were beheaded together, after long torments. The bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected of pope Urban, for not riding faster with him, was, by his command, slain, and cut to pieces. All which things, with divers other acts of horrible cruelty beside, happened in the time of this schism.

About three years after, Simon, of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, was beheaded. In whose place succeeded William Courtney, who was no less diligent than his predecessor, to root out heretics. Notwithstanding Wickliff's sect daily increased, till William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, about the year of our Lord 1380, had the rule of that university ; who, calling together eight doctors and four others, set forth an edict, under a grievous penalty, that no man should hereafter associate with any of Wickliff's favourers. And unto Wickliff himself, and all his followers, he threatened the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, if, after three days admonition or warning, they did not repent and amend. When Wickliff understood this, forsaking the pope and all the clergy, he thought to appeal to the king : but the duke of Lancaster coming between, forbad him, and commanded him to his ordinary. Whereby Wickliff, being, as it were, in the midst of the waves, was forced once more to make confession of his doctrine ; in which he qualified his assertions after such a manner, that he assuaged the rigour of his enemies.

Here the great providence of God is not to be passed over. When the archbishop and his suffragans, with other doctors of divinity and lawyers, and a great company of friars were assembled, to consult touching John Wickliff's books, and that whole sect, at the Grey-Friars, in London, upon St. Dunstan's day, about two o'clock, the very hour they should have gone forward with their business, a wonderful and terrible earthquake happened throughout all England : whereupon divers of the suffragans, doubting what it should mean, thought good to leave off. But the archbishop strengthened their hearts, which were almost daunted, to proceed in their enterprise. They then discoursing of Wickliff's articles, (not according to Scripture, but after their own private affections and traditions,) gave sentence, that some of them were plainly heretical, others erroneous, and not consonant to the church of Rome.

In consequence of this, the archbishop delivered his letters patent to the chancellor of Oxford, part of which ran thus : " We will and command you, that, in the church of our blessed Lady, in Oxford, upon those days in which the sermon is usually made, as also in the schools of the said university, upon those days in which the lectures are read, ye publish the heretical and erroneous conclusions of John Wickliff. And that you peremptorily forbid any one hereafter to hold, teach, and preach, or defend the heresies and errors above said, or any of them ; or that any admit to preach, hear, or hearken unto John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, which are notoriously suspected of heresy, or any other whatsoever, so suspected ; or that they, either privately or publicly, aid, or favour them, or any of them ; but that they avoid them as a serpent. And furthermore we command, that ye diligently inquire after all their favourers, and cause to be inquired throughout all the halls of the university. And that, when you have intelligence of their names, ye compel all and every of them

to abjure their outrages by ecclesiastical censures, and other pains canonical whatsoever, under pain of the greater curse, which, against all and singular the rebellious in this behalf, we pronounce.

The archbishop, not yet content, solicited the king, by all means possible, to join the power of his temporal sword. For hitherto the clergy had not authority, by any public law or statute of this land, to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever, in case of religion. The king being but young, partly induced by suit of the archbishop, partly for fear of the bishops, was content to join his private assent to the setting down of an ordinance which was the very first law that is to be found, made against religion and the professors thereof, bearing the name of an act made in the parliament held at Westminster *Ann. 5, Rich. II.* where, among sundry other statutes, yet remaining in the printed books of statutes, this is to be found, cap. 5, *et ultimo*,

“*Item*, Forasmuch as it is openly known that there be divers evil persons within this realm, going from town to town, under dissimulation of great holiness, and without the license of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority, preaching daily, not only in churches and church-yards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places, where a great congregation of people is, divers sermons, containing heresies, and notorious errors; it is ordained and assented in this present parliament, That the king’s commissions be directed to the sheriffs, and other ministers of our sovereign Lord the king, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify themselves according to the law and reason of holy church.”

Immediately upon the publishing of this, commissions were made, under the great seal of England, directed to the archbishop and his suffragans, being parties in the case, authorizing them (without either the words or reasonable meaning of the said statute,) to imprison

whom they would in their own houses, or where else they pleased. But at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth year of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, there is one in this form, Article 52.—“*Item*, Prayen the commons, That whereas an estatute was made the last parliament in these words, ‘It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the sheriffs, and other ministers of the king, to arrest all such preachers and their fauters, maintainers, and abettors; and them to detain in strong prison, until they will justify themselves according to reason and law of holy church:’—the which was never agreed nor granted by the commons; but whatsoever was moved therein was without their assent;—that the said statute be therefore disannulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further justified, or bound by the prelates, than were their ancestors in former times. Whereunto is answered, *Il plaist a l’roy*; i. e. The king is pleased.”

But though hereby that unjust law was repealed, yet this act of repeal was never published, nor ever since printed with the rest of the statutes of that parliament. And the said repeal being concealed, like commissions were made from time to time, by virtue of the said bastard-statute, against the professors of the truth, as well during all the reign of this king as ever since. And now the king himself wrote his letters patents to the archbishop, giving him and his suffragans authority “To arrest and imprison, either in their own prisons, or any other, all and every such person or persons as shall, either privily or openly, preach and maintain the afore-said conclusions, so condemned; and the said persons, so imprisoned there, at their pleasures to detain, till such time as they shall repent them of such heretical pravities.”

At the same time he directed letters patent to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, wherein were these words,

“If henceforth you shall find any that believe, favour, or defend any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or which shall receive into their houses Mr. John Wickliff, Mr. Nicholas Herford, Mr. Philip Reppington, or Mr. John Ashton; or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or to defend or favour any of such favourers, receivers, communicants, and defenders, within seven days after the same shall appear unto you, you shall banish and expel them from the university and town of Oxford. We command, furthermore, that throughout all the halls of the university ye cause diligently to be searched and inquired out of hand, if any man have any book or tract of the edition or compiling of the aforesaid Mr. J. Wickliff, or N. Herford; and that wheresoever ye shall find any such book or tract, ye cause the same to be arrested or taken, and unto the aforesaid archbishop, within one month, (without correction, corruption, or mutation whatsoever,) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented.”

Besides these letters, the young king, moved by the importunity of the archbishop, sent another special letter to the vice-chancellor and proctors of Oxford; wherein he strictly enjoined them to make a general inquisition through the whole university, as well for the aforesaid John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton, as for all whom they knew or judged to be suspected of that doctrine, or to be maintainers, receivers, and defenders of the aforesaid persons; to the intent that they, being so apprehended, might, within seven days, be expelled the university. This commandment being received, Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington (being privily warned by the vice-chancellor,) conveyed themselves out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succour and help; but the duke, whether for fear, or for what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsook his clients. Being repulsed by the duke, they went to the archbishop, and on the 23d day of October, in the year 1382, Reppington was reconciled to him; and also by his

general letter was released, and admitted to his scholastic acts in the university; and so was also John Ashton.

In the mean time, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop, to have a convocation of the clergy summoned against the next parliament, which should begin the 18th day of November. The archbishop likewise directed his letters monitory (as the manner is,) to Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffragans, and other of the clergy within his province, for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid; which being done, the convocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide, in Oxford. The archbishop, with the other bishops there sitting, declared one cause of their present assembly was, to repress heresies, which lately began to spring up in the realm, and to correct other excesses in the church.

During the time of this convocation, Nicholas Herford did not appear, and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which he appealed, from the archbishop to the king and his council. The archbishop would not admit it, but caused him to be apprehended, and thrown into prison. Notwithstanding, he escaped out of prison, and returned again to his former exercise and preaching, as he did before. Whereupon the archbishop, thundering out his bolts of excommunication against him, sent to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all churches to divulge the said excommunication; and gave special charge to all and singular of the laity to beware that their simplicity were not deceived by his doctrine.

Mean while, it is not certainly known what became of John Wickliff. However, it is not to be doubted that he was alive, wheresoever he was, as may appear by his letter written to Pope Urban the Sixth, about this time. The copy of which here followeth.

“VERILY I do rejoice to declare unto every man the faith which I hold, and especially unto the bishop of Rome; the which, if it be found true, he will most willingly confirm; or, if it be erroneous, amend the same.—

First, I suppose that the gospel of Christ is the whole body of God's law. Again, I do give and hold the bishop of Rome, as the vicar of Christ on earth, to be bound, most of all other men, unto that law of the gospel. For the greatness amongst Christ's disciples did not consist in worldly dignity, but in the exact following of Christ in his life and manners; whereupon I gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ, for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poor man, casting off all worldly rule and honour.—Hereby I gather, that no man ought to follow the pope himself, or any of the holy men, but in such points as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter and the sons of Zebedee, by desiring worldly honour, contrary to the following Christ's steps, did offend; and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed.

“Hereof I gather, that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergy; for so did Christ and his apostles. Wherefore, if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit myself unto correction; and if I could labour, according to my will or desire, in my own person, I would surely present myself before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than men. Wherefore let us pray unto our God that he will so stir up our Pope Urban the Sixth, as he began, that he, with his clergy, may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray that our pope may be preserved from all evil counsel, which we know evil and envious men of his household would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above our power, much less will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able; forasmuch as that is the plain manner of antichrist.”

Thus much Mr. John Wickliff wrote to Pope Urban.

But he was so hot in his wars against Clement, the French pope, his adversary, that he had no leisure to attend to Wickliff's matters. By means of this schismatical war, Wickliff had some rest; who returning again within a short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place, where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, and there quietly departing this life, slept in peace in the Lord in the beginning of the year 1384.

Wickliff had written several works, which were burnt at Oxford in the year of our Lord 1410, the Abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary, and sent to oversee that matter. And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewise, the books of the said Wickliff were set on fire by Subincus, archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for them, and burned them. The number of volumes which he is said to have burned, most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold and rich coverings, (as Eneas Silvius writes,) were about two hundred.

After these things, thus declared, let us now adjoin the testimonial of the university of Oxford, concerning John Wickliff:—"Unto all and singular the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come, the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetual health in the Lord. Forasmuch as it is not commonly seen that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise of good men, should be passed over with perpetual silence, but that the true report should continually spread abroad the same in strange and far distant places, both for the witness of the same, and example of others: Hereupon the special good will and care which we bear unto John Wickliff, some time child of this our university, and professor of divinity, moving and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no less,) with one mind, voice and testimony, we do witness all his conditions and doings, throughout his whole life, to have

been most sincere and commendable; whose honest manners and conditions, and profoundness of learning, we desire more earnestly to be known unto all, for that we understand the ripeness of his conversation, his diligent labours and travels, to tend to the praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of the church.

“Wherefore we signify unto you by these presents, that his conversation (even from his youth upward unto the time of his death,) was so praiseworthy and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion noised of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaved himself laudably, and as a valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such who blasphemed and slandered Christ’s religion. Neither was this doctor convicted of any heresy, either burned of our prelates after his burial. God forbid that our prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty for an heretick, who, amongst all the rest of the university, had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without peer. All which we desire to testify, to the intent that the fame and renown of the said doctor may be the more evident amongst them unto whose hands these present letters shall come.

*“In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our common seal.  
Dated at Oxford in our congregation-house, the first day of October, in the year of our Lord 1406.”*

Nevertheless, by virtue of the decree of the council of Constance, his bones were taken up and burnt, forty years after his death.

Let us now proceed to the rest, who either in his time, or after his time, springing out of the same university, and raised up as it were out of his ashes, were partakers of the same persecution. In the number of whom was William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorpe, and Reynold Peacock. To these,

and other favourers of Wickliff in England, we may add also the Bohemians ; forasmuch as the doctrine of Wickliff, coming from England, took root also in that country. The occasion was this : There chanced at that time to be at Oxford, a certain student of Bohemia, one of a wealthy house, and of a noble stock. Returning home from the University of Oxford to the University of Prague, he carried with him certain of Wickliff's books, *De Civili Jure et Divino*, *De Ecclesia*, *De questionibus variis contra Clerum*. At the same time, a nobleman in the city of Prague had founded and built a church, finding in it two preachers to preach every day, both holyday and working-day, to the people. Of which two preachers, John Hus was one ; a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life. John Hus, being familiar with this young man, took such pleasure and profit in reading these books of Wickliff, that he not only began to defend this author openly in the schools, but also in his sermons ; commending him for an holy and heavenly man ; wishing himself, when he should die, to be there where the soul of Wickliff was.

Thus much briefly concerning the favourers of John Wickliff, in general. Now let us particularly prosecute the histories of the said persons, beginning with the valiant champions, William Swinderby and Walter Brute.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
WILLIAM SWINDERBY.

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IN the year 1389, William Swinderby, priest, within the diocese of Lincoln, was presented before John, bishop of that see, and examined upon certain articles in the church of Lincoln.

“That men may ask their debts by charity, but in no wise imprison any man.—That if parishioners know their curate to be an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their tythes.—That no prelate may curse a man, except he know that he is cursed of God.—That every priest may absolve any sinner, being contrite; and is bound (notwithstanding the inhibition of the bishop,) to preach the gospel.—That any priest, being in deadly sin, if he give himself to consecrate the body of the Lord, committeth idolatry.—That a child is not truly baptized, if the priest that baptizeth, or the godfather or godmother be in deadly sin.”

Which articles, although he never preached, or defended; yet the friars, with their witnesses, standing forth against him, declared him to be convict; bringing also dry wood with them to the town to burn him; and would not leave him before they made him promise never

to hold, teach, or preach them; and that he would go to certain churches to revoke the aforesaid conclusions, which he never affirmed.

Afterward, William Swinderby removed to the diocese of Hereford, where he was much molested by the friars again, and by John Tresnant, bishop of that see, as by the process and story ensuing may appear.

*The process of John Tresnant, bishop of Hereford, against William Swinderby, in the cause of heretical pravity.*

Whereas, among many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the office committed unto us, we are specially bound to extend our strength, that the Catholic faith may prosper, and heretical pravity be rooted out; we therefore, being excited through the information of many faithful Christians of our diocese, to root out pestiferous plants,—that is to say, preachers of the new sect, vulgarly called Lollards,—who, under a shew of holiness, running abroad through divers places of our diocese, endeavour to cut asunder the Lord's unsowed coat: that is to say, to rent the unity of the holy church, to weaken the strength of the ecclesiastical state, and the determination of the holy church:—we, to encounter such preachers, nay, rather deceivers, and horrible seducers among the people, advancing and rousing up ourselves in God's behalf with the spiritual sword, which may strike them wisely, and wound them for their health and welfare; and namely, William Swinderby, priest, as a preacher of such pernicious doctrine: to whom, personally appearing before us, on Wednesday the 14th of June, in the parish church of Kington, in the year of our Lord 1391, we have caused many articles concerning the Catholic faith to be ministered, that he should answer to the same, at a day and place for him convenient; that is to say, on Friday, being the last day of the same month, at the church of Bodenham. Of which

articles, exhibited unto us by many zealous followers of the Catholic faith, the tenour followeth, and is thus:

“Reverend father and high lord, lord John, by God’s sufferance, bishop of Hereford: It is lamentably declared unto your reverend fatherhood, on the behalf of Christ’s faithful people, your devout children of your diocese of Hereford, that there is newly come a certain child of wickedness, named William Swinderby, who by his horrible persuasions, and mischievous endeavours, and also by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert, as much as in him is, the whole ecclesiastical state.

I. “William Swinderby affirmed, in the presence of many Christian people, That, after the sacramental words uttered by the priest, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

II. “That all priests are of like power; notwithstanding that some of them are of higher honour, degree, or pre-eminence.

III. “That contrition putteth away sin, if a man be duly contrite; and that auricular confession is not requisite to salvation.

IV. “That the pope cannot grant yearly pardons; wherby it followeth, that the pardons are not of such value as they are praised to be.

V. “That it stands not in the power of any prelate to give letters for the benefit of his order; neither doth such benefit granted profit them, to the salvation of their souls, to whom they are granted.”

Upon Friday, the last day of June, about six o’clock, in the said parish church of Bodenham, hath the said William Swinderby personally appeared before us. And he hath read before the multitude of Christian people many answers made by the same William to the said articles: which thing being done, the said William did depart from our presence, because that we, at the instance of certain noble persons, had promised to the same William free access on that day, and also free departing, without harm in body or in goods.

Notwithstanding, this sentence was pronounced upon him not long after :

“ We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of Hereford, having God before our eyes, considering the articles by the aforesaid faithful Christians put up against the said Swinderby,—do pronounce, decree, and declare the said William to be an heretic, schismatic, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be avoided of faithful Christians. Wherefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christians, that neither they, nor any of them, do believe, receive, defend, or favour the said William, till he shall deserve to be fully reconciled to the bosom of holy church.”

William Swinderby appealed from this sentence of the bishop to the king and his council.

What became of him afterward I cannot certainly affirm ; whether he died in prison, or was burned. This is beyond all doubt, that during the life of king Richard II. no great harm was done to him. But when Henry IV invaded the kingdom, about the beginning of his reign, we read of a parliament holden at London, in which it was decreed, ‘ That whosoever shewed themselves favourers of Wickliff, who at that time were called Lollards, they should be apprehended ; and if they obstinately persevered, they should be committed to the secular magistrate.’ This law (saith the story,) brought a certain priest to punishment the same year, who was burned in Smithfield, in the presence of a great number. And it appears to me, by divers conjectures, that his name was Swinderby.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
WALTER BRUTE.

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WALTER BRUTE was brought up in the University of Oxford, being there also a graduate. The occasion that seemed to stir up his zeal against the pope, was the impudent indulgences of pope Urban, granted to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against pope Clement, and the wrongful condemnation of William Swin-derby ; the whole order whereof may more plainly appear in the process here following.

“ In the name of God, Amen. To all Christian people, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting in the Lord. We would that you all should know, that of late, by many zealous followers of the Catholic faith, it was lamentably done unto us to understand that a certain son of ours, named Walter Brute, a lay-person, hath, under a shew of holiness, damnably seduced the people ; and setting behind him the fear of God, doth seduce them from day to day, teaching openly and privily as well the nobles as the commons, conclusions heretical, schismatical, and erroneous. And they have also exhibited against the same Walter articles under-written, in manner and form as followeth.

I. “ The said Walter Brute hath openly taught, That in

the sacrament of the altar there is not the very body of Christ, but a sign and memorial of it only.

II. "That no man is bound to give tithes, nor oblations.

III. "That such as preach pardons (granted by the high bishop, to them that helped Henry, by the grace of God, bishop of Norwich, when he took his journey to fight for the holy father, the pope,) are schismatics and heretics, and that the pope cannot grant such manner of pardons.

IV "That the pope is antichrist, and a seducer of the people.

V "Whereas your reverence did proceed in form of law against William Swinderby; and hath pronounced the same William Swinderby to be an heretic and a schismatic, and an erroneous teacher of the people: nevertheless, the forenamed Walter hath openly said, that the said William's answers are good, righteous, and not able to be convinced, in that they contain no error; and that your sentence, given against the said William, is evil, false, and unjust. Which things being done, the same faithful Christian people, and especially Sir Walter Pride, the penitentiary of our cathedral church of Hereford, appearing before us, sitting in our judgment-seat, in the parish church of Whiteborne, brought forth two publick instruments against the same Walter Brute; of which here followeth the tenor.

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it evidently known to all persons, that in the year from the incarnation 1391, the 15th day of the month October, in the dwelling-house of the worshipful Mr. John Godemoston, canon of the cathedral church of Hereford, Walter Brute, a layman, personally appearing, said, "That the said bishop of Hereford, and assistants which were with him, the 3d day of the foresaid month of October, did wickedly, perversely, and unjustly, condemn the answers of William Swinderby, given in writing." And furthermore he said, "That the conclusions given by the same William, even

as they were given, are true and catholic. Also, that, after the sacramental words, there doth remain very bread."

The second instrument ran thus, "In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known unto all men, that in the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1391, the 19th day of the month January, Walter Brute, layman, personally appearing before the reverend father in Christ and lord, Lord John, by God's grace, bishop of Hereford, did say and affirm, "That Christian people are not bound to pay tithes, neither by the law of Moses, nor by the law of Christ." Also he confesseth openly, "That within the same month of January, he did eat, drink, and communicate with William Swinderby, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said reverend father, whereby the same William Swinderby was pronounced an heretick."

"At last the said Walter Brute presented to us divers scrolls of paper, written with his own hand, for his answers to the articles above written; of which scrolls the tenors follow.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. I Walter Brute, sinner, layman, husbandman, and a Christian, have been accused to the bishop of Hereford, that I did err in many matters concerning the catholic Christian faith; by whom I am required that I should write an answer. Whose desire I will satisfy to my power, protesting first of all, before God and all the world, that as it is not my mind, through God's grace, to refuse the known truth, for any reward, great or small, nor yet for fear of any temporal punishment; so it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any commodity's sake. And if any man, of what condition soever, will shew me that I err, by the authority of the sacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But the bare words of any teacher, (Christ only excepted,) I will not simply believe, except he shall be able to establish them by the

truth of experienec, or of the Scripture: because that, in the holy apostles there hath been found error, by the testimony of the Holy Scripture; for Paul rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked. Which protestation premised, I will here place two suppositions, for a foundation of all things that I shall say; out of which I would gather two probable conclusions, stablished upon the same, and upon the sacred Scripture. By which conclusions it shall plainly appear what my judgment is, concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me under the mighty defencees of the Lord: O Lord, I will remember thy righteousness only.

I. "God the Father Almighty, uncreate, the Maker of heaven and earth, hath sent his only Son (that was everlastingly begotten,) into this world, that he should be incarnated for the salvation of mankind; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, everlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of Mary the virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He suffered under Pontius Pilate for our sins, laying down his life for us, that we should lay down our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sins. He was buried, that we, being dead to sin, should live to righteousness. He descended into hell, thereby delivering man from the bondage of the devil, and restoring him to his inheritance, which he lost by sin. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we also should walk in newness of life. He ascended up to the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his footstool. From whenec he shall come to judge both the quiek and the dead, according to their works. In whose terrible judgment we shall rise again, and shall all of us stand before his judgment-seat, and receive joy, as well bodily as spiritually, for ever, if we

be of the sheep placed at the right hand ; or else punishment, both of body and soul, if we shall be found amongst the goats, placed on the left hand.

II. "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, very God and very man ; a King for ever, by establishing an everlasting kingdom ; a Priest for ever, after the order of Melehise-deek, whereby also he is able evermore to save such as come unto God by him, and always liveth to intreat for us : He offering one sacrifice for our sins, hath made perfect for ever, by one oblation, those that be sanctified. Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived, and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath, in this world, taught the will of God, his Father ; which will he hath fulfilled in work, to the intent that he might fully instruct us, and hath given the law of love to his faithful people ; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful, with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be observed above all other doctrines, whether they be of angels or of men ; because he could not err. But, in men's doctrine, there chanceth oftentimes to be error ; and therefore we must forsake their doctrines, if they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Men's doctrines must be observed, if they be grounded upon Christ's doctrine, or at least not repugnant to his words.

"If the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of the servants of God, and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, do make many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ ; then is he of those that have come in Christ's name, saying, 'I am Christ, and have seduced many.' Then is he the idol of desolation sitting in the temple of God ; which idol must be revealed, (by the testimony of Daniel,) who, sitting in the temple of God, doth advance himself above all that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped. He is 'the beast, ascending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a lamb, but he speaketh like a dragon, and is the cruel beast,

ascending up out of the sea, whose power shall continue forty-two months.' He worketh the things that he hath given to the image of the beast. And he compelleth small and great, rich and poor, freemen and bond-slaves, to worship the beast, and to take his mark in their forehead or their hands. And thus by the testimony of many places of Scripture, he is the chief antichrist upon earth; and must be slain with the sword of God's word, and cast with the dragon, the cruel beast, and the false prophet, that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented world without end.

"If the city of Rome allow his traditions, and disallow Christ's holy commandments and doctrine, that it may confirm his traditions; then is she, 'Babylon the Great, and the great whore, sitting upon many waters,' with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotry; with whose spiritual whoredom, enchantments, witchcrafts, and merchandises, the whole world is infected and seduced; saying in her heart, 'I sit a queen; neither shall I see sorrow and mourning.' Yet is she ignorant, that within a little while, the day of her destruction shall come.

"Pardon me, (I beseech you,) though I be not plentiful in pleasant words. For if I should run after the course of this world, and please men, I should not be Christ's servant. And because I am a poor man, and neither have, nor can have notaries to testify of these my writings; I call upon Christ to be my witness, who knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my fashion, to the profit of all Christian people, and to the hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed, if any man will shew me where I have erred; being ready also (miserable sinner though I be,) to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ, and of his doctrine, as much as shall please him, by his grace and love to assist

me, a miserable sinner. In witness of all these things, I have set the seal of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ : which I beseech him to imprint upon my forehead, and to take from me all mark of antichrist. Amen."

The bishop complained, "That this his writing was too short and obscure, and therefore required him to write upon the same heads more plainly and at large." Whereupon Mr. Brute, ready to give every one an account of his faith, renewed his matter again in a more ample tract, which he concluded in these words :

"Thus, reverend father, have I made my answer to the matter whereof I am accused : beseeching you, that as I have been obedient to your desire, declaring unto you the secrets of my heart in plain words, (although rudely ;) so now your labour may be for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation : for as I promised in the beginning, if any man, of what condition soever, can shew me any error, in any of my writings, by the authority of holy Scripture, or by any probable reason, grounded on the Scriptures ; I will receive his information willingly and humbly."

After this was exhibited to the bishop, he appointed the 3d day of October, with the days following, to hear Mr. Brute's opinion. On which day, being Friday, in the year 1393, Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission, in the cathedral church of Hereford, at 6 o'clock, having divers prelates and abbots, and twenty batchelors of divinity for his assistants. After they had continued all that day, and the Saturday and Sunday following, in their informations and examinations, he submitted himself to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said bishop ; as appears by a seroll written in the English tongue ; the tenor of which is as follows : " I Walter Brute, submit myself principally to the gospel of Jesus Christ ; and to the determination of holy kirk, and to the general councils of holy kirk ; and to the determination of the four doctors,

Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory. And I meekly submit me to your correction, as a subject ought to his bishop." Which seroll Walter Brute read with a loud voiec, at the cross, in the church-yard, on Monday, October 6, before the sermon preached to a great multitude of people, in presence of the said bishop of Hereford, and other barons, knights, noblemen, and elergy.

What became of Walter Brute after this, I find not registered: but it is likely, that he escaped for this time.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
WILLIAM SAUTRE.

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KING Henry IV was crowned in the year 1399. The next year followed a parliament holden at Westminster ; in which parliament, one William Sautre, a priest, inflamed with zeal for the true religion, required he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realm. But the bishops obtained, that the matter should be referred to the convocation. The said William Sautre, being brought thither on Saturday, the 12th day of February, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, brought a certain scroll, written in words as follows : “ Sir William Chatris, otherwise Sautre, parish priest of the church of St. Scithe the Virgin, in London, publickly and privily holds these conclusions :

I. “ That he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ, that suffered upon the cross.

II. “ That he would sooner worship a temporal king, than the foresaid wooden cross.

III. “ That he would rather worship the bodies of the saints, than the very cross on which Christ hung, if it were before him.

IV. "That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, than the cross of Christ.

V. "That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the poor.

VI. "That every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours.

VII. "That after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before."

To which articles the archbishop of Canterbury required Sir William to answer, who asked for a copy of them, and a competent space to answer. Whereupon the said archbishop commanded a copy to be delivered; assigning him the Thursday following to make answer in. When Thursday was come, the archbishop put off the meeting until the morrow at eight o'clock. On Friday, Sir William Sautre, making his personal appearance, delivered in his answer as follows :

"I William Sautre, priest unworthy, say and answer, That I will not worship the cross whereon Christ was crucified, but only Christ, that suffered upon the cross; and that I will rather worship a temporal king, than the foresaid wooden cross; and that I will rather worship the bodies of saints, than the very cross of Christ whereon he hung, if the very same were before me; and also that I will rather worship a man truly penitent, than the cross on which Christ hung. Also, that if any man hath made a vow to visit the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul, or to go on pilgrimage to St. Thomas's tomb, or any where else, to obtain any temporal benefit, he is not bound to keep his vow upon the necessity of salvation; but he may give the expenses of his vow in alms amongst the poor. And I also say, that every deacon and priest is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours. Also, that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, there ceaseth

not to be very bread simply : yet, I believe the said sacrament to be the very body of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words.”

Then the bishop assigned unto Sir William time to deliberate till the next day : which being come, the archbishop, in the chapter-house of St. Paul, especially examined him upon the sacrament of the altar. To whom Sir William answered as before. Then the archbishop demanded, whether he would stand to the determination of the holy church ? To this Sir William said, “ That he would stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrary to the will of God.”

This examination lasted from eight till eleven o'clock of the same day. During all this time the said William would answer no otherwise, neither receive catholic information. Wherefore the archbishop gave sentence against him as followeth : “ In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the see apostolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our own authority, by this our sentence definitive, do pronounce, decree, and declare thee, William Sautre, otherwise called Chawtre, judicially and lawfully convict as an heretic, and as an heretic to be punished.”

On Wednesday, February 23, it was demanded of the said Sir William, why they should not proceed unto his degradation, according to the canonical sanctions : whereunto he answered nothing, neither did he allege any cause to the contrary. Then the archbishop proceeded according to the sentence, the tenor whereof is as follows : “ In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the see apostolical, and metropolitan of all England, do find and declare, that thou, William Sautre, hast been for heresy convicted and condemned, and art to be deposed and degraded.”

On Saturday, the 26th of February, the archbishop sat in the bishop's seat of the church of St. Paul in London, and being solemnly apparelled in his pontifical attire, caused Sir William Sautre, apparelled in his priestly vestments, to be brought before him. That done, he declared to all the clergy and people, assembled there in great multitude, that all proecess against the said Sir William Sautre was finished. And for that he saw the said William nothing abashed; he proceeded to his degradation in form as followeth: "We Thomas, by God's permission, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, do denounce thee, William Sautre, in the habit and apparel of a priest, as an heretic, and do degrade and deprive thee of thy priestly order. And in sign of actual deposition from thy priestly dignity, we take from thee the patin and chalice, and do deprive thee of all power and authority of celebrating the mass; and also we pull from thy back the vestment, and deprive thee of all manner of priestly honour. Also, we Thomas, do degrade thee from the order of a deacon: and in token of this thy degradation, we take from thee the book of the New Testament, and deprive thee of all authority of reading the gospel, and all manner of dignity of a deacon. Also, we Thomas, do degrade thee from the order of a sub-deacon: and in token of this thy degradation, we take from thee the habit of a sub-deacon, the albe and maniple, and do deprive thee of all manner of sub-deaconal dignity. Also, we Thomas, do degrade thee from all order of an acolyte: and in sign and token of this thy degradation, we take from thee the candlestick and taper, and do deprive thee of all dignity of an acolyte. Also, we Thomas, do degrade thee from the order of an exorcist: and in token of this thy degradation, we take from thee the book of conjurations, and do deprive thee of all and singular dignity of an exorcist. Also, we Thomas, do degrade thee from the order of a reader: and in token of this thy degradation, we take from thee the book of the divine

lections, (i. e. the book of the church legends,) and do deprive thee of all manner of dignity of a reader. Also, we Thomas, do degrade and put thee from the order of a sexton: and in token of this thy degradation, we take from thee the keys of the church-door, and thy surplice, and do deprive thee of all and singular commodities of a door-keeper. And also, by the authority of Omnipotent God, the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we degrade thee from all orders, benefices, privileges, and habits in the church; and depose thee from all and singular clerkly honours and dignities whatsoever. Also, in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we have caused thy crown and ecclesiastical tonsure, in our presence to be rased away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a layman; and here we do put upon the head of thee, the said William, the cap of a lay-person; beseeching the court that they will receive favourably the said William unto them thus recommitted."

Thus William Sautre, being utterly thrust out of the pope's kingdom, was committed unto the secular power. But the bishops not herewith content, ceased not to call upon the king, to cause him to be brought forth to execution. Whereupon the king, to gratify the clergy, directed a terrible decree to the mayor and sheriffs of London; the tenor whereof ensueth: "Whereas the reverend father, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the assent, consent, and council of other bishops, and his brethren suffragans, and also the clergy within his province or diocese, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sautre to be a most manifest heretic: we, therefore, minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and to root out all errors and heresies out of our kingdom, command you, that you cause the said William, being in your custody, in some publick place within the liberties of your city, (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people,) to be put into the

fire, and there in the same fire to be burned. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon." *Teste Rege, apud Westm. 26 Febr.*

As King Henry IV. was the first of all English kings, that began the burning of Christ's saints, for standing against the pope; so was this William Sautre the first which I find to be burned in the reign of the said king, which was in the year of our Lord 1400.

## THE HISTORY OF JOHN BADBY.



IN the year of our Lord 1409, on Sunday, the first day of March, in the afternoon, the examination of one John Badby, tailor, was made in a certain hall, within the precinct of the preaching friars of London, upon the crime of heresy, before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and others his assistants. The articles brought against him were as follow: "In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all men, that on the second day of January, in the year of our Lord 1409, John Badby, a layman, of the diocese of Worcester, appearing personally before the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord Thomas, bishop of Worcester, was detected of having maintained, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the priest upon the altar, is not the true body of Christ, by virtue of the words of the sacrament. But that after the sacramental words spoken by the

priests, the material bread doth remain upon the altar. The foresaid reverend father, perceiving the said John Badby to maintain the same heresy, pronounced the said John to be an heretic, and declared it in these words : “ In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas, bishop of Woreester, do accuse thee, John Badby, of the crime of heresy, for that thou hast openly affirmed, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ ; and we do pronounce thee to be an heretic, and do declare it finally by these writings.”

When these articles were read by the archbishop of Canterbury, he publicly confessed and affirmed, That he had maintained the same. And then the archbishop, to convince the said John Badby, said and affirmed there openly, That (if he would live according to the doctrine of the church,) he would engage his soul for him at the judgment-day. To this John Badby answered, “ That after the consecration at the altar, there remaineth the material bread, and the same bread which was before, notwithstanding, (said he,) it is a sign or sacrament of the living God.” Furthermore he said, “ That if every host, consecrated at the altar, were the Lord’s body, then there were 20,000 gods in England. But he believed (he said,) in one God Omnipotent.” Which thing the archbishop of Canterbury denied not. He added, “ He should greatly marvel, if any man had a loaf of bread, and should break the same, and give every man a mouthful, that the same loaf should afterwards be whole.” Then the archbishop required, that he would forsake those opinions ; which he expressly refused.

After this, when the archbishop and the bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby might be committed ; it was concluded, that he should be put into a certain chamber within the mansion of the friars preachers : and he was accordingly put there ; and the archbishop said, that he himself would keep the key.

On Wednesday following, being the 15th day of March, when the said archbishop, with his brethren and suffragans, were assembled in the church of St. Paul, the archbishop, taking the episcopal seat, called to him the archbishop of York, with other noblemen, as well spiritual as temporal; before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer. He still held and defended the same articles as before; and said, that whilst he lived he would never retract them. The archbishop, considering that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing his countenance stout, and his heart confirmed, so that he began to persuade others, as it appeared, proceeded to confirm the former sentence given against John Badby, pronouncing him an open heretic. And thus they delivered him to the secular power; and very instantly desired the temporal lords, then present, that they would not put John Badby to death, nor deliver him to be punished, or put to death.

These things concluded by the bishops in the forenoon, in the afternoon the king's writ came. By the force whereof John Badby (persevering in his constancy unto the death,) was brought into Smithfield, and there, being put into an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him. As he was standing thus, it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, was there present; who, to save his life, counselled him, that he should speedily leave these dangerous opinions. Also Courtney, at that time chancellor of Oxford, informed him of the faith of holy church. In the mean season the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, with all solemnity, brought the sacrament, with twelve torches borne before it, and so shewed it to the poor man at the stake. Then demanding of him, how he believed in it? He answered, "That he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body." Hereupon the fire was put to him. When he felt the fire, he cried, "Mersey!" (calling upon the Lord,) and so the prince immediately commanded to take away the

tun, and quench the fire. The prince (his commandment being done,) asked him, if he would forsake heresy, and turn to the faith of holy church? Which thing if he would do, he should have goods enough; promising him also a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury. But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, refused the offer of worldly promises, being more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Whereupon the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the tun, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, so was he affrighted at no torments, but persevered invincible to the end.

The persecuting bishops, not yet contented, and having now a king for their own purpose, exhibited a bill to his majesty; declaring what trouble was risen by divers wicked and perverse men, who taught and preached a new, wicked, and heretical doctrine, contrary to the determination of holy church. Whereupon the king granted, in the said parliament, a statute to be observed, called *ex officio*, as follows: "That no man within this realm, or other the king's dominions, presume to take upon him to preach, privily or openly, without special license first obtained of the ordinary of the place: nor that any hereafter do preach, or maintain, openly or in secret, any thing contrary to the determination of holy church. And if any person whatsoever, do attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present statute, the ordinary of the place shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe custody the said person, until he hath recanted the said heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the said ordinary proceed openly and judiciously against the said person so arrested. And if any person be lawfully convicted, then the said ordinary may cause the said person so convicted, to be laid in any of his own prisons, and there to be kept so long as shall be thought expedient. And further, if any person within this realm shall be convicted of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, or

opinions, and refuse to abjure the said opinions ; or if, after his abjuration once made, he relapse ; then the sheriff of the same county, or the mayor or sheriffs of the city or borough, shall take unto them the said persons, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people."

Who would have thought but that by these laws, so substantially founded, and so diligently executed, the name and memory of this persecuted sect should have been rooted out ? And yet such are the works of the Lord, that the number and courage of these good men multiplied daily and increased. For I find it recorded in registers, that these heretics, so called, were dispersed and increased in divers countries ; especially in London, in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Herefordshire, Shrewsbury, and divers other parts ; with whom the archbishop had much ado, as appears by his own registers.

## THE HISTORY OF WILLIAM THORP.



*The Examination of William Thorp, Clerk, penned with  
his own hand.*

" KNOWN be it to all men that read this writing, that on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Peter, in the year 1407, I William Thorp, being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel, arch-

bishop of Canterbury, and chancellor of England. And when I came, he stood in a great chamber, and much people about him. When he saw me, he went straight into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to go forth, so that no man was left in the closet, but the archbishop himself, a physician, and two other persons unknown to me. As I stood before them, the archbishop said, ‘William, I know well that thou hast these twenty winters and more, travelled about busily in the north country, and in divers other counties of England, sowing about false doctrine. But through the grace of God, thou art now brought into my ward, so that I shall sequester thee from thine evil purpose. Nevertheless, St. Paul saith, ‘If it may be, as much as in us is, we ought to have peace with all men.’ Therefore, William, if thou wilt now meekly kneel down, and lay thy hand upon a book and kiss it, promising faithfully that thou wilt submit to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfil it duly by all thy power, thou shalt yet find me gracious unto thee.’ Then said I to the archbishop, ‘Sir, since you deem me an heretic, and out of belief, will you give me audience to tell my belief?’ And he said, ‘Yea, tell on.’ And I said, ‘I believe there is but one God Almighty; and in this Godhead three persons, that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And I believe that all these three persons are even in power, and in cunning, and in might, full of grace, and of all goodness. For whatsoever the Father doth, that also the Son doth; and in all their power, cunning, and will, the Holy Ghost is equal to the Father and to the Son.’

“Over this I believe, that through counsel of this most blessed Trinity, for the salvation of mankind, the second Person of this Trinity was ordained to take the form of man. And I believe that this second person, our Lord Jesus Christ, was conceived through the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the blessed virgin Mary. And I believe that Christ was born of this most blessed virgin. And I

believe that Christ, our Saviour, was circumcised the eighth day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law; and his name was called Jesus. And I believe that Christ, as he was about thirty years old, was baptized in Jordan, of John Baptist: and in the likeness of a dove the Holy Ghost descended upon him, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, 'Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.' And after this, when Christ would make an end of this temporal life, I believe, that in the day before he would suffer, in form of bread and wine, he ordained the sacrament of his flesh and his blood, and gave it to his apostles to eat; commanding them, and by them, all their after-comers, that they should do it in this form, that he shewed to them. And I believe, that this Christ, our Saviour, shed out, for man's blood, the blood that was in his veins; gave his spirit into the hands of his Father, and so died for man's sake, upon the cross. And after this, I believe that Christ was taken down from the cross and buried: and, on the third day, by the power of his Godhead, rose again. And, on the fortieth day, ascended up into heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the fiftieth day after his up-going, he sent the Holy Ghost to his apostles, that he had promised them: and I believe that Christ shall come to judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting pains.

"And as I believe in the Father, and in the Son, that they are one God Almighty, so I believe in the Holy Ghost, that he is also the same God Almighty. And I believe an holy church; that is, all they that have been, and that now are, and always to the end of the world shall be, a people which endeavour to know and to keep the commandments of God; dreading over all things to offend God, and loving and seeking to please him: and I believe that all they that have had, and yet have, and shall have the foresaid virtues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping steadfastly, continuing to their end in per-

fect charity, patiently and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ, all these have their names written in the book of life.

“Therefore, I believe, that the gathering together of this people, living now in this life, is the holy church of God, fighting against the fiend, the world, and their filthy lusts. Wherefore, seeing this church neither coveteth, nor willeth, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing, but to eschew the offence of God, and to do his will; with all mine heart I submit myself unto this holy church of Christ, to be ever obedient to the ordinance of it, after my knowledge and power, by the help of God. Therefore I now, and evermore shall, if God will, with all my heart, submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom I perceive, by the having and using of the said virtues, to be members of the holy church. These articles of belief and all other, both of the old law, and of the new, I believe verily in my soul; praying the Lord God, for his holy name, to increase my belief, and to help my unbelief.

“And because I desire, above all things, to be a faithful member of holy church, I make this protestation before you all four, coveting that all men and women, that now be absent, knew the same: I believe that all the old law and new law, given and ordained of God, were given and written for the salvation of mankind. And I believe that these laws are sufficient for man’s salvation: and I believe every article of these laws. And therefore to the rule and ordinance of these laws of God, I submit me with all my heart; that whosoever will, by the authority of God’s law, or by open reason, tell me that I have erred, or do now err, in any article of belief (from which inconvenience God keep me for his goodness!) I submit to be reconciled, and to be obedient unto those laws of God, and to every article of them. Yea, Sir, and over this, I believe and admit all the sentences, authorities, and reasons of the saints and doctors, ac-

according to the holy Scripture. I submit me meekly to be ever obedient, after my cunning and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient to God and to his law, and no further; (to my knowledge,) not for any earthly power, dignity or state, through the help of God.

“ But I pray you, Sir, for the charity of God, that ye will, before I swear, tell me how or whereto I shall submit me; and shew me that whereof ye will correct me, and what is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige me to fulfil.’ And the archbishop said unto me, ‘ I will that thou swear, that thou wilt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold; so that after this time, thou hold not any opinion, which I shall rehearse to thee here. Nor shalt thou favour any man or woman that holdeth any of these opinions; but after thy knowledge and power thou shalt withstand all troublers of holy church; and them that will not leave their damnable opinions, thou shalt make known to the bishop of the diocese: And I will that thou preach no more unto the time that I know by good witness that thy heart and mouth accord truly in one.’

“ And I hearing these words, thought in my heart, that this was an unlawful asking; and deemed myself cursed of God, if I consented hereto. And in that I stood still and spake not, the archbishop said to me, ‘ Answer one way or other.’ And I said, ‘ Sir, if I consented to you thus, as ye have rehearsed to me, I should become every bishop’s spy: yea, Sir, I should be cause of the death of men and women, both bodily and ghostly. And if I should do thus, many men and women would say, that I had falsely and cowardly forsaken the truth, and shamefully slandered the word of God. And if I consented to this, for good or mischief that may befall me in this life, I deem in my conscience, that I were worthy to be cursed of God, and of all his saints: from which inconvenience keep me, and all Christian

people, Almighty God, now and ever, for thy holy name."

"And then the archbishop said unto me, 'O, thine heart is full hard, as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the devil hath perverted thee, and hath so blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the merey I have proffered thee; but I say to thee, lewd Lossel, either quickly submit thee to my decrees, or by St. Thomas, thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow into Smithfield.' And at this saying I stood still and spake not, but I thought in my heart that God did to me great grace, if he would, of his great merey, bring me to such an end. And I was nothing afraid of this menacing of the archbishop; but in my heart prayed the Lord God to comfort and strengthen me against them; and to give me grace to speak with a meek and an easy spirit: and whatsoever thing I should speak, that I might have true authorities of Scripture, or open reason. And for that I stood thus still, one of the archbishop's clerks said unto me, 'What musest thou? Do as my lord hath commanded thee.'

"And the archbishop said to me, 'Wherefore tarriest thou? Wilt thou submit thee to me or no?' And I said, 'Sir, I tell you at one word, I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenor that ye have rehearsed to me.' And he said to one of his clerks, 'Fetch hither quickly the certificate that came to me from Shrewsbury, under the bailiff's seal, witnessing the heresies which this Lossel hath venomously sown there.'

"Then hastily the clerk took out divers writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerk delivered to the archbishop. And the archbishop read as follows; 'The third Sunday after Easter, in the year 1407, William Thorp came unto the town of Shrewsbury, and said openly in St. Chad's church, in his sermon, that the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was material bread. And that images should in no wise be worshipped. And that men should not go on pilgrimages.

And that priests have no title to tithes. And that it is not lawful to swear.'

"And when the archbishop had read this roll, he rolled it up again, and said to me, 'Is this wholesome learning among the people?' And I said, 'Sir, I am both ashamed and right sorrowful for them that have certified you these things thus untruly: for I never preached, nor taught thus, privily nor openly.'

"And the archbishop said to me, 'I will give credence to these worshipful men. Wecnest thou that I will give credence to thee? Thou Lossel, the bailiffs of that town have written to me, praying me, that if thou shalt be made to suffer openly for thine heresies, thou mayest suffer among them: so that all they whom thou hast perverted, may through fear be reconciled to holy church. And by my thrift, this hearty prayer shall be thought on.'

"Neither the prayer of the men of Shrewsbury, nor the menacing of the archbishop made me any way afraid. But in the hearing it, my heart rejoiced. I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and yet think shall come to all the church of God, by the merciful doing of the Lord. And, as having no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting steadfastly in the help of the Lord, I said to the archbishop, 'Sir, if the truth of God's word might be accepted, I doubt not to prove, that they that are feigned to be out of the faith of holy church in Shrewsbury, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy church. For their works shew their desire, their will, and their business are most set, not to offend God, but to love and to please him, in true and faithful keeping of his commandments. And they that are said to be in the faith of holy church in Shrewsbury, and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, lecherous words and works, neither know, nor have will to know, the right faith of holy church. Wherefore, neither these, nor any that follow

their manners, shall come to the faith of holy church, except they come in the way which now they despise.

“ Full many, and especially men that are named to be principal limbs of holy church, stir God to great wrath ; for that they call or hold them just men, which are full unjust, as their vicious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shameful works openly shew. And whereas, Sir, ye say that I have troubled Shrewsbury, and many other men and women with my teaching : if it thus be, it is not to be wondered of wise men, since all the city of Jerusalem was troubled at Christ’s own person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher that ever was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was moved against Christ, and so filled with ire toward him for his preaching, that they rose up and cast Christ out of their city, and led him to the top of the mountain to cast him down headlong.’

“ And the archbishop said to me, ‘ It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that ye do right well to preach without authority of any bishop. For you presume that the Lord hath chosen you only to preach, as faithful disciples and special followers of Christ.’ ‘ And I said, ‘ Sir, by authority of God’s law, and also of saints and doctors, I learn, it is every priest’s office and duty to preach freely and truly the word of God, by the bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy living ; and also, by the witnessing of his holy apostles and prophets, we are bound, under full great pain, to exercise us after our cunning and power, (as every priest is likewise charged of God,) to fulfil duly the office of priesthood. We presume not of ourselves to be esteemed faithful disciples, and special followers of Christ. But, Sir, we deem this, by authority of God’s word, that it is the chief duty of every priest to busy him faithfully, to make the law of God known to his people, where, when, and to whom ever we may.’

“And the archbishop said to me, ‘Lewd Lossel, wherefore makest thou such vain reasons to me? Asketh not St. Paul, ‘How shall priests preach except they be sent?’ But I sent thee never to preach. For thy venomous doctrine is known throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by their letters. Why then, lewd idiot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licenced?’

“And I said to the archbishop, ‘Sir, as touching your letter of licence, or other bishops, which, ye say, we should have, we know well, that neither you, Sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant us any such letters of licence, unless we should oblige ourselves by oaths, not to pass the bounds which ye, Sir, or other bishops will limit to us. And since in this matter your terms be some too large, and some too strait; we dare not thus be bounden to you. But though we have not your letter, Sir, nor letters of any other bishops, we dare not therefore leave the office of preaching, to which all priests after their power are bound, by divers testimonies of God’s law, without any mention of bishops’ letters. As we have taken upon us the office of priesthood, we purpose to fulfil it with the help of God, by authority of his own law, trusting steadfastly in the mercy of God. For that he commandeth us to do the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witness, if we, by example of his holy living and teaching, do our office justly: yea, the people to whom we preach (be they faithful or unfaithful,) shall be our letters; that is, our witnesses: for all that are saved by God’s word, and by working thereafter, are witnesses, that the truth which they heard is the cause of their salvation. And again, all which heard the truth, and would not do it, shall bear witness against themselves; and the truth which they heard and despised, is, and shall be, cause of their damnation. Therefore, Sir, since this witnessing of God, and of all the people good and evil, sufficeth to all true preachers; we think that we do not the office of priest-

hood, if we leave our preaching, because we may not have bishops' letters to witness it.'

"And the archbishop said, 'All these allegings are proud presumptuousness. For hereby thou wouldst prove that ye ought not to obey the prelates. And thus, of your own authority, ye will go forth and preach, and do what ye list.' And I said, 'Sir, St. Gregory saith, *Every man that goeth to priesthood taketh upon him the office of preaching*: for, as he saith, *That priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching*. And the priest that preacheth not busily to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish. And though the people be saved by other special grace of God, than by the priests' preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, before God are manslaughterers. For, as far as in them is, such priests as preach not busily and truly, slay all the people ghostly; in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is, the life of men's souls. And St. Isidore said, *Priests shall be damned for the wickedness of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners*. For the business of priests standeth in preaching and teaching; that they edify all men, as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of works. And Christ said, *I am born and come into this world to bear witness to the truth*. Then, Sir, since by the word of Christ specially priests are commanded to preach: whatsoever priest it be, that hath not full purpose to do thus after his power, whatsoever other thing he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, St. Gregory saith, *That thing left, that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatsoever other thing a man doth, it is unthankful to the Holy Ghost*. And therefore saith Lincoln, *The priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he hath none other default, he is antichrist and satan, a night-thief, and a day-thief, a slayer of souls, and an angel of light turned into darkness*. Wherefore, Sir, these authorities and others well considered, I deem myself damnable, if

I, either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, apply me not diligently to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deem all those priests which do it not ; and also all them that have will to hinder any priest of this business.'

"And the archbishop said to those three clerks that stood before him, 'Lo, Sirs, this is the manner of this Lossel, to pick out sentences of holy Scripture and doctors, to maintain their seat against the ordinance of holy church. And therefore, Lossel, it is thou covtest to have again the Psalter, that I made to be taken from thee at Canterbury. But thou shalt never have that Psalter, nor any other book, till I know thou wilt be governed by holy church.' And I said, 'Sir, all my will and power is, and ever shall be, (I trust to God,) to be governed by holy church.'

"And the archbishop asked me, 'What is holy church?' And I said, 'Sir, I told you before what was holy church. But since ye ask me ; I call Christ and his saints holy church.' And the archbishop said, 'I wot well that Christ and his saints are holy church in heaven: but what is holy church on earth?' And I said, 'Sir, holy church hath two parts. The first and principle part hath overcome perfectly all the wretchedness of this life, and reigneth joyfully with Christ. And the other part is yet in earth, busily and continually fighting, day and night, against temptations of the fiend ; forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts ; who are the pilgrims of Christ, wandering towards heaven by steadfast faith, and grounded hope, and by perfect love. For these heavenly pilgrims may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpose, by any doctors discording from holy Scripture, nor by the floods of tribulation ; nor by the wind of pride ; or menacing of any creature : for they are all fast grounded upon the sure stone Christ, hearing his word and loving it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all points to do thereafter.'

“ And the archbishop said to his clerks, ‘ See ye not how his heart is indurate, to maintain his errors and heresies ? Certain, thus he would occupy us here all day, if we would suffer him.

“ After many words more, the clerk said to the archbishop, ‘ Sir, it is far day, and ye have many miles to ride to-night ; therefore make an end with him ; for the more ye busy you to draw him toward you, the further he is from you.’ Then he said to me, ‘ William, kneel down, and pray my Lord’s grace, and leave all thy fancies, and become a child of holy church.’ And I said, ‘ Sir, I have prayed the archbishop oft, and yet I pray him for the love of Christ, that he will leave his indignation, that he hath against me ; and that he will suffer me, after my cunning and power, to do mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to do. For I covet nought else, but to serve my God in the state I stand in, and have taken me to.’

“ And the archbishop said, ‘ If thou wilt submit thee to be ruled from this time by my counsel, obeying meekly my ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable to thee. Therefore tarry thou me no longer : do this that I have said now, or deny it utterly.’ And I said to the archbishop, ‘ Sir, ought we to believe that Jesus Christ was, and is very God and very man ?’ And he said, ‘ Yea.’ And I said, ‘ Sir, ought we to believe that all Christ’s living and teaching is true in every point ?’ And he said, ‘ Yea.’

“ And I said, ‘ Sir, ought we to believe that the living of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ and all the prophets, are true ?’ And he said, ‘ Yea.’ And I said, ‘ Sir, ought all Christian men, after their power, to conform all their living to the teaching of Christ, and also to the teaching and living of his apostles and prophets ?’ And he said, ‘ Yea.’

“ And I said, ‘ Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsel of any body to be accepted or obeyed ; except

this doctrine, or this counsel may be proved by Christ's living and teaching, or by the living and teaching of his apostles and prophets.' And the archbishop said to me, 'Other doctrines ought not to be accepted; nor ought we to obey any man's bidding or counsel, except we can perceive that this bidding or counsel accordeth with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.'

"And I said, 'Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings, and counsels of holy church, means to know the privy suggestions and the open temptations of the fiend? And also ways to slay pride and all other deadly sins, and to purchase grace to overcome all fleshly lusts?' And the archbishop said, 'Yea.' And I said, 'Sir, whatsoever thing ye, or any body, bid or counsel me to do, according to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the help of God, I will meekly with all my heart obey thereto.' And the archbishop said to me, 'Submit thee then now to the ordinance of holy church, which I shall shew to thee.' And I said, 'Sir, according as I have here rehearsed, I will be ready to obey full gladly Christ, the head of the holy church, and the bidding and counsels of every member of him.' Then the archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely upon a cupboard, spake to me with a great spirit, saying, 'By Jesus, if thou leave not such additions, obliging thee here, without any exception, to mine ordinance, (ere that I go out of this place) I shall make thee as sure as any thief that is in the prison of Lanterne; advise thee now what thou wilt do.' And then, as if he had been angered, he went from the cupboard to a window.

"And then another clerk came nearer me, and spake many words full pleasantly; other while they menaced me, and counselled me to submit; or else, they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now, they said, Thou mayest eschew all these mischiefs, if thou wilt submit thee meekly to this worthy prelate. And, for the pity of Christ, bethink thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincoln, Herford, and

Purvey are, who have forsaken and revoked all the opinions that thou and such other hold. We counsel thee for the best: by the example of these, follow them, submitting as they did. And I said to the clerks, Sirs, if these men had forsaken benefices of temporal profit, and had taken upon them simple living, and wilful poverty; they had herein given good example to me, and to many others, to have followed them. But now, since all these have shamefully done the contrary, consenting to receive temporal benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleshly than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this world; I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing.

“Then the archbishop said to his clerks, Busy you no longer about him; for he, and other such as he is, are confederate together, that they will not swear to be obedient, and to submit them to holy church. Then he said to me, Long time hast thou busied thee to pervert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore as many deaths thou art worthy of as thou hast given evil counsels. And therefore, by Jesus, thou shalt go thither, where Nicholas Herford and Thomas Purvey were harboured. And I undertake, ere this day eight days, thou shalt be right glad to do whatever I bid thee. And, Lossel, I shall make thee there as sorrowful as (it was told me) thou wast glad at my last going out of England. By St. Thomas, I shall turn thy joy into sorrow. And I said, Sir, there can no body prove, that I joyed of the manner of your going out of this land. But, Sir, to say the truth, I was joyful when ye were gone; for the bishop of London, in whose prison ye left me, found in me no cause to hold me longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, delivered me to them.

“Then the archbishop said, Wherefore I went out of England is unknown to thee: but be this thing well known to thee, that God hath called me again into this land, to destroy thee, and the false sect that thou art of. By God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leave a

slip of you in this land. And I said to the archbishop, Sir, the holy prophet Jeremiah said, 'When the word, that is the prophecy of a prophet, is fulfilled, then it shall be known, that the Lord sent that prophet.' And the archbishop (as if he had not been pleased with my saying) turned him away hither and thither, and said, By God, I shall set upon thy shins a pair of pearls, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

"And the archbishop called a clerk; and that clerk went forth, and soon brought in the constable of Saltwood castle, and the archbishop whispered a good while with him; and the constable went forth, and then came in divers seculars, and they scorned me on every side, and menaced me greatly; and some counselled the archbishop to burn me strait, and some counselled him to drown me in the sea, for it is near hand there. And a clerk standing beside me, kneeled down to the archbishop, praying him, that he would deliver me to him, to say matters with him; and he would undertake, that within three days I should not resist any thing that were commanded me of my prelate. And the archbishop said, he would ordain for me himself.

"And then came again the constable, and spake privily to the archbishop. And the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth with him; and so he did. And when we were gone forth, we were sent after again. And when I came in again before the archbishop, a clerk bade me kneel down, and ask grace, and submit me lowly, and I should find it for the best. And I said to the archbishop, Sir, as I have said to you divers times to-day, I will lowly obey and submit me ever, after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to every member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceive, that these members accord with their head, Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authority of God's law. The archbishop said, I wist well he would not without such additions submit him. And then I was rebuked, scorned, and menaced on every side; and yet after this,

divers persons cried upon me to kneel down and submit. But I stood still, and spake no word. And then there were spoken of me, and to me, many great words : and I stood and heard them menace, curse, and scorn me ; but I said nothing.

“ A while after, the archbishop said, Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church ? And I said, Sir, I will full gladly submit me, as I have shewed you before. And then the archbishop bad the constable to have me forth in haste. And so I was led forth, and brought into a foul prison, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth from me, and had sparred fast the prison-door after them ; I therein by myself, busied me to think on God, and to thank him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted, not only for that I was delivered for a time from the hearing, the presence, the scorning, and the menacing of mine enemies. But much more I rejoiced in the Lord ; because, that, through his grace, he kept me so, both among the flattering, and among the menacing of mine adversaries, that without heaviness and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them.”

“ Now, good God, for thine holy name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make us one together, if it be thy will, (by authority of thy word) else not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing read or hear, pray heartily to the Lord God, that He, for his great goodness, that cannot be with tongue expressed, grant to us, and to all other which are at a distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity. Amen.”

What the end of this good man was, I find not. But by all conjectures, it is to be thought, that the archbishop, being so hard an adversary, would not let him go. Much less is it to be supposed, that he would ever retract his opinion, which he so valiantly maintained. Neither is it found, that he was burned : wherefore it is most likely, that he, being committed to some strait prison, (as the


archbishop threatened him) was so straitly kept, that he was either secretly made away with, or else died by sickness. The like end also, I find, happended to John Ashton ; who, for the same doctrine, was condemned by the bishops ; and because he would not recant, committed to perpetual prison, wherein the good man continued till his death, which was in the year 1382.

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## THE HISTORY

OF THE

## LORD COBHAM.



SOON after the coronation of Henry V the archbishop assembled a general synod of the clergy. The principal cause of the assembling thereof was, to repress the spreading of the Gospel, and to withstand the lord Cobham, a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer of the Lollards ; setting them up to preach, whom the bishops had not licensed, and holding opinions contrary to the determination of the church. And it was concluded among them, that without any farther delay, process should be awarded against him, as a pernicious heretic.

But some thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled. Considering the lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour with the king, their counsel was, to know first the king's mind. Thereupon the archbishop, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightways to the king, at Kingston,

and there laid most grievous complaints against the said lord Cobham. The king gently heard them : notwithstanding required, that in respect to his noble stock, they would deal favourably with him. And that they would, if possible, without all rigour, reduce him again to the unity of the church.

Soon after, the king sent for the lord Cobham, and admonished him to submit himself to the holy church. Unto whom he made answer, " You, most worthy prince, I am always willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you are a Christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword, to the punishment of evil doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you (next my eternal God) I owe my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have always done) all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall, in the Lord, command me. But as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him, by the Scriptures, to be the great antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king heard this, he would talk with him no longer, but utterly left him.

When the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him full authority to cite, examine, and punish him according to the laws of holy church. Then the archbishop, appointed him personally to appear, to answer to such articles as they should lay against him. So he sent his chief summoner, with a sharp citation to the castle of Cowling. But when the summoner was come thither, he durst in no wise enter the gates of such a nobleman without his license, and therefore returned without doing his message.

The archbishop then called one John Butler, door-keeper of the king's privy-chamber ; and covenanted with him, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the king's name. Whereupon Butler took the archbishop's summoner with him,

and went to the lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the king's pleasure he should obey that citation. Then he said to them, "That he would in no case consent to those devilish practices of the priests." When they informed the archbishop of that answer, and that no man could privately cite him, without peril of life, he decreed to cite him by publick process. And in all haste he commanded letters citatory to be set upon the gates of the cathedral church of Rochester, (which was but three English miles from thence) charging him to appear before him at Ledis. Those letters were taken down by such as favoured the lord Cobham, and conveyed away. After that the archbishop caused new letters to be set up, which were also tore down, and utterly consumed.

As he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis, he condemned him of contumacy. After that, he openly excommunicated him. Yet he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him the Saturday before the feast of St. Matthew; threatening that, if he did not obey, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himself more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay power, by most terrible curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious schismatic and heretic, the troubler of the publick peace, the enemy of the realm, and great adversary of holy church, as he called him.

The lord Cobham, perceiving himself in deadly danger, wrote a confession of his faith, signing and sealing it with his own hand. Wherein he also answered the four chief articles that the archbishop laid against him. He took the copy with him, and went to the king, trusting to find favour at his hand. That confession of his was none other than the apostles' creed, with a brief declaration upon the same, as ensueth.

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth : and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and

buried, went down to hell, the third day rose again from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again, to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen. “And for a more large declaration of this my faith, I steadfastly believe, that there is but one God Almighty, in whose Godhead are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the same God. I believe also, that the second person took flesh and blood of the blessed virgin Mary, for the redemption of all mankind, who were before lost in Adam’s offence.

“Moreover, I believe, that the same Jesus Christ, our Lord, both God and man, is the only Head of the whole Christian church. And this holy church, I think, to be divided into three sorts of companies. The first sort are now in heaven, and they are the saints departed. These, as they were conversant here, always conformed their lives to the most holy laws and pure example of Christ; renouncing satan, the world, and the flesh. The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place there be) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance of pain. The third sort are upon the earth, and are called the church militant. For day and night they contend against the devil, the world, and the flesh.

“This latter congregation is also severed into three estates, priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid, but not destroy the other. The priests, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives to the examples of Christ and his apostles. They should evermore be occupied in teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living. They should be also more modest, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit, than any other sorts of people. In the knighthood are all they which bear the sword by law of office: these

should defend God's laws, and see that the Gospel be purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false preachers : yea, those ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked decrees, as either blemish the eternal testament of God, or hinder the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schisms might spring in the church. They ought also to preserve God's people from oppressors, tyrants, and thieves, and to see the clergy supported, so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound to compel them to change their doings ; and to see all things performed according to God's ordinance. The latter fellowship of this church are the common people ; whose duty it is to yield true obedience to the foresaid ministers of God, their king, civil governors, and priests. The right office of these, is justly to occupy every man his faculty, be it merchandise, handicraft, or tillage of the ground ; following always in their sorts the just commandments of the Lord God.

“ Besides all this, I most faithfully believe, that the sacraments of Christ's church are necessary to all Christian believers ; so that they be truly ministered according to Christ's institution. And forasmuch as I am accused of a misbelief in the sacrament of the altar, I signify here unto all men, that I believe in that sacrament to be contained Christ's very body and blood, under the similitude of bread and wine. I also believe, the universal law of God to be most true and perfect, and they who do not follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved. Whereas, he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, and delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste of everlasting felicity.

“ Finally, this is my faith, that God will ask no more of a Christian in this life, but to obey the precepts of that most blessed law. If any prelate require more, or any other kind of obedience than this, he contemneth Christ,

exalting himself above God, and so becometh an open antichrist. All these premises I believe particularly ; and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scripture ; desiring you, my liege lord, that this confession of mine may be examined by the most godly and learned men of your realm. And if it be found in all points agreeing to truth, then let it be allowed. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned ; provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the Word of God ; and I shall most reverently, and at all times, obey thereunto."

This brief confession the lord Cobham took with him to the court, offering it to the king with all meekness. The king would not receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. He then desired, in the presence of the king, that an hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all heresies. Moreover he offered himself, after the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, Christian or heathen, in the quarrel of his faith ; the king and the lords of the council excepted. Finally, he protested, with all gentleness, before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should be ministered unto him, after the laws of God, but that he would at all times obey it with all meekness. Notwithstanding this, the king suffered him to be summoned personally, in his own privy-chamber. Then the lord Cobham told the king, that he had appealed from the archbishop to the pope, and therefore he ought in no case to be his judge. And having his appeal there at hand, he shewed it to the king. At this the king was more displeased than before, and angrily said, that he should not pursue his appeal ; but should rather remain in hold until it were allowed of by the pope. And then, whether he would or not, the archbishop should be his judge. So he was straightway arrested at the king's commandment, and led forth to the tower of London.

On the 23d day of September, Thomas Arundell, the

archbishop, sitting in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, with Richard Clifford, bishop of London, and Henry Bolinbroke, bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley, lieutenant of the tower, brought the lord Cobham before him; unto whom the archbishop said these words: "Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy, ye were detected of certain heresies; whereupon ye were by form of law cited, and would not appear. In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding we shewed ourselves not unready to have given you absolution, would you have meekly asked it."

To this the lord Cobham shewed, as though he had given no ear; having his mind otherwise employed; but said, he would gladly make rehearsal of that faith, which he intended always to stand to. And then he took a writing out of his bosom, and read it before them, giving it to the archbishop when he had made an end. The copy of the writing is this:

"I, John Oldcastle, knight, lord of Cobham, will that all Christian men understand, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, shall be mine intent, to believe faithfully all the sacraments that ever God ordained in holy church; and moreover declare me in these four points: I believe, that the sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in the form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed virgin. As for the sacrament of penance, I believe, That it is needful to every man, that shall be saved, to forsake sin, and to do due penance for sin done before, with true confession, contrition, and satisfaction, as God's law teacheth. And as for images, I understand, that they were ordained by sufferance of the church, to bring to mind the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the martyrdom of other saints: and whosoever it be, that doth the worship to dead images, that is due to God, or putteth such trust for help in them as he should do in God, or hath affection in one, more than in another, he doth in that the greatest sin of idolatry.

Also, I suppose, that every man on this earth is a pilgrim toward bliss or toward pain ; and that he that knoweth not, nor will know, or keep the holy commandments of God, in his living here, (albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world) he shall be damned : he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he shall be saved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage to Canterbury, Rome, or any other place."

This answer to his articles thus read, he delivered it to the bishops. Then the archbishop, with the other bishops and divers doctors, consulted what was to be done ; commanding him, for the time, to stand aside. In conclusion he said thus to him ; " Come hither, Sir John ; in this your writing, many good things are contained, and also right catholic ; we deny it not, but ye must consider, that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore ye must tell your mind more plainly, whether you believe in that sacrament of the altar, after the consecration there remaineth material bread, or not ? Moreover, whether ye believe, that as concerning the sacrament of penance, every man is bound to confess his sins to a priest or not ? "

After some other communication, lord Cobham answered, " That he would no otherwise declare his mind, nor make other answer to his articles than was contained there in his writings." Then said the archbishop, " Sir John, beware what ye do. For if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected, the law of holy church is, that we openly proclaim you an heretic. Unto whom he answered, " Do as ye shall think best, for I am at a point." Whatsoever he, or the other bishops did ask him after that, he bade them have recourse to his bill ; for he would stand by that to his death. Other answer he would not give that day ; whereat the bishops were wonderfully disquieted.

At last the archbishop declared unto him, what the holy church of Rome had determined in these matters ;

which determination (saith he,) all Christian men ought both to believe and follow.—Then the lord Cobham said, He would both gladly believe and observe whatsoever the holy church of Christ had determined, or whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or to do. But that the pope of Rome, with his eardinals, and other prelates, had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with his word, that he would not affirm. With this, the archbishop bade him take good advice, till the Monday following, (which was the 25th day of September,) and then to answer, Whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, or not ?

Lord Cobham perceived that their utmost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answer ; and therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his Spirit only to assist him in his next answer. When the day was come, the archbishop commanded his judicial seat to be removed from St. Paul's Chapter-house to the Dominie-fryars, within Ludgate. And as he was set there, with Richard, bishop of London, Henry, bishop of Winchester, and Bennet, bishop of Bangor, he called in unto him his council, with divers other doctors. All these, with a great rabble of priests, monks, canons, friars, parish-clerks, bell-ringers, and pardoners, mocked and scorned him ; accounting him an heretic, and a man accursed of God.

Then the archbishop called for a mass-book, and made all the prelates and doctors swear thereon that none, either for fear or favour, love or hatred, would depose any thing in the present case but the truth. This was done to colour over their wicked designs before the ignorant multitude. After that, came sir Robert Morley, and brought with him the lord Cobham, leaving him to his examination. Then said the archbishop unto him, Lord Cobham, ye be advised of the process we had upon Saturday last, which were now too long to be rehearsed again. I said unto you then, that you were accursed for your

contumacy and disobedience to holy church, thinking that ye would with meekness have desired your absolution.—Then spake the lord Cobham with a cheerful countenance, “God said, by his holy prophet, I will curse where you bless.”

The archbishop continued, Sir, at that time I gently proffered to have absolved you, if you would have asked it; and I still do the same, if ye will humbly desire it in due form.—Then said the lord Cobham, I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it.—And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding his hands towards heaven, and said, “I confess me here unto thee, my eternal, living God, that in my youth I offended thee most grievously, in pride, wrath, and gluttony—in covetousness and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins; good Lord, I ask *thee* mercy.” And therewith, weeping, he stood up and said, with a mighty voice, Lo! good people, lo! for the breaking of God’s law and his great commandments, they never yet cursed me: but for their own laws and traditions they most cruelly handle both me and other men. And therefore, by the promise of God, both they and their laws shall be utterly destroyed.

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little confounded. Notwithstanding, after certain words, in excuse, they examined the lord Cobham of his belief. Whereunto he made this answer, I believe, fully and faithfully, the universal laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy Scriptures. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe.—Then the archbishop demanded an answer concerning the four articles whercof he was accused, especially that of the sacrament of the altar. The lord Cobham said, I believe, that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ’s very body in form of bread.

Then said one of the doctors, After the sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread but only the body of Christ. Then shouted a sort of them together,

and cried with a great noise, It is God's body. And divers asked him, in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the consecration, or not? Then the lord Cobham, looking earnestly upon the archbishop, said, I believe that it is Christ's body in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus? The archbishop replied, Yes, marry do I.—Then the doctors asked him, Whether it were only Christ's body, after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?—He answered, It is both Christ's body and bread. The doctors then asked, Whether it were material, or not?—The Scriptures (replied the lord Cobham,) make no mention of this word material, and therefore my faith hath nothing to do therewith. But this I say and believe, That it is Christ's body and bread.—Then they all with one voice said, It is an heresy.—The lord Cobham said, St. Paul was as wise as you, and he called it bread: writing to the Corinthians, “The bread that we break, (saith he,) is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?”—Then they bade him stop his mouth, if he believed not in the determination of the church.—The lord Cobham answered, My belief is, (as I said before,) that all the Scriptures are true. All that is grounded upon them I thoroughly believe. For I know that it is God's pleasure that I should do so. But in your lordly laws and idle determinations I have no belief. For ye are no part of Christ's holy church, as your open deeds do shew: but ye are very antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law. The laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your own vain glory and abominable covetousness.—This, they said, was an exceeding heresy, not to believe the determination of holy church.—Then said the archbishop unto him, Can you tell me who is of the church?—The lord Cobham answered, Yes, truly can I.—Then said doctor Walden, the prior of the Carmelites, Christ saith, Judge not. Ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgment of your superior. But the learned scholars of Wickliff judge all men.

Unto whom the lord Cobham answered, As for the virtuous man, Wickliff, I say here before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned thereby to fear my God, I trust it hath been otherwise with me. I could never find so much grace in all your glorious instructions.

Then said doctor Walden, It were ill with me, if I had no grace to amend my life till I heard the devil preach. The lord Cobham replied, Your fathers, the old pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrine to the devil. And you; their natural children have still the same judgment concerning his followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretics, and that your *doctors* must prove, when you have no *Scripture* to do it.—Then he said to them all, To judge you as you be, we need go no further than to your own acts. Where do you find, in all God's law, that ye should thus sit in judgment on any Christian man, or give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? Ye have no ground in all the Scripture to take this upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, which sat thus upon Christ and upon his apostles after his ascension.

Then said some of the lawyers, Yes, forsooth, Sir Christ judged Judas.—No, (says the lord Cobham,) Christ judged him not; but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth and hanged himself. But indeed Christ said Woe unto him; as he doth still say unto many of you. For since his venom was shed into the church, ye never followed Christ.—Then the archbishop asked, What he meant by that venom?—The lord Cobham answered, Your possessions and lordships. Before that time, almost all the bishops of Rome were martyrs; and since that time we read of very few. Indeed, since that time, one hath put down another; one hath poisoned another; one hath cursed another; and one hath slain another; and done much more mischief besides, as all the Chronicles tell. And let all men consider well, that Christ was meek

and merciful; the pope is proud, and a tyrant; Christ was poor, and forgave; the pope is rich, and a malicious manslayer, as his daily acts prove. Rome is the very nest of antichrist, and out of that nest come all his disciples. Prelates, priests, and monks are his body; these friars are the tail, which covereth his most filthy part.—Then said the prior of the Augustine friars, Sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.—The lord Cobham said, It is not only my saying, but the prophet Esaias, long before my time: “The prophet which preacheth lies is the tail behind.”

Then said he unto them all, Christ saith in his gospel, “Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven; neither enter ye in yourselves, nor suffer any that would enter into it.” Ye will not admit God’s verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught by his true ministers.—Then said the archbishop, By our Lady, Sir, there shall none such preach within my diocese, nor yet in my jurisdiction, as either make division or dissension among the poor commons.

The lord Cobham said, Both Christ and his apostles were accused of making sedition, yet they were very peaceable men. But Daniel and Christ prophesied, that such a troublesome time should come as had not been since the world began. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days: for ye have slain many already, and ye will slay more.

Then a doctor of law plucked out a copy of a bill, thinking thereby to make shorter work: for they were so amazed at his answers, that they knew not well how to pass away the time, their wits so failed them that day.—My lord Cobham, (saith this doctor,) we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points. First, There remaineth in the sacrament of the altar no material bread, nor material wine, after the sacramental words are spoken. Sir, believe you not this?—The lord Cobham said, This is not my belief: but my faith is, (as I said before,) that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar is

Christ's very body in form of bread.—Then said the archbishop, Sir John, ye must say otherwise.—Nay, that I will not, (said he,) if God be on my side, as I trust he is. Then the doctor read the second point, thus: “Holy church hath determined, that every Christian man ought to be shriven of a priest.” Sir, what say you to this?—The lord Cobham answered, I deny not the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the laws of God are to be required of the priest which is godly learned. But if he be an idiot, or a man of vicious living, I ought rather to flee from him, than to seek unto him.

The doctor then read the third point in this manner, “Christ ordained St. Peter to be his vicar in earth, whose see is the church of Rome. And he granted the same power unto all Peter's successors, which we call now popes of Rome. By whose special power are ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, and curates, whom Christian men ought to obey, after the laws of the church of Rome.” Sir, believe you not this?—To this he answered, He that followeth Peter nighest in pure living, is next unto him in suecession. But your lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of Silvester.—With that, one of the other doctors asked him, Then what do you say of the pope?—The lord Cobham answered, As I said before, so I say again, That he and you together make the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the head; you bishops, prelates, priests, and monks, are the body, and the begging friars are the tail; for they cover the filthiness of you both with their subtil sophistry: neither can I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you, with Peter, follow Christ in conversation.

The doctor then read the fourth point, “Holy church hath determined, That it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics and images of saints

approved by the church of Rome.” Sir, what say you to this?—Whereunto he answered, I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up, or else bury them in the ground, as ye do other aged people, which are God’s images.

Then said friar Palmer, Sir, will ye worship the cross of Christ that he died upon?—Where is it? said the lord Cobham.—The friar said, I put the case, Sir, that it were here, even now before you.—The lord Cobham answered, I ask you, What worship should I do unto it?

A clerk replied, Such worship as St. Paul speaketh of, and that is this, “God forbid that I should glory, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.”—Then said the lord Cobham, spreading his arms abroad, This is the cross; yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created of God, yet will I not seek to have it worshipped.—Then said the bishop of London, Sir, ye wot that he died on a material cross.—Yea; and I wot also (said the lord Cobham,) that our salvation came not in by that material cross, but by him who died thereon. And well I wot that St. Paul gloried in no other cross, but in Christ’s passion and death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the same truth that he suffered for before.

Then said the archbishop, Sir John, ye have spoken many wonderful words, to the reproach of the whole spirituality, giving an evil example unto the common sort here to have us in disdain. We have spent much time here about you, and all in vain, so far as I can see. We must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of holy church, or else throw yourself into most deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be too late.—The lord Cobham said, I know not to what purpose I should submit me. You have offended me much more than ever I offended you, in thus troubling

me before this multitude.—The archbishop replied, We once again require you to have no other opinion than the belief of the holy church of Rome is.—Then lord Cobham said before them all, I will believe no otherwise in these points than I have told you. Do with me what you will. I see then (said the archbishop,) we must needs do the law; we must proceed to sentence, and condemn you for an heretic. And with that he stood up and read a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vailing their bonnets.

“In the name of God, so be it. We, Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see of Rome, will this to be known unto all men.—Whereas sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, being detected, accused, and presented before us, in our last convocation, holden in the cathedral church of St. Paul, at London, we proceeded against him according to the law, with all favour possible, declaring unto him what the holy church of Rome hath determined in that behalf. And though we found him so stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, yet we appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent: but since that time, we have found him worse and worse. Considering, therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law, and with great heaviness of heart proceed to sentence.”

Then he brought forth and read another bill. It was as follows: “Forasmuch as we have found, by sundry evidences, sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith of the holy church of Rome; neither will he be allured by strait admonishment, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: we judge, declare, and condemn the said lord Cobham for a most pernicious, detestable heretic; committing him, from henceforth, as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, to put him to death. Furthermore, we ex-

communicate and denounce accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many else besides as shall hereafter, in favour of his error, either receive, defend, counsel, help, or any other way maintain him, as very fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellors, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretics.”

After the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, before the whole multitude, the lord Cobham said, with a very cheerful countenance, Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet I am sure that ye can do no more harm to my soul than Satan could to the soul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise save it: I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles, by the grace of my eternal God, I will stand to them, even to the very death.—And thereupon, turning himself to the people, and casting his hands abroad, he said, with a very loud voice, Good Christian people, for God’s love, be well aware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindfold into hell, with themselves. For Christ saith plainly, “If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch.” After this, he fell down upon his knees, and prayed thus before them all, (holding both his hands and eyes towards heaven,) “Lord God eternal, I beseech thee, for thy great mercy’s sake, to forgive my persecutors; if it be thy blessed will.” He was then delivered to sir Robert Morley, and led again to the tower of London.

While the lord Cobham was in the tower, his friends wrote this bill following, and caused it to be set up in many parts of London, that the people should not believe the slanders that his enemies, the bishop’s servants and priests, had made on him abroad:—“Forasmuch as sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, is falsely reported and slandered among the common people, that he should both otherwise think and speak of the sacraments of the church than was written in the confession of his belief, which was set up in divers open places of the city

of London :—Known be it here to all the world, that he (never since,) varied in any point therefrom ; but this is plainly his belief,—That all the sacraments of the church are profitable, and expedient also, to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he believeth, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is verily and truly Christ's body in form of bread."

After this, the bishops and priests were in great discredit, both with the nobility and commons ; partly for their having so cruelly handled the lord Cobham, and partly because they themselves thought his opinion concerning the sacrament was right. The prelates, fearing this would grow to further inconvenience, agreed to use another practice. They caused it to be blown abroad that the lord Cobham was a good man, and had submitted himself in all things to holy church. And thereupon they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people might stand the more in awe of them, considering so great a man had been subdued by them.

After this, sentence of death was passed upon the lord Cobham, and sir Robert Morley carried him again to the tower ; from whence, after he had remained some time, in the night season, (by means unknown,) he made his escape and fled into Wales, where he continued four years. In the mean time, a great sum of money was proclaimed by the king to him that could take him, either alive or dead. After four years, the lord Powis, whether for love of the money, or for hatred of the true doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of ways to betray him, at length obtained his purpose, and brought the lord Cobham, bound, up to London, about the month of December, in the year 1417. At that time there was a parliament assembled in London for raising of money, to be sent to the king in France. The records of which parliament say, That on Tuesday, the 14th day of December, and the 29th day of the said parliament, sir John Oldcastle of Cowling, in the county of Kent, knight, being before excommunicated by

the archbishop of Canterbury for heresy, was brought before the lords, and having heard his said convictions, answered not thereto in his defence. Upon this record it was adjudged, that he should be carried to the tower of London, and from thence down through London, to the new gallows in St. Gilcs's, without Temple-bar, and there be hanged, and burned hanging.


On the 20th day of February, 1415, God took away the great enemy of his word, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, who was succeeded in that see by Henry Chichesly. This Henry, following the steps of his predecessor, shewed himself no small adversary against the truth. In his time there was much trouble and great affliction in the church. For as the Word spread abroad daily more and more, so more vigilant care and strait inquisition followed against the people of God; by reason whereof divers were burned; some fled the country for fear; many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abjure.

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## THE HISTORY

OF

## JOHN HUS.



IN the time of Richard II. the Bohemians, coming to the knowledge of Wickliff's books, began first to favour Christ's gospel, till at length, by the preaching of John Hus, they increased more and more in knowledge. Pope

Alexander V. hearing thereof, directed his bull to archbishop Swinco, requiring him to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain Wickliff's doctrine; citing also John Hus to appear before him. To whom he, answering again, declared that bull to be utterly against the manifest examples both of Christ and his apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the gospel, in binding the Word of God.

Soon after, pope Alexander died, and pope John XXIII. succeeded him; who also sought, by all means possible, to repress the Bohemians; beginning with John Hus, their preacher. The bishop committed the whole matter to Cardinal de Columna, who appointed John Hus a day to appear in the court of Rome. Upon this, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and Bohemia, (at the request of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, as also at the earnest desire of the town and university of Prague,) sent ambassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to deliver John Hus from that sentence: and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical doctrine, he should send his ambassadors, who might amend the same:—that all this should be done at the cost of the king of Bohemia, who would assist the bishop's legates with all his power, to punish all such as should be found in any erroneous doctrine. In the mean season also, John Hus sent his lawful procurators to Rome, and with most firm reasons proved his innocency; whereupon he trusted easily to obtain that he should not be compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appear on the day appointed. When the cardinal (to whose judgment the whole matter was committed,) would not admit any defence or excuse, John Hus's procurators appealed to the pope: yet, notwithstanding this last refuge, he openly excommunicated John Hus as an obstinate heretic.

However, as his procurators had appealed to the pope, they had other judges appointed. These judges, after they had deferred the matter a year and a half, at last

returned to the sentence of Cardinal de Columna, and confirming the same, commanded John Hus's procurators to defend him no more. When they would not cease their suit, certain of them were east into prison; the others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia. The Bohemians cared little for all this, but as they grew more in knowledge, so they less regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop, for stopping the Word of God, saying, "That by their indulgences, and other practiees of the church of Rome, they sought their own profit, not the glory of Christ; that they plucked the wool and milk from the sheep of Christ, and did not feed them, either with the Word of God, or with good examples."

After the death of archbishop Swineo, Conrade was placcd at Prague by the pope, to be chief general there, who, conferring with the divines and doctores of the university, required their counsel how they might best assuage the dissension between the clergy and people,—it was advised, that a certain council should be holden after this manner: "1. That all doctors and masters of the university of Prague should be assembled in the court of the archbishop, and swear not to hold any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, before condemned.—2. Concerning the seven sacraments, the keys and censures, the rites, ceremonies, and liberties of the church, the worshipping of relies, and indulgences, every one shall swear that he doth hold and maintain, and will maintain, as the church of Rome doth, and no otherwise; of which church the pope is head, and the college of cardinals the body.—3. Every one shall swear, that in every matter belonging to the church, he will stand to the determination of the apostolic see, and that he will obey the prelates in all things.—4. If any clerk, student, or layman shall withstand any of these premises, the ordinary shall correct him according to the old laws and canons, and that no man shall defend him.—5. That Mr. John Hus shall not preach till he shall have absolution of the court."

As soon as word came of this to John Hus and his adherents, they drew out other articles, in manner and form as followeth:—"For the honour of God, and the true preaching of the gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the infamy of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of the city and university of Prague, and for the restoring of peace and unity between the clergy and scholars of the university:—1. Let the decree of the princes, and of the king's council, stand in force, which, between the lord archbishop Swinco on the one part, and Mr. John Hus, rector, on the other part, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and on both parts solemnly received and allowed in the court of our sovereign lord the king.—2. That the kingdom of Bohemia remain in its former rites, liberties, and common customs, such as other kingdoms do enjoy.—3. That Mr. John Hus be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there, whosoever will object to him, either heresy or error, let him object, binding him to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.—4. If no man will set himself against him, let the commandment be made by our sovereign lord the king, through all his cities, and let it be proclaimed through all villages and towns, That Mr. John Hus is ready to render an account of his faith; and therefore, if any will object unto him any heresy or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbishop, and bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.—5. If none shall be found to object, or who will write his name, then let them be called for, who rumoured in the pope's court, That in the kingdom of Bohemia, in the city of Prague, and in the Marquisate of Moravia, many are infected with heresy and error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.—6. These things done, our sovereign lord the king, and also the archbishop, will give commandment that no man shall call another heretic, unless he will stand to the probation of that heresy.—7. In the mean season, for the presence of Mr. John Hus, no interdict ought to be made."

While this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, it happened that pope John, raising up war against Ladislaus, king of Naples, gave full remission of sins to all who would war on his side. When this bull of the pope's indulgence was come to Prague, and there published, king Wenceslaus, who then favoured that pope, gave orders that no man should attempt any thing against the said indulgences. But Hus, with his followers, not able to abide the impicty of those pardons, began to speak against them; of which company there were three artificers, who hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, openly spoke against them; wherefore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward. But the people, joining in arms, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates satisfied the people with fair promises, so that every man returned home. But the captains being in prison, were, notwithstanding, there beheaded. Their death being known to the people, they took their bodies, and with great solemnity brought them to the church of Bethlehem, and sumptuously interred them there. John Hus preached at their funeral, and much commended them for their constancy.

Thus was the city of Prague divided. The prelates, with the greatest part of the clergy, and most of the barons, held with the pope; the commons, with part of the clergy and students of the university, sided with John Hus. Wenceslaus, fearing this would grow to a tumult, thought it best to remove John Hus out of the city. And further to cease this dissension, he committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and clergy. They, consulting together, set forth a decree, confirmed by the king, containing eighteen articles, for the maintainance of the pope and the see of Rome, against the doctrine of Wickliff and John Hus. John Hus, leaving Prague, went to his own country; where, being protected by the lord of the soil, he continued preaching. A great concourse of people resorted to him; neither was he yet so expelled

out of Prague, but that sometimes he resorted to his church at Bethlehem, and there also preached to the people.

Nevertheless, John Hus being so excommunicate that no mass could be said where he was present, the people began mightily to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests, which were the workers thereof, not sparing to lay open their vices, and craving reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king, seeing the inclination of the people, (under pretence to reform the church,) began to lay greater exactions on such priests as were known to be wicked livers. Whereupon, they that favoured John Hus, taking that opportunity, spared none whom they knew to be his enemies. By this means, such of the popish clergy as were faulty, were brought into great distress; and such as were not faulty, into great fear: insomuch, that they were glad not to fall out with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. Hereupon Mr. Hus began to take more liberty, and to preach in his church at Bethlehem, and none controlled him. By the same means also the people received some comfort, and the king much money.

But now the pope wrote to Wenceslaus, for the suppressing of John Hus and his doctrine, as follows :

“John, bishop, servant of God’s servants, to his well-beloved son in Christ, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia, greeting and apostolical benediction. We hear, that in divers places under our dominion, there be certain which follow and lean to the errors of that arch-heretic, Wickliff, whose books have been long since condemned in the general Roman council to be erroneous, heretical, and swerving from the Catholic faith. And the said persons, cleaving to the opinions of the heretics, do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keys and ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of the apostolical dignity, setting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers and canons. Wherefore, we exhort your worship, for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may

or can, that it would please you, as we desire and hope you will (so effectually) to shew forth your regal power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the Catholic faith, that this blot of heresy may be rooted out.

“Given at Bononia, in the ides of June, in the fifth year of our popedom.”

During all the time of pope John, there were three popes reigning together, for the space of twenty-nine years. By reason whereof, a general council was ordained and holden at Constance, in the year 1414, being called by Sigismund, the empcror, and pope John, for the pacifying of the said schism. This council continued four years, wherein many things were concluded, too long to be recited. In the fourth session this was first concluded, That a general council, representing the whole Catholic church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately; to which power every person, of what state or dignity soever,—yea, the pope himself,—ought to be obedient in all things. In the sixth session, commissioners were appointed for the hearing of John Hus. Also, the memory of John Wickliff was condemned; and the sentence for the condemnation and burning of Wickliff's books was confirmed. And in the same session, a citation was sent out against Jerome of Prague. In the eighth session, the sentence of John Wickliff and his forty-five articles was recited, and sentence given for his bones to be burned.

In the thirteenth session was decreed, “That no priest, under pain of excommunication, shall communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.” In the fifteenth session, the sentence and condemnation of John Hus was read and published. In the sixteenth session, the sentence against John Hus was confirmed and ratified.

Before this council began, the emperor Sigismund sent certain gentlemen, Bohemians, which were of his own household, charging them to bring John Hus to the said council, and that under his safe conduct. The intent thereof was, That John Hus might clear himself of the

blame which they had laid against him. And for the better assurance, the emperor did not only promise him safe conduct, that he might come freely to Constance, but also that he should return again into Bohemia, without harm or interruption. He promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire. For the same cause the emperor sent him the said safe conducts, written both in Latin and German, as followeth :

“ Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmark, Croatia, &c, To all princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular, and generally to all the subjects of our empire, to whom these letters shall come,—grace and all goodness.

“ We charge and command you all, that you have respect to John Hus, who is departed out of Bohemia, to come to the general council of Constance. Which John Hus we have received under our protection and safeguard of the whole empire; desiring you that you will cheerfully receive him when he shall come towards you, and that you treat and use him gently, shewing him favour and good-will, and shew him pleasure in all things, as touching the ease and safety of his journey, as well by land as by water. Moreover, we will that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessities, shall pass through all places, passages, ports, cities, towns, castles and villages, and all other your dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition, tribute, or any other toll whatsoever. We will also that you suffer him to pass, rest, tarry, and sojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, vexation, or trouble; and that, if need shall so require, you provide a faithful company to conduct him, for the honour and reverence which you owe to our imperial majesty.

“ Given at Spires, the 18th of October, in the year of our Lord 1414.”

John Hus, seeing the assurance which the emperor had given him, sent answer to the emperor that he would

come to the council. But before he departed out of Prague, he wrote bills, as well in Latin as in the Bohemian and German language, and caused them to be set upon the gates of the cathedrals and parish churches, cloisters and abbeys, signifying to them all that he would go to the general council at Constance; wherefore, if any man had any suspicion of his doctrine, he should declare it before the lord Conrade, bishop of Prague; or, if he had rather, at the general council, for there he would give every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith.

At the same time, John Hus sent his procurators to the bishop of Nazareth, (ordained by the apostolic see inquisitor of heresy, of the city and diocese of Prague,) requiring him, That if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. Upon which, a public instrument was drawn, testified with the hand and seal of the public notary. The copy of which followeth:

“In the name of God, amen. In the year of his nativity, 1414, August 30, in the city of Prague, there was personally present Mr. John Jessenitz, master of arts, procurator in the name of the honourable man Mr. John Hus, bachelor in divinity, of the University of Prague. He most humbly required of the reverend father in Christ, and lord, Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, inquisitor of heresies for the city and diocese of Prague, being there present, saying, ‘Reverend father, do you know any heresy or error in Mr. John Husnetz, otherwise called Hus?’ Lord Nicholas not constrained, but of his own accord, freely and openly did there say these words, in the Bohemian tongue: ‘I have many times been conversant with Mr. John Hus, and have eaten and drunk with him: also I have been often present at his sermons, and I never perceived in him any error or heresy, but in all his words and deeds I have always found him a true and a Catholic man; neither have I found any thing that doth savour of any error or heresy.’”

“Again, the said Mr. John’s procurator asked the said

Nicholas, 'Whether any man had accused the said Mr. John Hus of any heresy before him?' He answered, 'That since the time he knew John Hus, and that he was made inquisitor for heresy in the city and diocese of Prague, no man ever accused the said Mr. John Hus of heresy before him unto this present time.' Adding, moreover, 'That he, the said Mr. John Hus, did openly set up his letters patents, in the said month of August, this present year, upon the porches of the cathedral church of Prague, and other collegiate and parish churches of the said city, and upon the gates of our lord the king, and the archbishop of Prague, containing in them to this effect, 'That he would appear before Conrade, archbishop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, which should be assembled at a certain day of the month aforesaid, ready always to satisfy all men as touching the faith and hope which he held, and to see and hear all and every one that would lay any obstinacy of error and heresy against him, agreeing to suffer the like punishment; unto whom altogether he would answer before the said archbishop of Prague, and the said lord Nicholas and the prelates, in the next general council of Constance, and there, according unto the canons and decrees of the holy fathers, shew forth his uprightness and innocency.' Of which proceedings Mr. John de Jessenitz desired that he might have public instruments made unto him by me, the public notary. These things were done the day and year aforesaid, in the presence of many worthy and credible witnesses.'

After this, when all the barons of Bohemia were assembled in the abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the realm, where the archbishop of Prague was also present, John Hus presented supplications, by which he most humbly desired the barons that they would shew him that favour towards the archbishop, that if he suspected him of any error or heresy, he would declare it openly; and that he was ready to suffer correction for the same at his hands. The archbishop confessed openly

before all the assembly, That he knew not that the said John Hus was faulty in any crime or offence. This report which the archbishop gave of John Hus, appears by the letters which the barons of Bohemia sent to the emperor Sigismund.

About the middle of October, 1414, John Hus, accompanied with two noble gentlemen, namely, Wenceslaus of Duba, and John de Clum, went from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. And in every place as he passed, he notified his presence by his letters which he sent abroad, and especially in every town and city of note, the tenor whereof ensueth :

“Mr. John Hus goeth now unto Constance, there to declare his faith, which by God’s help he will keep, even unto death. Therefore as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdom of Bohemia, willing before his departure to have given an account of his faith unto every man which should object any thing against him, in the general convocation holden in the archbishop of Prague’s court: so likewise he doth signify, That if there be any man in this city, who will lay any error or heresy against him, that he should prepare himself to come to the council, forasmuch as the said Mr. John Hus is ready to satisfy every man at the said council, who shall lay any thing to his charge, as touching his faith.”

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of Bohemia and entered into Germany, a great number of people came to him ; and he was very kindly received and entertained through all the towns of Germany, and especially of the citizens and burgesses ; and oftentimes of the curates. Insomuch that he confessed he found so great enemies in no place as in Bohemia. And if it happened that there were any noise before of his coming, the streets were always full of people, who were desirous to see John Hus ; and especially at Nuremberg, where certain merchants, which went before, certified the citizens of his coming. In that city there were many curates, who came to him, desired

that they might talk with him privately. He answered, "That he chose much rather to shew his mind openly before all men, for he would keep nothing hid." So after dinner, till it was night, he spake before the priests and senators, and divers other citizens, insomuch that they all had him in great reverence, except only one doctor, who was a charter-house monk.

The twentieth day after he set out from the town of Prague, which was the 3d day of November, he came to Constance, and lodged at an honest matron's house, being a widow, named Faith. The morrow after, Mr. John de Clum, and Mr. Henry Latzemboge, went to speak with the pope, and certified him that John Hus was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the general council, under the emperor's safe conduct, desiring him also, that he would grant the said John Hus liberty to remain there, without any trouble or interruption. Unto whom the pope answered, That if John Hus had killed his brother, yet he would take care that no hurt should be done to him during his abode in Constance.

Meantime Stephen Paletz, a Bohemian, the greatest adversary John Hus had, was come to Constance. As soon as Paletz was come, he associated to him one Michael de Causis, who had before falsely accused John Hus. Paletz had been familiarly acquainted with the said John Hus from his youth, till a bull was brought to Prague, from pope John XXIII. against the king of Apulia, which John Hus openly withstood, because he saw that it was wicked and naught. Paletz, though he had confessed in the presence of John Hus, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right, yet notwithstanding, as he was bound to the pope by certain benefices, he defended the bull against John Hus. And this was the cause of the falling out between them.

Michael de Causis was some time curate of New Prague; but not being content therewith, he pretended that he had found out a new invention, whereby the gold

mines in Gilory, which were lost, might be set on work again. King Wenceslaus put a great sum of money into his hands, to do that which he had promised. After Michael had laboured many days about it, and brought nothing to pass, he got away privily out of Bohemia with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself into the court of Rome. Such a man was easily bought by the adversaries of Hus ; and he promised to do what he could for them. These two, Stephen Palctz and Michael de Causis, drew out certain articles against Hus, which they took great pains to shew to the cardinals, bishops, and monks ; whom they so incensed thereby, that they resolved with one consent to have him apprehended.

The 26th day after Hus was come to Constance, (during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and talking with his friends,) the cardinals sent the bishops of Augusta and Trent, and with them the mayor of Constance, to inform him that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to advertise him to come and give an account of his doctrine, as he had often desired, and that they were ready to hear him. John Hus returned this short answer, "I am not come to defend my cause particularly before the pope and cardinals, but I would willingly appear before the whole council, and there answer openly to all such things as shall be demanded of me. Notwithstanding, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals. And if they evil intrcat me, yet I trust in my Lord Jesus, I shall rather die for his glory, than deny the truth." Accordingly he went to the court of the pope and cardinals. And when he was come thither, they said to him, "It is reported that you have taught many great errors against the doctrine of the true church, wherefore we have called you before us, that we might know how the matter stands."

John Hus answered, 'Reverend fathers, I should rather choose to die, than be found culpable of one error only,

much less of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come, to shew myself ready, with all my heart, to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me.' The cardinals answered him again, that his sayings pleased them well. Upon that they went away, leaving him with Mr. John de Clum, under a guard of armed men.

In the mean season they suborned a friar, a subtle and crafty man, to dispute with John Hus. This man drawing near, said, "Reverend master, I am a simple and rude idiot, and am come to you to learn : I desire you, for the love you bear to the truth, that you would teach me. They say, you hold that after the consecration in the sacrament, there remaineth only material bread." John Hus answered, "It was falsely imputed to him." Then said he, "I pray you, is not this your opinion?" "No verily," said John Hus, "I do not think so." When the monk asked this question the third time, J. de Clum being moved, said, "Why art thou so importunate? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him." Then said the monk, "Gentle master, I pray you pardon me, a poor, simple friar, surely I did it of a good intent, being willing to learn." He then, asked, what manner of unity of the Godhead and manhood was in the person of Christ? When John Hus heard this, turning himself unto John de Clum, he said, in the Bohemian language, "Truly this friar is not simple, as he pretends, for he hath propounded a very hard question to me." Then turning himself to the friar, he said, "Brother, you say you are simple, but I perceive that you are double and crafty; notwithstanding, I will not fear to shew you my mind."

When he had made an end, the monk gave him great thanks, and departed. After that, the pope's garrison, which were about him, told him that this friar was called Mr. Didace, who was esteemed the most subtle divine in all Lombardy. "O," said he, "had I known that before,

I would have handled him after another fashion ; but I would to God they were all such ; then, through the help of the holy Scriptures, I would fear none of them.” In this manner Hus and John de Clum were left under the keeping of these men of arms, until four in the afternoon. Afterwards the cardinals assembled again in the pope’s court, to consult what they should do with John Hus. A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court to John de Clum, to tell him that he might return to his lodging ; but for John Hus, they had otherwise provided for him. When John de Clum heard this news, he went to the pope, and declared to him all that was done ; most humbly beseeching him, that he would remember the promise which he had made, and not so lightly break his faith. The pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent ; and said further to him apart, what reason is there, that you should impute this deed to me, seeing you know that I myself am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops ?

Mr. de Clum returned very pensive, and complained very sore, both privily and openly, of the injury the pope had done ; but all profited nothing. After this Hus was led by the officers to the chapter-house of the great church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner eight days ; from whence he was carried to the Jacobines, hard by the river Rhine, and was shut up in the prison of the abbey.

After he had been confined there some time, he fell sick, by means of the stench of the place, and became so weak, that they despaired of his life. And lest he should die in prison, the pope sent some of his physicians to attend him. In the midst of his sickness his accusers presented these articles to the pope. 1. John Hus errs about the sacrament of the body of Christ ; forasmuch as he hath openly preached that it ought to be ministered openly unto the people under both kinds. Moreover he hath taught, that after the words of consecration there remaineth still material bread. 2. He errs as touching

the ministers of the church ; forasmuch as he saith, that they cannot consecrate the sacraments when they are in mortal sin. 3. He errs as touching the church, for that he doth not allow that the church signifieth the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and clergy. 4. He errs as touching the church, in that he saith, that the reservations of the pope's casualties, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of priests, were invented only for covetousness. 5. He errs concerning the church, in that he saith, the pope, cardinals, and other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sin. 6. He errs touching the church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not fear excommunication. Wherefore let our sovereign lord the pope, and this most sacred council, ordain commissioners to examine John Hus upon all these things. Let there be also certain doctors appointed to read over his books, that the church may be speedily purged from these errors."

Upon this his accusation, they appointed three commissioners or judges, the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Lybuss ; who being thus deputed, heard the accusation, and the witness which was brought in by certain priests of Prague ; and afterward recited the accusation to Hus in the prison. Upon this, John Hus desired to have an advocate to answer for him, which was utterly denied him. He remained in the prison till the Wednesday before Palm-Sunday. Meanwhile, to employ his time, he wrote certain books, of the ten commandments, of the knowledge and love of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer and of the supper of our Lord.

The same day pope John changed his apparel, and conveyed himself out of Constance, fearing the judgment, whereby he was afterwards deprived of his papal dignity, for his most execrable and abominable doings. This was the cause that John Hus was carried to another prison : for the pope's servants, who had the charge of him, understanding their master was fled, delivered up

the keys of the prison to the emperor Sigismund, and to the cardinals, and followed their master. Then, by the whole consent of the council, Hus was put into the hands of the bishop of Constance, who sent him to a castle on the other side of the Rhine, not far from Constance; where, in the day-time, he was shut up in a tower, with fetters on his legs, so that he could scarce walk; and at night he was fastened up to a rack against the wall just by his bed.

Meanwhile certain noblemen and gentlemen of Poland and Bohemia did all their endeavours to procure his deliverance, regarding the honour of all the realm, which was wonderfully defamed. Wherefore they concluded together to present their request in writing to the whole council, on the 14th day of May, An. 1415. The tenor whereof ensueth.

“Most reverend fathers and lords. The nobles and lords of Bohemia and Poland, here present, by this their present writing, declare unto you, that the most noble king, the lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c. hearing of the great dissension that was in the kingdom of Bohemia, as heir, king, and lord successor, willing to provide for his own honour, sent these noblemen, Wenceslaus de Duba, and John de Clum, here present, to bring and assure Mr. John Hus, under the king's name and safe conduct; so that he might come to the council of Constance, under the safe conduct of the said king, and the protection of the sacred empire, openly given and granted unto the said John Hus, that he might purge himself and the kingdom of Bohemia, from the slander raised upon them, and make an open declaration of his faith to every man, that would lay any thing to his charge: which the said nobles, with John Hus, have done, according to the king's commandment. But when John Hus was, of his own accord, come to Constance, under the said safe conduct, he was imprisoned before he was heard; and at this present is tormented both with fetters, and with

hunger and thirst. At the council of Pusa, in 1410, the heretics which were condemned, were suffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely ; but John Hus, neither being convicted nor condemned, nay, nor so much as heard, is taken and imprisoned, when neither the king, nor any prince elector, nor any ambassador of any university was yet come. And although the lord, the king, instantly required they would regard his honour, and that the said John Hus might be openly heard ; yet could he never obtain this. But the said John Hus is most grievously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared he will lose his senses. Wherefore, most reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords before named, do most humbly desire your reverences, that both for the honour of our lord the king, and also for the preservation of the fame, both of the kingdom of Bohemia, and your own also, you will make a short end of the affairs of John Hus ; forasmuch as on account of his hard usage, he is in great danger by any longer delay. And forasmuch as it is come to our knowledge, that certain slanderers have told unto your reverences, that up and down Bohemia, coblers do now hear confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord unto others : the nobles here present require, that you give no credit to slanderers and backbiters ; and that such slanderous persons may be named and known. And the lord the king, together with your reverences, shall well perceive and see, that the lords of Bohemia will put away those false and frivolous slanders."

When the noblemen of Bohemia could have no answer to this, they determined, the last day of May following, by another supplication, to intreat that John Hus might be delivered out of prison, and defend his own cause openly. They also put up the testimonial of the bishop of Nazareth, as touching John Hus. After this supplication was read before the deputies, the patriarch of Antioch answered, in the name of them all, that upon the

5th day of June next, John Hus should be brought to Constance again, and have free liberty to speak his mind before the council. The same day the said lords presented a supplication of the same import to the emperor. What answer the emperor made, we could never understand ; but, by the process of the matter, a man may easily judge, that he was brought to falsify his promise.

The 5th of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests that were in Constance, assembled in great number, at the convent of the Franciscans ; and there it was commanded, that before John Hus should be brought forth, they should rehearse the articles gathered out of his books. It fell out there was then present a certain notary, named Mladoniewitz, who greatly loved John Hus. As soon as he perceived the bishops and cardinals were determined to condemn the articles in the absence of John Hus, he went with all speed to Wenceslaus de Duba, and John de Clum, and they immediately made report thereof to the emperor. The emperor, understanding their intent, sent Lewis, the count palatine of Heydelburgh, and the lord Frederick, burgrave of Nuremberg, to signify to them, that nothing should be resolved in the case of John Hus, before it were first heard with equity ; and that they should send him all such articles as were laid against him, that they might be examined by good and learned men. Then the judgment of the council was suspended, until Hus himself was present.

When John Hus was brought forth, they had scarcely read one article, and produced a few witnesses, but, as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all the mad herd began so to cry out upon him, that he had not room to speak one word. Besides this, some raged against him in words, and others despitefully mocked him ; so that, seeing himself overwhelmed with these noises and cries, and that it availed nothing to speak, he determined finally with himself to hold his peace. From that time

the whole rout of his adversaries thought they had won the battle, and cried out altogether, "Now he is dumb, now he is dumb. This is a certain sign that he consents to these his errors." At length the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be deferred till another time. Through their advice the prelates departed for the present, and appointed to meet there again on the morrow, in order to proceed in judgment.

The next day, being the 7th of June, a little after seven o'clock, the sun being then almost wholly eclipsed, the same flock assembled in the cloister of the Friars Minors; and John Hus was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. The emperor went thither also, whom the lords of Duba and Clum followed, to see what would be the end. When they were come thither, they heard the following words read in the accusation of Michael de Causis; "John Hus hath taught the people many errors, both in the chapel of Bethlehem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague; some of which he hath drawn out of Wickliff's books, and the rest he hath invented of his own head. First, that after the consecration in the supper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread." Whereunto John Hus answered, "Verily, I think that the body of Christ is really and totally in the sacrament of the altar." When they had disputed a good while to and fro, an English friar said, "As far as I can perceive, this man holdeth a good opinion touching the sacrament of the altar." Then it was alleged, that Hus had taught, and obstinately defended certain of Wickliff's erroneous articles, and that he withstood the condemnation of Wickliff's articles, which were first condemned at Rome. He answered, "That he did never obstinately confirm any of Wickliff's articles, but only that he did not consent that Wickliff's articles should be condemned, before sufficient reasons were alleged out of the holy Scripture for their condem-

nation. And of the same mind (says he,) are a great many other doctors and masters of the university of Prague."

He added, "When archbishop Swinco commanded, that no man, under pain of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels, I appealed to the pope; who dying before my affair was determined, I appealed to his successor, John XXIII. And when, for the space of two years, I could not be admitted, by my advocate, to defend my cause before him, I appealed unto the High Judge, Christ." When he had spoken these words, it was demanded of him, whether it were lawful for him to appeal to Christ? He answered, "I do affirm, before you all, that there is no more just or effectual appeal, than that which is made to Christ, forasmuch as the law determines, that '*to appeal*, is no other thing, than in the cause of wrong done by an inferior judge, to implore aid and remedy at a higher judge's hand.' Who is then a higher judge than Christ? Who can know or judge the matter more justly? Or, who can better help the miserable and oppressed than he?" While he was speaking those words he was derided and mocked of all the whole council.

Many trifling accusations were then brought against him; to which he answered severally. This done, he was committed to the custody of the bishop of Reigen. But before he was led away, the cardinal of Cambray, calling him back again, in the presence of the emperor, said, "John Hus, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing to come to Constance, neither the emperor himself, nor the king of Bohemia, could have compelled you to it." He answered, "Most reverend father, I never said any such words. But this I did say, that there was in Bohemia a great number of noblemen and gentlemen, who favoured and loved me; who also could easily have kept me in some safe and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come to Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, nor of the king of

Bohemia." Lord de Clum said, John Hus had spoken well; for on my own part, (said he,) who, in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realm of Bohemia; yet, if I would have taken it in hand, I could easily have defended him for a year, even against the force of both these great and mighty kings. How much easier might they have done it, who are of more force than I am, and have stronger castles? After the Lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinal of Cambray said, "Let us leave off this talk. And I warn and counsel you, John Hus, that you submit yourself to the council; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your honour and advantage."

Then the emperor said, "There be some who say, that fifteen days after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our letters of safe conduct: notwithstanding I can well prove, by the witness of many princes, that the said safe conduct was obtained of us, by the lords de Duba and de Clum, before you went out of Prague; under whose guard we have sent for you, that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the council. But forasmuch as several have told us, that we may not defend any man who is an heretic, we therefore give you the same counsel as the cardinal of Cambray hath given you. If you do according to our advice, we will give order that the council shall suffer you to depart in peace. But if not, be well assured, that we will sooner make the fire with our own hands to burn you, than we will any longer suffer you to maintain these opinions. Wherefore our counsel is, that you submit yourself wholly to the judgment of the council." Hus replied, "Most noble emperor, I return your highness thanks for your letters of safe conduct." Upon this, lord de Clum admonished him to avoid obstinacy. Then said Hus, "Most gentle lord, I take God to my witness, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion obstinately, and that I came hither for this very intent, that, if any

man could lay before me any better doctrine than mine, I would change mine opinion." After he had thus spoken, he was sent away.

On the morrow the same company assembled again. And in this assembly also were the Lord de Duba, and Lord de Clum. Thither was John Hus brought : and in his presence there were read 39 articles, which, they said, were drawn out of his books : to all these he answered in such a manner, (denying some and proving others,) that his adversaries were amazed and confounded. Yet the cardinal of Cambray, calling unto Hus, said, "Thou hast heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what number of them there are ; and now it is thy part to think what thou wilt do. Two ways are proposed to thee. First, That thou humbly and meekly submit thyself to the judgment of the council. If thou wilt do this, we, on our part, both for the honour of the emperor, and of his brother, the king of Bohemia, will treat thee with as great kindness and gentleness as we can. But if thou wilt still defend any of those articles, and dost require to be further heard, we will not deny thee that liberty : but thou wilt surely find it will be to thy great hurt."

John Hus answered, "Most reverend fathers, I have said, that I came hither, not obstinately to defend any thing ; but if in any thing I should have conceived an evil opinion, I would be content to be reformed. Wherefore I desire that I may have further liberty to declare my mind. And unless I can allege most solid and strong reasons to the contrary, I will willingly submit myself, (as you require,) to your information." Then said the cardinal of Cambray, "Since you submit yourself to the information of this council, this is decreed by almost threescore doctors, and approved by the whole council : First, That you shall meekly confess yourself to have erred in these articles which are brought against you. Moreover, that you shall promise, upon oath, that from

henceforth you will not teach or maintain any of these articles. And last of all, that you shall openly recant all these articles."

After many others had spoken their minds upon these heads, at length John Hus said, "I say once again, that I am ready to submit to the information of the council; but this I most humbly desire, even for his sake, who is the God of us all, that I may not be compelled to do the thing, which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation; that is, that I should make revocation, upon oath, of all the articles which are alleged against me. For to *abjure* is to renounce an error which a man hath before him. And, as many of these articles were never in my mind, how should I then renounce them upon oath? As for those articles which are mine; if there be any man who can teach me better, I will willingly perform that which you require."

Then said the emperor, "Why cannot you without danger also renounce those articles which you say are falsely alleged against you? I would not at all doubt to abjure all errors." Hus replied, "Most noble emperor, the word *abjure* signifies much otherwise than your majesty means." Then said the cardinal of Florence, "You shall have a form of abjuration written and delivered to you, and then you will easily and soon determine whether you will do it or no." Then the emperor said, "Thou hast heard that there are two ways: first, that thou shouldst openly renounce thy errors, and subscribe to the judgment of the council. Otherwise, if thou proceed to defend thy opinions, the council shall have sufficient whereby, according to their laws and ordinances, they may determine upon thee." Hus answered, "I refuse nothing (most noble emperor,) whatsoever the council shall determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience, or say that I have professed those errors which were never in my mind to profess. But I desire

you all, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, touching those things which are objected against me."

Then Paletz, rising up, said, "I take God to witness, before the emperor's majesty, and the most reverend fathers, cardinals, and bishops, that in this accusation of John Hus, I have not used any hatred or ill-will; but that I might satisfy the oath which I took when I was made doctor, that I would be a sharp enemy to all manner of errors, for the good of the holy catholic church." Michael de Causis did the like. "And I," said Hus, "commit all these things to the heavenly Judge, which shall justly decide the cause of both parties." Then said the cardinal of Cambray, "I cannot a little commend the gentleness of Mr. Paletz, which he hath used in drawing out the articles against Mr. Hus. For there are many things contained in his book much worse and more detestable."

When he had spoken these words, the bishop of Rygen, to whose care he was committed, commanded he should be carried again to prison. Then John de Clum following him, did not a little encourage and comfort him. No tongue can express what courage he received by the short talk he had with him; when he saw himself, in a manner, forsaken of all men. After he was carried away, the emperor began to exhort the presidents of the council in this manner: "You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Hus; which are not only proved by witnesses, but confessed by himself; of which every one, in my judgment, is worthy of death. Therefore, except he recant them all, I judge that he be punished with fire. And if he do, I counsel you, notwithstanding, to forbid him the office of preaching, and also to return any more into Bohemia. Moreover I judge, that his articles, which are condemned, should be sent to my brother, the king of Bohemia, and afterwards into Poland and other provinces, with this command, that whosoever persists to hold or keep the same, should be punished by the common aid, both of the ecclesiastical

and civil power. So at last a remedy shall be found for this mischief, if the boughs, together with the root, be utterly pulled up: and if the bishops and other prelates, which have laboured here for the extirpating of this heresy, be commended by the whole voices of the council, the kings and princes, under whose dominion they are. Lastly, if there be any found here at Constance, which are familiars of John Hus, they also ought to be punished with severity; and especially his scholar, Jerome of Prague."

After these words, the assembly departed. On the fifth of July, the emperor sent four bishops to him, accompanied with the lords de Duba and de Clum, to know of him what he intended to do. When he was brought out to them, Lord de Clum began to speak to him, saying, "Mr. Hus, I am an unlearned man, neither am I able to advise you, being a man of learning and understanding: however, I beseech you, if you know yourself guilty of any errors, that you will not be ashamed to change your mind; but if not, I will by no means advise you to do any thing against your conscience, but rather endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you know to be the truth." John Hus turning himself, with tears said to him, "As I have oftentimes done before, so I now take the Most High God to witness, that if the council can instruct me any better by the holy Scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to change my purpose." "Mark, (said the bishops,) how obstinately he perseveres in his errors." And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carry him to prison again.

The next day, there was a general session of the princes and lords, both ecclesiastical and temporal, held in the head church of Constance, the emperor being president, in his imperial robes. There was a certain high place made square like a table, in the midst of the church, and near it there was a desk of wood, upon which the sacerdotal garments and vestments were laid. When John

Hus was brought thither, he fell down on his knees, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the bishop of Londy went up into the pulpit, and made a most vehement sermon.

When the sermon was ended, the proctor of the council rising up, required that they might proceed to the definitive sentence. Then a certain bishop declared the process, which was pleaded long since, between John Hus and the prelates of Prague. At last he repeated those articles which we have mentioned before; among which he observed also, that John Hus taught the two natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Christ. Hus was about to answer briefly to every one of them; but as often as he began to speak, the cardinal of Cambray bid him hold his peace, saying, "Hereafter you shall answer all together." "How (said he) can I at once answer all these things which are alleged against me? I cannot remember them all." Then said the cardinal of Florence, "We have heard you sufficiently." Hus, for all that, did not hold his peace: therefore they sent the officers to force him to it. Then he began to entreat and beseech them that they would hear him, that such as were present might not believe those things to be true, which were falsely reported of him. But when all this would avail nothing, he knecled down, and committed the whole matter to God, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Afterward the article was repeated, "That he appealed unto Christ," and that was expressly called heretical. Hus answered, "O Lord Jesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned in this council, I appeal again unto thee; who, when thou wast evil entreated of thine enemies, didst appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto a most just judge, that by thy example, we also, being oppressed, should flee unto thee." Then sentence was pronounced as follows:

"The most holy and sacred council of Constance, being gathered together for a perpetual memory, that an evil

tree bringeth forth evil fruit ; whence it is, that the man of most damnable memory, J. Wickliff, through his pestiferous doctrine, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked children, whom he hath left behind him, successors and followers of his wicked doctrine, against whom the sacred synod of Constance is forced to rise up, and, with the sharp knife of ecclesiastical authority, to cut up their errors out of the Lord's field, as most hurtful brambles and briars. Forasmuch then, as in the holy general council, lately held at Rome, it was decreed, that the doctrine of John Wickliff should be condemned, and that his books should be burned as heretical ; nevertheless, John Hus, personally present in this sacred council, hath taught, preached, and affirmed the articles of John Wickliff, which were condemned by the church of God, and hath declared him the said Wickliff, before the whole multitude of the clergy and people, to be a catholic man, and a true evangelical doctor : wherefore, after due inquisition made, this most sacred and holy synod pronounceth and decreeth, that J. Hus is a manifest heretic, and that he hath openly preached errors and heresies ; in which he hath continued many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, especially when he made his appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the most High Judge : wherefore this most sacred council decreeth, that the said John Hus shall be degraded from his priestly orders and dignity."

Whilst this was reading, Hus, although he was forbid to speak, often interrupted them ; and specially when he was charged with obstinacy, he said with a loud voice, " I was never obstinate, but as always heretofore, even so now again I desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures." When his books were condemned, he said, " Wherefore have you condemned those books, when you have not proved by any one article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures ? And besides, what injury is this, that you have condemned books, written in the Bohemian tongue, which you never saw ?" And oftentimes looking up to

heaven, he prayed. When sentence was ended, kneeling down, he said, "Lord Jesus, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsely accused: and in that they have used false witness and slanders against me, forgive them for thy great mercies sake."

At last the seven bishops which were chosen to degrade him, commanded him to put on the garments belonging to the priesthood. When he had now put on all his vestures, the bishops exhorted him yet to change his mind, and provide for his honour and safety. Then he (as the manner of the ceremony is) going up to the top of the scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this sort: "These lords and bishops exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; which, if it might be done with the reproach of man only, they might easily persuade me to. But I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great dishonour, I can by no means do what they require of me. For I well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me; but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought the contrary. With what countenance then should I behold the heavens? With what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, (whereof there is a great number) if it should come to pass, through me, that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain, should now be made as uncertain? Should I, by this my example, trouble so many souls, so many consciences, endued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his most pure doctrine? I will never do it; neither commit any such offence, as to seem to regard this vile carcase more than their salvation."

He was then commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment; and as he came down, one of the seven bishops first took away the chalice or cup from him, saying, "O cursed Judas, why hast thou forsaken the ways of peace? We take away from thee this chalice of

thy salvation." Hus replied, "But I trust in God, the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I suffer these things, that He will not take away the cup of his redemption: I have a steadfast and firm hope, that *this* day I shall drink thereof in his kingdom." Then followed the other bishops in order, every one taking away from him the vestments which they had put on, each giving him their curse. Whereunto Hus answered, "That he willingly heard those blasphemies, for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." At last they came to the razing of his shaven crown. But before the bishops did this, there was a great contention between them, with what instrument it should be done; whether with a razor or a pair of sheers.

Mean while, Hus, turning toward the emperor, said, "I wonder as they are all of the same cruel mind, that they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty." The bishops at last agreed to cut off the skin of the crown of his head with a pair of sheers. And when they had done that, they added these words, "The church hath now taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him. Now there remains nothing else, but to deliver him over to the secular power." But before they did that, they caused a certain crown to be made of paper, almost a cubit deep, in which were painted three ill-shaped devils, with this title set over their heads, HERESIARCHA. When he saw this, he said, "My Lord Jesus Christ wore a crown of thorns for my sake: why should not I for his sake then wear this light crown? Indeed I will do it, and that willingly." When it was set upon his head, the bishop said, "Now we commit thy soul to the devil." "But I," said Hus, (lifting his eyes up toward heaven,) "commit my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ: unto thee I commend my spirit, which thou hast redeemed." After this, the bishops turning themselves towards the emperor, said, "The most sacred synod now leaveth John Hus, who hath no more any office in the church of God, unto the civil power." Then the

emperor commanded Ludovic, duke of Bavaria, (who stood before him in his robes, holding the cross in his hand) to receive John Hus from the bishops, and deliver him to them who should do the execution. As he was led to the place of execution, he saw his books burning before the church-doors, whereat he smiled. He exhorted all men that passed by, not to think that he should die for any error or heresy, but only for the hatred of his adversaries, who had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. Almost all the whole city, being armed, followed him.

The place of execution was before the Gotlebian gate, between the gardens and gates of the suburbs. When John Hus was come thither, he kneeled down, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he prayed, and said certain psalms, especially the 31st and 50th psalms. They who stood by heard him oftentimes in prayer, with a cheerful countenance, repeat this verse, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Which thing when the people beheld who stood next to him, they said, "What he hath done before we know not; but now we see and hear that he speaks and prays very devoutly and godly." While he was praying, as he bowed his head to look up, the crown of paper fell off. Then one of the soldiers, taking it up again, said, "Let us put it upon his head, that he may be burned with his masters, the devils whom he hath served."

When, at the command of the executioner, he was risen up from prayer, he said with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, assist me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may suffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching thy most holy Gospel." Then he declared the cause of his death unto the people, as before, while the hang-man stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast to the stake with wet ropes. It happening that he was turned towards the


east, some cried out, that he should not look toward the east, for he was an heretic: so he was turned towards the west. Then his neck was tied with a chain to the stake; which when he saw, he said, smiling, "That he would willingly receive that chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worse chain for his sake." Under his feet they set two faggots, mixing straw withal; and so from the feet up to the chin he was inclosed about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Ludovic, duke of Bavaria, and duke John, the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Hus, that he would renounce his errors. To whom he said, "What error should I renounce, when I know myself guilty of none? For, as for those things which are falsely alleged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less preach them. For this was the principal end of my doctrine, that I might teach all men repentance and remission of sins, according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the exposition of the holy doctors: wherefore, with a cheerful mind and courage I am here ready to suffer death." When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together, they departed.

Then the fire was kindled, and John Hús began to sing with a loud voice, 'Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me!' When he was beginning to say the same the third time, the wind drove the flame so upon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding, he moved so long after, as while a man might almost say the Lord's prayer three times. When all the wood was consumed, the upper part of his body was left hanging in the chain, which they threw down, stake and all, and making a new fire, burned it; the head being first cut in pieces, that it might the sooner be reduced to ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being beaten with staves and clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp stick, and roasted at the fire,

till it was consumed. Then gathering the ashes together with great diligence, they cast them into the river Rhine, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not be left upon the earth: whose memory, notwithstanding, cannot be abolished.

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## THE HISTORY OF JEROME, OF PRAGUE.



JEROME, of Prague, came to Constance the 4th day of April, 1415. Who there perceiving that John Hus was denied to be heard, departed to Iberling, a city of the empire, till the next day, from whence he wrote letters to Sigismund, and also to the council, most humbly entreating that they would give him a safe conduct, and that he would then come in open audience to answer unto every man, if there were any that would lay any crime unto him. But the emperor refused. The deputies also of the council answered, "We will give him a safe conduct to come, but not to depart." When those answers were told to Jerome, he the next day wrote certain intimations, which he sent to Constance, to be set upon the gates of the city, and upon the doors of the churches, monasteries, and houses of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenor whereof followeth:

"Unto the most noble prince and lord, the lord Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, &c. I, Jerome of Prague, master of arts, of the universities

of Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg, and Prague, by these my present letters, do notify unto the king, together with the whole reverend council, that because of the crafty slanderers, backbiters, and accusers, I am ready to come unto Constance, there to declare openly before the council the purity and sincerity of my faith. Wherefore, if there be any of my slanderers, of what nation or estate soever, which will object against me any error or heresy; let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole council, and, in their own names, object against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer them openly and publickly before the whole council. And if I be found culpable, then I will not refuse to suffer such punishment as shall be meet for an heretic. Wherefore I most humbly bescech my lord the king, and the whole sacred council, that I may have, to this end, safe and sure access. And if I, offering such equity and right, before any fault be proved against me, am arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done to me; then it will be manifest unto the whole world, that this general council does not proceed according to equity and justice."

Notwithstanding this, when Jerome could not get any safe conduct, the nobles, lords, and knights of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gave him their letters patents, for a testimony of the premises. With these Jerome returned again towards Bohemia; but by the treacherous conspiracy of his enemies, he was taken in Hirsaw by the officers of duke John, and brought back again to the duke. In the mean time, Michael de Causis and Paletz requested that he should be cited to appear before the council: and several days after, a citation was set upon the gates and porches of the city and churches.

After that Sigismund, with the rest of the council, understood by the duke that Mr. Jerome was taken, they were earnest in requesting that he should be brought before them. Duke John, after he had received their letters, brought Jerome bound to Constance, whom his

brother, duke Ludovic, led through the city to the cloister of the Friars Minors, where the council was waiting for his coming. Jerome carried a great handbolt of iron, with a long chain, in his hand, which, as he passed, made a great rattling and noise ; and to do him the more spite, they led him after duke Ludovic by the same chain, stretching it out a great way from him. When he was brought into the cloister, some of the bishops said to him, " Jerome, why didst thou flee and not appear when thou wast cited ? " He answered, " Because I could not have any safe conduct, neither from you, nor from the king. Yet, if I had known of this citation, without all doubt, though I had been in Bohemia, I would have returned again."

Then the whole rabble rising up, alleged several accusations against him, with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, Mr. Gerson, the chancellor of Paris, said, " Jerome, when thou wast at Paris, thou didst trouble the whole university, alleging openly in the schools many erroneous conclusions." To whom Jerome replied, " Those matters which I put forth in the schools of Paris, (in which I answered the arguments of the masters,) I put forth philosophically, and as a philosopher, and master of the university ; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not, teach me that they are erroneous, and I will amend them." While he was speaking, another, (I suppose the master of the university of Cullen,) rising up, said, " When you were at Cullen you proposed many erroneous matters." Then said Jerome, " Shew me first one error which I propounded." Wherewith he being in a manner astonished, said, " I do not remember them now." Then a third man rose up, and said, " When you was at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters touching the trinity." Jerome answered, " I will write the same things here that I wrote there : and teach me that they are erroneous, and I will most humbly recant them." Then several cried out, " Let him be burned ! let him be

burned!" To whom he answered, "If my death delight you, in the name of God, let it be so."—When these and many other tumults were passed, they delivered him bound to the officers of the city to be carried to prison; and so every one of them returned to their lodgings.

One, who had been a friend to John Hus, looking out at a window of the cloister, and seeing him, said, "Mr. Jerome, be constant, and fear not to suffer death for the sake of the truth, which you preached when you were at liberty." Jerome answered, "Truly, my brother, I do not fear death; we have spoken much thereof in times past; let us now see what may be done." His keepers coming to the window, threatened him with strokes, and put them away from the window of the cloister.

Then there came one Vitus to Jerome, and said, Master, how do you do? Unto whom he answered, Truly, my brother, I do very well. His keepers coming about him, laid hold of Vitus, saying, This also is one of the number. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Rigen sent certain of his servants, who led away Jerome, strongly bound with chains, both by the hands and neck, and kept him so for many hours. At night they carried him to a certain tower in St. Paul's church-yard, where they tied him fast to a great block, and putting his feet in the stocks, fastening his hands therein, they left him. The block was so high, that he could by no means sit thereon but that his head must hang downward. They also carried Vitus to the archbishop of Rigen, who demanded of him, Why he durst be so bold to talk with such an heretic? But when he could find no cause of imprisonment in him, and understood that he was John de Clum's friend, he dismissed him.

Jerome lay in the tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then the keeper of the prison carried him some meat. After he had hung eleven days by the heels, he fell sick: yet he lay in the same tower a whole year, within seven days.

After they had put John Hus to death, they brought

forth Jerome (whom they had kept so long in chains,) unto the church of St. Paul, where at length they persuaded him to recant, and condemn John Wickliff and John Hus. After this they caused him to be carried again to the same prison, but not so straitly bound as he was before; but it was not long before Michael de Causis and Paletz put up new accusations against him. In consequence of this, on the 25th day of May, in the year 1416, Jerome was brought to open audience before the whole council, to the great cathedral church of Constance, where, by the commissioners of the council, there were laid against him anew a hundred and seven articles. The judges had before declared, that he should not escape. From morning until noon he answered above forty articles; proving, that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely. For lack of time sufficient to answer to the rest, there was another time appointed, which was the third day after. At which time he was brought early in the morning to the church, to answer the residue of the articles. In all which articles he cleared himself in such a manner, that they themselves were astonished, and with shame enough put to confusion. After he had refuted them, one after another, so that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter nor in any other, they were all forced to hold their peace. The witnesses were then called, who gave testimony unto the articles before produced. Then Jerome, rising up, said, "Since you have heard mine adversaries, it is right that you should also now hear me." With much difficulty at last audience was given. He then treated of divers matters, from morning till noon, with great learning and eloquence.

All this while the pope's council waited still when he would begin to retract those things which were objected against him, and to ask pardon of the council. But he still persisting in his discourse, acknowledged no error, nor gave any signification of retraction. At last, entering into the praise of John Hus, he affirmed, that he was

a good and holy man, and unworthy that death which he suffered; whom (he said) he knew from his youth to be a chaste and sober man, and a true preacher of the gospel; and whatsoever things Mr. John Hus and Wickliff had holden or written, especially against the abuse and pomp of the clergy, he would affirm unto the death, that they were holy and blessed men. That all such articles as John Wickliff and John Hus had written, he would firmly and steadfastly, without recantation, hold and defend even to the death. Last of all he added, All the sins that ever he committed did not so much trouble his conscience as did that sin, when, in his recantation, he unjustly spoke against that good and holy man and his doctrine, and especially in consenting to his wicked condemnation; concluding, that he utterly revoked that wicked recantation, which he made in that most cursed place; and that he did it through weakness of heart, and fear of death: and moreover, that whatsoever he spoke against that blessed man, he altogether belied him, and that he repented of it with his whole heart.—At the hearing of this, many of the hearers were not a little sorry; for they desired greatly that such a man should be saved. But he continued still fixt in his opinion, seeming to desire death rather than life.

Although he was interrupted many times in his speech, yet there was none of all those that interrupted him but what he brought to confusion, and put to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speak awhile, and afterwards began again, desiring them to give him leave to speak a little, for hereafter they should hear him no more; neither was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults. And this was wonderful, that, notwithstanding he had continued in close prison 340 days, having neither book, nor light to read by, yet his memory continued to admiration; and he declared, that all those pains of his strict usage did not make him so much to grieve as their inhumanity caused him to wonder. Then he was again carried to prison, and grievously

fettered by the hands, arms and feet, with great chains and fetters of iron.

The Saturday following, early in the morning, he was brought, with a great number of armed men, to the cathedral church before the open congregation. There they exhorted him yet to recant: but he, without all fear, opposed them; and, amongst other things, said unto them, "I take God to witness, and I here protest before you all, that I do believe the Articles of the Faith as the holy Catholie church believes the same; but I shall be condemned, because I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy men, whom you have most wickedly condemned for detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life." Then he confessed before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men present could not sufficiently commend his eloquence and excellent learning.

Then the bishop of Londy made a sermon against Mr. Jerome, persuading to his condemnation. When the bishop had ended, Jerome said again, "You condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But after my death, I will leave a remorse in your consciences, and a nail in your hearts. And here I cite you all to answer me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years."

When they saw they could by no means persuade him to recant what he had said, the sentence of condemnation was immediately passed upon him, and read before him; which, after a recital of his pretended errors and heresies, concluded with these words, "The sacred synod determineth the said Jerome, as a rotten and withered branch, to be cut off: and pronounceth and condemneth him as an heretic,—excommunicate and accursed, leaving him under the judgment of the secular judge, to receive just and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offence; the sacred synod, notwithstanding, entreating that the said judge would moderate his sentence of judgment without peril of death." The sentence given, a

mitre, made of paper, was brought unto him, painted about with red devils ; which, when he beheld, throwing his hood upon the ground, he took the mitre, and putting it upon his head, said, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he suffered death for me, most wretched sinner, wore a crown of thorns upon his head ; and I, for his sake, instead of that crown, will willingly wear this mitre."

After that he was led out of the church to the place of execution. As he was going out of the church, he lifted up his eyes to heaven with a cheerful countenance, and with a loud voice he began to sing, *Credo in unum Deum* ; "I believe in one God," as it is accustomed to be sung in the church. As he passed along, he sung some canticles of the church ; which being ended, as he went out of the gate of the city, leading to Gothlehem, he sung an hymn. When he was come to the place of execution, where Mr. John Hus had suffered before him, kneeling down before an image, like unto Mr. Hus, which was there prepared to burn him, he made a devout prayer. While he was thus praying, the tormentors took hold of him, and lifting him up from the ground, stripped him of all his garments, and left him naked. Afterwards, they girded him about the loins with a linen cloth, and bound him fast, with cords and chains of iron, to the said image, which was made fast in the earth. When they began to lay the wood about him, he sung *Salve festa dies*, "Hail, holy day." Then he sung the Creed, with a loud voice. When this was done, he said to the people in the German tongue, "Dearly beloved children, even as I have now sung, so do I believe, and no otherwise. And this creed is my whole faith. I die because I would not affirm that John Hus was justly condemned ; for I knew well that he was a true preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ."

After he was compassed in with the wood up to the crown of his head, they threw all his garments upon the wood also, and with a fire-brand set it on fire. The fire being kindled, he began to sing with a loud voice, "Into

thy hands I commend my spirit." When that was ended, and he began vehemently to burn, he said, in the vulgar Bohemian tongue, "O Lord God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences, for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth." Then his voice was choked by the vehemency of the fire, that it was no more heard; but he continually moved his mouth and lips, as though he had still prayed, or spoke with himself. When his whole body was burned round about, there appeared upon it great bladders as big as an egg, yet he continually moved his head and mouth by the space of almost a quarter of an hour. After he was dead, they brought his bedding, his straw-bed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them to ashes in the same fire; which ashes they diligently gathered together, and east into the river Rhine.

Thus end the histories of John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, faithfully collected by a Bohemian, being a witness and beholder of the same, and sent by him into his own country.

## THE MARTYRDOM

OF

# JOHN BROWNE.

ABOUT the fourth year of king Henry VIII. there was a certain priest sitting in a Gravesend barge, one John Browne, being in the barge at the same time, came and sat by him: the priest asked him, "Dost thou know

who I am?" "No, Sir," said John. "I tell thee," replied the other, "I am a priest." "What, Sir," demanded John, "are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," quoth he, "I am a soul-priest; I sing for a soul." "Do you, Sir," quoth the other; "that is well done. I pray, Sir, where find you the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you, Sir," says John, "where do you leave it when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. John replied, "You can neither tell where you find the soul when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when mass is done, how then can you save the soul?" "Go thy ways," said the priest, "thou art an heretic, and I will be even with thee." The priest, being landed, rode straightway to the archbishop Warham with his complaint; whereupon John Browne, within three days after, was sent for, and his feet tied under his horse, and so brought to Canterbury; neither himself, his wife, nor any of his friends, knowing whither he was going. He continued there from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday. Then he was set in the stocks over-night, and on the morrow burned at Ashford, anno 1517. The same night as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he dwelt, his wife hearing of him, came and sat by him all night. He declared to her, that he could not set his feet to the ground, they were so burned. And told her further, that the two bishops, Warham and Fisher, had scorched his feet upon the hot coals, and burned them to the bones, in order to make him deny his Lord; which (said he,) I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he will deny me hereafter. "I pray thee therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God." Next day, being Whitsun-Eve, this godly martyr was burned.

## THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN STILMAN & THOMAS MAN.

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IT would be tedious to recite in order the great multitude of men and women who recanted about the beginning of king Henry's reign: among whom, notwithstanding, some there were whom the Lord brought back again, and made strong in the profession of his truth unto death. In the number of those was John Stilman, who, about September 24, 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London. By him he was examined, being charged that (notwithstanding his former recantation, made about eleven years past, before Edmund, bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images, as also for denying the corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial; yet since that time) he had fallen into the same opinions again; and further, had highly commended John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book, called *The Wicket*, was good and holy. Soon after his examination, he was sent to the Lollard's tower, at London; and October 22, ensuing, was brought openly into the consistory of Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop's vicar-general. After which, Dr. Hed condemned him as a relapsed heretic, and so delivered him to the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Thomas Man followeth next in this order of blessed martyrs. He had been apprehended about six years before, August 14, 1511; and being then brought before Dr. Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was examined by him upon divers articles:—1. That he had spoken against auricular confession, and denied the corporal presenee of Christ's body in the sacrament.—2. That he believed not aright in the sacrament of extreme unction.—3. That he had believed that images ought not to be worshipped; and that he neither believed in the crucifix, nor yet would worship it.

For these, and such like matters, he was kept a long time in prison; and at last, through fear of death, abjured. But within few years after, he was again accused of relapse, and thereupon apprehended and brought before the bishop of London, February 9, 1518. He was examined by Dr. Hed, the bishop's vicar-general, within his palae at London; where the said Hed declared, That, seeing he was, since his first abjuring, deteeted, and accused of the same heresies,—he therefore, as vicar-general to the bishop of London, did mean to proceed against him as a relapser. Wherefore he appointed him to appear again in the consistory of Paul's, February next ensuing.

The 15th of February, Dr. Hed again sitting in the Consistory aforesaid, commanded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there caused the arteles objected against him by the bishop of Lincoln, with his order of abjuration, to be read. On the first day of March next following, he asked Man, what he had to allege why he should not be pronounced a relapsed heretie, and receive such punishment by the secular power, as was due to such by order of law? He having no other allegations than before, was finally condemned as an heretie. March 29, he was delivered by Dr. Hed to the sheriff of London, to be then presently burned, with this protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the sheriff that he would receive

this person, and yet punish him otherwise than by rigour.

Thus Thomas Man, being condemned by the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London, sitting on horseback in Paternoster-Row, before the bishop's door, anno 1518, he protesting to the said sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death; and therefore desired the sheriff to take him as a relapser and condemned, to see him punished, yet *without death*, as the words stand in the register. The sheriff immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day, in the forenoon, caused him to be burnt.

In the deposition of one Thomas Risby, of Stratford-Langthorn, weaver, against Thomas Man, it appeareth, That he had been in divers places and counties in England, and had instructed very many: as at Amersham, London, Billericay, Chelmsford, Stratford-Langthorn, Uxbridge, Burnham, Henley-upon-Thames, Newbury, in Suffolk and Norfolk, and divers places more. And he himself testifies, That as he went westward, he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment with himself, touching the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and especially at Newbury, where (he says,) there was a glorious and sweet society, who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last, by a certain person, whom they trusted, they were betrayed; and then many of them, to the number of six or seven score, abjured, and three or four of them were burnt. From thence he came to the forest of Windsor, till hearing of the brethren which were at Amersham, he removed thither, where he found a great company, who had continued in that doctrine twenty-three years. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

Against these faithful Christians of Amersham was great persecution in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about the year of our Lord 1507; at which time many abjured. In this congregation were four prin-

cipal instructors ; whereof one was Dr. Tilesworth, who was burnt at Amersham ; another was Thomas Chase, who was murdered in the bishop of Lincoln's prison at Wooburn ; the third was this Thomas Man, who himself confesseth, in the same register, that he turned 700 people to his doctrine, for which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couple of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley-upon-Thames, where they dwelt, unto Suffolk and Norfolk, that they might be brought (as he termed it,) out of the devil's mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin, who about this time was burnt at Buckingham.

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## A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

## DR. COLET.



DR. JOHN COLET, the founder of St. Paul's school, died in the year 1519. This eminent man, after he came from Italy and Paris, first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. From whence he was called by the king, and made dean of St. Paul's ; where he used to preach much, not without a great auditory, as well of the king's court as of the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright : in discipline he was severe ; insomuch that his canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monks. He always preferred the

honourable state of matrimony before the unchaste life of priests. At his dinner there was commonly read some chapter of St. Paul, or of Solomon's Proverbs. He never eat suppers. The orders of monks and friars he liked not, neither the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors.


The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, who was no less than fourscore years of age. He had long borne displeasure against Colet, and at last complained against him to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. His complaint was divided into three articles: The first was for speaking against worshipping of images; the second was about hospitality; the third was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons, declaring nothing else to the people but what they brought in their papers with them. The bishop of London, because of his age, used then to do this; he therefore took it to be spoken against himself. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part against his accusers, that he at that time was freed from trouble. But yet the malice of the bishop ceased not; who being thus repulsed by the archbishop, contrived how to accuse Colet to the king. It happened, the same time, that the king was preparing for war against France; whereupon the bishop (taking occasion from certain words of Colet's, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war,) accused him before the king.

Furthermore, it fell out that Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, upon Good-Friday, treated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devil: adding, what an hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner; and that all they, who, upon private hatred or ambition, took weapon against their enemy, did not fight under the banner of Christ, but Satan. The king hearing Colet speak thus, and fearing lest the hearts of his soldiers should be withdrawn from his wars which he had in hand, took him aside and talked with him seriously,

walking in his garden. Bishop Fitzjames now thought that Colet would be committed to the tower, and waited for his coming out. But instead of that, the king entertained him with great gentleness, and bidding him familiarly put on his cap, in a long conference, courteously had with him in the garden, he much commended him for his learning and integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points; only he required him to explain his words, which he afterwards did. After long communication, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying, "Let every man have his doctor as liketh him, this shall be my doctor;" and so he departed. After this, none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him any more.

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## THE HISTORY OF MARTIN LUTHER.



MARTIN LUTHER was born at Isleben, in Saxony, anno 1483. After he was grown in years, he was sent to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erford. In Erford there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Augustines, with whom Luther (being then of the same order, an Augustine friar,) had conference upon divers things, especially concerning the remission of sins; which article the aged father opened to Luther in this manner: We must not believe only *generally* that there is forgiveness of sins, or that it belongs to Pêter, to Paul,

or to David; but God's express commandment is, *that every man should particularly believe that his own sins are forgiven him in Christ.* He further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St. Bernard; and shewed him the place where it is thus set forth, "But add thou that thou believest this,—that by Him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the apostle, that man is freely justified by faith." By these words, Luther was taught the meaning of St. Paul, who so many times repeats, "We are justified by faith." And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he perceived the vanity of those interpretations of the schoolmen, which he had read before. And so, by little and little, comparing the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, with continual invocation of God, he saw the truth of that doctrine very evidently. He then began to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable sentences; among others, in his Exposition of the Psalms, and especially in his Book of the Spirit and Letter.—He continued his study at Erford, in the convent of the Augustines, four years.

About this time one Staupitius, a famous man, furthered the erection of an university in Wittemberg, and endeavoured to have schools of Divinity; when he had considered the spirit of Luther, he sent for him from Erford to Wittemberg, in the year 1508, and in the 26th year of his age. He first expounded there the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the mean while intermitted not his study in theology. Three years after, he went to Rome, about certain contentions of the monks; and returning the same year, he was made doctor, at the expense of Frederick, duke of Saxony. Staupitius forced upon him this degree, saying, God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him.

After this, he began to expound the epistle to the Romans: in doing this, he shewed the difference between

the law and the gospel. He also opposed the error that then reigned in schools and sermons, teaching that men may merit remission of sins by their own works. Luther diligently brought back the minds of men to the Son of God. And as John the Baptist shewed "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world;" even so Luther, shining as a bright star, after a long, cloudy sky, shewed that sins are freely remitted for the love of God. These happy beginnings, got him great authority; especially seeing his life was correspondent to his profession. The consideration whereof allured the hearts of his auditors, and also many noble personages.

All this while Luther altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows; he meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught to all men, the doctrine only of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, and of true comfort in times of adversity. Many received a good taste of his sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets, and apostles come forth out of darkness into light: whereby they began to understand the difference betwixt the law and the gospel.

About this time, many were provoked by Erasmus's learned works, to study the Greek and Latin tongues; who, perceiving a more ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the monks barbarous and sophistical doctrine. Luther also began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongues; that, after he had learned the tongues, and drawn the doctrine from the very fountains, he might give a more sound judgment.

While Luther was thus employed in Germany, Leo the Tenth succeeded Julius the Second in the popedom, in the year 1516. Leo, under pretence of war against the Turk, sent his pardons abroad through all Christian kingdoms, whereby he gathered incalculable treasure. The collectors persuaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should, at his pleasure, deliver one soul out of purgatory. But if it were but one jot less

than ten shillings, it would profit them nothing. This merchandise came to Germany by means of a Dominic friar, named Tetzcl, who caused the pope's indulgences to be carried and sold about the country. Luther, much moved at the blasphemous sermons of this shameful friar, published propositions concerning indulgences, and set them openly on the church that joins to the castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of All-Saints, in the year 1517. The friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, began, in his sermons, to thunder against Luther, as an heretic, and openly burned his propositions, and the sermon he wrote of indulgences. This enforced Luther to treat of the case more at large, and to maintain his matter. And thus arose the beginnings of this controversy, wherein Luther, neither suspecting nor dreaming of any other change, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but only required a moderation in them.

But now though Maximilian, the emperor, Charles, king of Spain, and pope Julius, gave commandment to duke Frederick, that he should hinder Luther from preaching; yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies of the Scripture which he alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged right. Yet neither did he trust to his own judgment, but was very anxious to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged and learned. Among those whom the duke desired to declare their opinion touching Luther was Erasmus; to whom he protested, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he should bear with any opinions, which he knew to be contrary to truth; and therefore desired him to declare his judgment in the matter, freely and friendly. Erasmus began jestingly to answer, that in Luther were two great faults; first, that he would touch the bellies of monks: the second, that he would touch the pope's crown; which two things are in no wise to be meddled with. Then, opening his mind plainly, he said, Luther did well in detecting errors, and that a re-

formation was very necessary in the church : and added, that his doctrine was true ; but he wished he had more temper and moderation in writing and preaching. Whereupon duke Frederick wrote seriously to Luther, exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his style. This was at the city of Colen, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor.

Erasmus, the year following, wrote a letter to the archbishop of Mentz, touching Luther's case. In which he says, " Many things condemned in the books of Luther for heretical, are read for sound and godly in the books of Bernard and Austin. The world is burdened with men's institutions, with school doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of begging friars. Who, so long as the pope sides with them, so long they make him more than a god ; but if he do any thing against them, then they value his authority no more than a dream. Once (said he,) it was counted an heresy when a man opposed the gospel : now he that dissents from Thomas Aquinas, is an heretic ; whatsoever does not please them, whatsoever they understand not, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy, or to speak more finely than they do, that is heresy with them." Thus much concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

After Tetzels, in maintaining the pope's indulgences, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, and Luther again had set up propositions against the open abuses of the same ; it was amazing to see how soon these propositions were spread abroad in all places. And thus, the contention increasing, he was obliged to write thereof more largely, which he did in the year 1517

All this while Luther never thought of such a reformation as afterward followed. But when he heard that he was accused to the bishop of Rome, he wrote humbly to him : in the beginning of which writing he declared the outrage of those pardon-mongers ; and in the end he submitted himself in these words ; " Wherefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of

your holiness, with all that I am, and all that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in your speaking, I will acknowledge." This was in the year 1518.

After Martin Luther had declared his mind in writing, stepped up one Silvester de Priero, a Dominican friar, who first published a railing dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answering, alleged the place of Austin, where he saith, "That he was wont to give that honour only to the books of canonical Scripture, that whosoever were the writers thereof, he believed them utterly not to have erred. But, as touching all other men's writings, were they never so holy or learned men, he did not believe them, because they said so, but so far as they agreed with the canonical Scripture, which cannot err." He then alleged the place of the canon law, "That these pardon-sellers, in their setting forth the pope's indulgences, ought to go no further than is enjoined them in the letters of their commission." And in the latter part of his answer, he writes thus, "Let opinions remain opinions, so they be not yokes to the Christians. But let us not make men's opinions equal with the articles of faith, and the decrees of Christ and Paul."

Next, after this Silvester, stepped forth Eckius, and impugned the conclusions of Luther. Against whom encountered D. Andreas Bedenstein, archdeacon of Wittemberg, making his apology in defence of Luther. On the 7th of August, he was cited to appear at Rome. About this time Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, the pope's legate, was at Augsburg. The university of Wittemberg straightway directed letters, with their publick seal, to the pope, in Luther's behalf. Another letter they sent to C. Militius, the pope's chamberlain, being a German. Furthermore, Frederick ceased not to solicit cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be removed. Cajetan, at the duke's request, wrote to the pope, from whom he received this answer, on the 23d day of August, "That

he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome ; but Luther, abusing his gentleness, did not only refuse to come, but became more bold and stubborn in his heresy. Wherefore he would that the cardinal should cite Luther to appear before him ; so that when he should appear, he might commit him to safe custody ; and if he perceived him to amend his fault, he should release him, and restore him to the church again, or else he should be interdicted, with all his other adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatsoever state they were, whether they were dukes, marquisses, earls, or barons." The pope directed other letters to duke Frederick, complaining with many grievous words against Luther.

The cardinal, according to his commission, sent with all speed for Luther to appear before him. About the beginning of October, Luther came to Augsburg, (at the charges of the elector, and also with his letters of commendation,) where he remained three days before he appeared before the cardinal : for so it was provided by his friends, that he should not speak with him, before a safe conduct was obtained from the emperor Maximilian. Having obtained a passport, he offered himself to the speech of the cardinal, who received him very mildly ; and, according to the pope's commandment, proposed to him three things.

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

A few days after, in the presence of four of the emperor's council, a notary, and witnesses being present, Luther protested in the manner following : " I Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, protest, that I do reverence and follow the church of Rome, in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come ; and if any thing hath been, or shall be said by me to the contrary, I account it, and would have it accounted as though it had

never been spoken. But, because the eardinal hath required, at the commandment of the pope, three things of me, 1. That I should return to the knowledge of myself; 2. That I should beware of falling into the same again; 3. That I should promise to abstain from all things which disquiet the church: I protest this day, that whatsoever I have said, seemeth unto me to be sound, true, and catholie; yet, for the farther proof thereof, I offer, either here, or elsewhere, publickly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the legate, I am ready also in writing to answer his objections, if he have any against me: and touching these things to hear the judgment of the universities of Basil, Fribourg, and Louvain."

After this, Luther being commanded to come no more in the presence of the legate, except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still. Then the cardinal sent for Joannes Staupitius, vicar of the Augustines, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said to him. He tarried, moreover, the third day, and delivered his mind in writing: in which, first, he thanked him for his civility and great kindness; confessing he had been somewhat sharp and eager against the pope's dignity, for which he promised to make amends to the bishop, and that in the pulpit, if he pleased. As touching pardons, he promised also to proceed no further, so that his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But when he was pressed to retract his opinion, for that he had said nothing but what was agreable to the firm testimonies of the Scripture, he humbly desired the determination thereof to be referred to the bishop of Rome; for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the church.

Who does not see by this humble submission of Luther, that, if the bishop of Rome would have been content, he had never been touched any farther by Luther? But the secret purpose of God had a further work herein.

Thus, while the bishop sought more than enough, he not only missed what he gaped for, but also lost what he had.

Luther delivered this writing to the cardinal, and the third day after he was commanded out of his sight. When Luther saw that he would give no answer ; yet he remained still after that four or five days. At length, by the counsel of his friends, after he had made and set up his appeal where it might be seen and read, he departed, thinking he had shewn such dangerous obedience long enough.

After Luther was gone, Cajetan wrote a sharp biting letter to duke Frederick, in which he exhorted him, that, as he tendered his own honour and safety, he would send Luther to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions ; forasmuch as such a pestilence ought not by any means to be suffered. To this letter the duke answered, " That it would be not at all honest for him to banish Luther his country, or to send him to Rome, as it was required of him to do, unless he knew just cause why he should do it : which, if the cardinal would shew to him, there should lack nothing in him which it was the part of a Christian prince to do."

This done, the duke sent the cardinal's letter to Martin Luther. Luther, in his answer again to the prince, shewed him, how he came obediently to Cajetan, and what talk there was between them, concluding thus, " Whereas the cardinal threatens me, not to let the action fall, unless I either come myself, or am banished your dominions ; I am not so much grieved for my own sake, as that you should sustain any danger : and therefore, seeing there is no country which can protect me from the malice of my adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, whithersoever it shall please the Lord to lead me, and to forsake my country : thanking God, who hath counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christ's name."

The case of Luther was now very dangerous, being brought to this strait, that he himself was ready to flee.

the country, and the duke was as much afraid to keep him. But the intervening Providence of God provided a remedy, by stirring up the whole university of Wittenberg; who, with a full and general consent, addressed their letters to the prince; making their humble request to him, that he, of his princely honour, would not suffer innocence, and the simplicity of truth, to be oppressed by mere violence; but that the error should first be shewed and convicted, before the party was pronounced guilty. The duke, induced by these letters, began more seriously to consider Luther's cause, and to read his works, and to hearken to his sermons. Whereby (through God's holy working,) he gained more knowledge and strength; and perceived more in Luther's quarrel than he did before. This was about the beginning of December, 1518. Luther, in the mean time, hearing they were about to pronounce against him in Rome, provided an appeal in due form of law, from the pope to the general council.

In the month of June, 1519, there was a publick disputation ordained at Leipsig, a city under the dominion of George, duke of Saxony, uncle to duke Frederick. This disputation first began through the means of Joannes Eckius, a friar, and Andreas Carolostadius, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propositions of Martin Luther. Carolostadius wrote against him, in defence of Luther. On this began the disputation; and a safe conduct was granted by duke George, to all persons that should resort to the same. Thither came Martin Luther, with Philip Melancthon. Luther did not think to dispute, but only to hear what was said and done. But after a whole week had been spent in contentious and sophistical wrangling between Eckius and Carolostadius, Luther (having liberty granted by the duke,) was provoked to dispute with Eckius: and, whether he would or no, the question began to be propounded touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; which supremacy Eckius contended to be founded upon

God's law. Luther, on the other side, denied not the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, neither denied the same to be universal over all churches; but only affirmed it not to be instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation continued five days.

The next year, which was 1520, the doctors of Louvain, and also of Colen, condemned the books of Luther as heretical. Against whom Luther effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence. After this, within a few days, the thunderbolt of pope Leo against him flashed out of Rome, notwithstanding he had so humbly revered both the person of the pope, and the authority of his see. In the same year he set out a defence of all his articles, which the pope's bull condemned.

Not long after followed the coronation of the new emperor Charles V which was in the month of October. And, after the coronation, pope Leo sent again to duke Frederick, two cardinals, his legates, who made two requests to him, in the pope's name. First. That he would cause all Luther's books to be burned. Secondly. That he would either see the said Luther executed, or make him sure, and send him to Rome. The duke answered, "Forasmuch as in this affair he saw so much hatred and violence on the one part, and no error yet proved on the other, he therefore desired the pope's holiness, that certain learned persons, of gravity and upright judgment, might be assigned to hear and determine this matter; and that his error might first be known, before he were made an heretic, or his books burned. Which being done, when he should see his error, by manifest testimonies of Scripture, Luther should find no favour at his hands; otherwise he trusted, that the pope's holiness would exact no such thing of him, which he could not, with equity and honour, perform." The cardinals declaring again to the duke, that they could do no otherwise than according to the form of their prescription, took the books of Luther, and openly burnt

them. Luther hearing this, called all the students of Wittemberg, and taking the pope's decrees, and the bull, lately sent down against him, in the presence of a great number of people, he openly and solemnly burnt them, on the 10th of December, 1520.

A little before these things, the emperor had commanded a sitting of the states of the empire, at the city of Wormes, on the 6th day of January next ensuing. Upon the 6th day of March following, the emperor, through the instigation of duke Frederick, directed his letters to Luther, signifying, "That forasmuch as he had set forth certain books, he, by the advice of his peers and princes, had appointed to have the cause brought before him, in his own hearing; and therefore he granted him licence to come, and return home again. And that he might safely do so, he promised him, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe conduct. Wherefore he willed him to be there present the 21st day after the receipt thereof."

In the year 1521, about 17 days after Easter, Martin Luther came to Wormes. He was brought to the knights of Rhodes Place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited by many earls, barons, knights, gentlemen, priests, and commons, who frequented his lodgings till night. Many had persuaded him not to venture himself. But he answered, "As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved, and certainly determined, to enter Wormes, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, although there were so many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Wormes."

The fourth day after, a gentleman, named Ulrick, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men at arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor to repair to Luther before dinner, and to enjoin him to appear before his imperial majesty, the princes, electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to know the cause of his being sent for. After four o'clock, Ulrick, of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm,

the emperor's herald (who conducted Luther from Wittenberg to Wormes,) came for him, and accompanied him through the gardens of the knights of Rhodes Place, to the earl Palatine's palace: and lest the people that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many violently rushed in; and many ascended the galleries, because they desired to see Luther.

Standing thus before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of the empire, he was first advertised by Ulrick, of Pappenheim, to keep silence, till he was required to speak. Then John Eckius, who was general official to the bishop of Triers, with a loud voice, first in Latin, then in German, according to the emperor's command, spake thus: "Martin Luther, the sacred and invincible imperial majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that thou shouldst appear before the throne of his majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two points:

First. "Whether thou confessest these books here, and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, are thine?"

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

Before Luther answered, Mr. Jerome Schurff, a lawyer of Wittenberg, required that the titles of the books should be read. After which Luther answered thus, in Latin and German: "Two things are proposed to me by the imperial majesty: First, Whether I will avouch for mine all those books that bear my name. Secondly, Whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that I have hitherto devised and published. Whereunto I answer briefly: To the first; I can do no other than own those books to be mine which were now named, and certainly I will never deny any clause thereof. To the second; to declare, whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there be questions of faith,

and the salvation of the soul, (and this concerneth the word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and which we ought evermore to reverence,) this might be accounted rashness, if I should pronounce any thing, before I were better advised; considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, or more than the truth requireth. For this cause I humbly beseech the imperial majesty, to grant me liberty to deliberate; so that I may answer without prejudice of the word of God, and peril of my own soul."

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius said, "Mr. Luther, you have sufficiently understood by the emperor's commandment, the cause of your appearing here, and therefore do not deserve any further respite; yet the emperor's majesty, of his mere clemency, grants you one day; so that to-morrow, at this hour, you shall repair to give your answer." Luther was then led to his lodging by the herald. As he was going in the way to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly, he was exhorted to be of good courage, and not to fear them that can kill the body, but not the soul; but rather to dread him that is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire.

The next day, after four o'clock, the herald came and brought Luther from his lodging to the emperor's court, where he abode till six; being environed with a great number of people, and almost smothered with the throng that was there. Afterward, when the princes were set, and Luther entered, Eckius began to speak in this manner. "Mr. Luther, yesterday, at this hour, the emperor's majesty assigned thee to be here, for that thou didst affirm those books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the interrogation, whether thou wouldst approve all that is contained in them, thou didst require time for deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired. Answer now to the emperor's demand: wilt

thou maintain all thy books, which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thyself?"

Martin Luther said, "Most magnificent emperor, and you most noble princes, and my most gentle lords, I appear before you here, at the hour prescribed, yielding the obedience which I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's mercy, your most renowned majesty, and your graces and honours, and that ye will favourably hear this cause, which is the cause of justice and truth. And if by ignorance I have not observed the ceremonies of the court; it may please you to pardon me, as one that hath frequented cloisters, and not courts. And first, as touching myself, I can affirm no other thing but this; that I have taught, in simplicity of mind, that which I thought to tend to God's glory, and the salvation of men's souls. Now as concerning these two articles, I have answered to the first, that these books are mine; unless it hath since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing of mine enemies, there be any thing foisted into them. For I acknowledge nothing, but what I have written; and what I have written I will not deny.

"As to the second article, I beseech your most excellent majesty, and your graces, to vouchsafe to hear me. All my books are not of one sort. There be some, in which I have so simply declared and opened the religion of Christian faith, and of good works, that my very enemies confess them to be profitable, and worthy to be read of all Christians. And truly the pope's bull (how cruel soever it be,) judgeth certain of my books inculpable. There is another sort of my books, which contain invectives against the papacy, and others of the pope's retinue, who have corrupted the whole state of Christianity with their perfidious doctrine, and pernicious examples. Neither can any deny this (whereto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness,) that the consciences of men are most miserably vexed, and tormented by the pope's laws and doctrines of men.

Also that the goods and substance of Christian people are devoured, especially in this noble country of Germany, without all measure, by incredible tyranny. If then I revoke these, I add more force to their tyranny. By this my retractation, their insolent kingdom will be more confirmed and established; especially if this be reported, that I Luther have done this, by the authority of your most excellent majesty, and the sacred Roman empire. O Lord, what a cover shall I be then to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny!

“The third sort of my books are such as I have written against private persons; such as labour to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed. As touching these, I confess I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. Yet these I cannot call back without mischief. For by this recantation it will come to pass that tyranny and impiety shall reign more violently and ragingly than before. Nevertheless, for that I am a man, I can no otherwise defend my books, than did my Lord Jesus Christ defend his doctrine: who being examined before Annas, said, ‘If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.’ Therefore I require, for God’s mercy, your most excellent majesty, your graces and lordships, or whatsoever he be, of high or low degree, here to prove my errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, and I will be most ready to revoke any manner of error; yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own books.

“I have well weighed the divisions and dissensions which have risen throughout the whole world by reason of my doctrine. Concerning which divisions, what other men judge I know not; as touching myself, I conceive no greater pleasure, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God; for such is the course and proceeding of the gospel: Jesus Christ saith, ‘I came not to send peace, but a sword. I came

to set a man at variance with his father.' And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent majesty, and your honourable lordships, besecching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be despised of you, through the pursuit of my adversaries. I have spoken."

Upon these words, Eckius, the emperor's prolocutor, with a stern countenance, said, "That Luther had not answered to any purpose; and therefore they required of him a plain answer, whether he would revoke or no?" Then says Luther, "Considering your sovereign majesty, and your honours require a plain answer; this I say, as resolutely as I can, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by reason, (for I believe not the pope, neither his general councils,) my conscience is so bound in the word of God, that I will not, I may not, revoke any thing; considering it is not lawful to do any thing against conscience. Here I stand. I can do no otherwise. God help me."

The princes consulted together upon this answer. And when they had diligently examined it, the prolocutor began thus: "Martin, thou hast answered more immodestly than became thy person, and also little to the purpose. If it should be allowed every one that gainsayeth the determination of the church and councils, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we shall have nothing certain and established in Christendom. Wherefore the emperor's majesty requireth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou intendest to defend all thy works, or no?" Then Luther, turning to the emperor and the nobles, besought them not to force him to yield against his conscience, confirmed by the holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary by his adversaries.

Night approaching, the lords arose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, divers Spaniards scorned and scoffed him as he was going to his lodging; hollowing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the princes, electors, and other estates were assembled, the emperor sent them the following letter: "Our predecessors were obedient to the Romish church, which Martin Luther impugneth. And, therefore, inasmuch as he will not recall his errors, we cannot, without great infamy, degenerate from the examples of our ancestors, but will maintain the ancient faith, and the see of Rome. And further, we are resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunication, and by all other means to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless, we will not violate our faith, but mean to give order for his safe return to the place from whence he came."

The princes, electors, and other estates of the empire, sat and consulted about this sentence, on Friday all the afternoon, and Saturday the whole day; so that Luther had yet no answer of the emperor. During this time, divers princes, earls, barons, knights, gentlemen, priests, monks, with others of the common sort, visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor's court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills set up, some against Luther, some for him. Notwithstanding, many supposed that this was done by his enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe conduct given him. Which the Roman ambassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass.

The Monday following, before supper, the archbishop of Triers advertised Luther, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him. The morrow after St. George's day, Luther, obeying the archbishop's command, entered his palace, being accompanied with his chaplain, and one of the emperor's heralds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Wormes, with other friends. Then Dr. Væus, the marquis of Baden's chaplain, began to declare, in the presence of the archbishop of Triers, Joachin, marquis of Brandenburg, George, duke of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, the earl

George, and others, that Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but only that the princes had procured licence of the emperor's majesty to exhort Luther brotherly. He then made a long speech to him ; in the conclusion of which he said, " If he would abide in his purpose, the emperor would banish him from the empire ; persuading him deliberately to ponder these things." Luther said, " He was ready to spend life and blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God ; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than men. He meekly besought them not to urge his conscience, captived in the bands of the word of God, to deny that word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and specially to the emperor's majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing against his conscience : in all other cases he would submit himself with all kind of obedience and due subjection." And so the assembly broke up, and the princes retired to the emperor's court.

About evening, the archbishop of Triers advertised Luther, that the emperor's promise made unto him was prolonged two days ; and in the mean season he would confer with him, and for that cause he would send Peutinger and Væus the morrow after to him, and he himself would also talk with him.

On Friday, which was St. Mark's day, Peutinger and Dr. Væus strove, in the forenoon, to persuade Luther, absolutely to submit his writings to the judgment of the emperor and empire. He answered, " He would submit to any thing they would have, so it were grounded upon the authority of holy Scripture, otherwise he would not consent." When they urged him more vehemently, he answered, " We ought to yield no more to the judgment of men, than the word of God permits." So they departed, and said they would return after dinner. Accordingly they returned, and exhorted him as before ; but in vain. They desired him, that at least he would submit his writings to the judgment of the next general council.

Luther agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themselves should present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council, in such a manner as should be authorised by the Scripture. They then departed, and reported to the archbishop of Triers, that he had promised to submit his writings to the next council, and in the mean time to be silent. But Luther never thought of this; neither could he be induced, with admonitions, nor menaces, to deny or submit his books to the judgments of men, unless they could prove by sacred Scripture, and apparent reasons, that they contained what was contrary to the truth.

Then the archbishop sent for Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him under safe conduct, had condemned his opinion, and approved the pope's bull. The archbishop, bidding a friend of his draw nigh, required Luther to declare what remedy might be for this. He answered, "That there was no better remedy than such as Gamaliel alleged: 'If this counsel, or this work, proceed of men, it shall come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it.' And so he desired that the emperor might write to the pope, that he knew certainly if this proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea within two years." The archbishop, seeing Luther would in no wise give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bid him farewell; who prayed the archbishop to intreat the emperor to grant him leave to depart. He answered, "He would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the emperor's pleasure."

Within a short while after, John Eckius, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, said unto Luther, by the commandment of the emperor, "That since he had been admonished of the imperial majesty, the electors,

princes, and estates of the empire ; and notwithstanding he would not return to unity and concord, it remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should proceed further : but it was the emperor's order, that he should, within 21 days, return boldly, under safe conduct, to the place whence he came ; so that in the mean while he raised no commotion among the people, either by conversation or preaching." Luther, hearing this, answered, " Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass. The name of the Lord be blessed." He said further, " He most humbly thanked the emperor's majesty, and all the princes and states of the empire, that they had given him gracious audience, and granted him safe conduct to come and return." Finally he said, " He desired nothing of them, but a reformation, according to God's word, which he would constantly confess to the end: humbly recommending himself to the emperor's majesty, and to all the princes and other states of the sacred empire."

The morrow after, which was April 26, after he had taken leave of his friends, at ten o'clock he departed from Worines, accompanied with such as came thither with him. The emperor's herald overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded of the emperor to conduct him safely home. He had one and twenty days allowed for his return. In the mean space he wrote to the emperor, and other nobles of the empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action, desiring of them their favour, which as he had always stood in need of ; so now he most earnestly craved, especially in this, that his cause, which was not his, but the cause of the whole catholic church, might be heard with equity, and decided by the authority of holy Scripture : signifying, moreover, that whensoever they should please to send for him, he would be ready to appear at their command, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety. Not long after this, the emperor, to purchase favour with the pope, directed a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all them that took his part ; com-

manding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be found, to be apprehended, and his books burned.

Duke Frederick, to give some place to the emperor's proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of sight, by the help of certain noblemen, whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him. Luther being there out of company, wrote divers epistles and books; among which he dedicated one to the Augustine friars, of *abolishing the mass*. Frederick, fearing that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the judgment of the whole University of Wittemberg to be asked. By whom it was answered, "That he should do well to command the use of the mass to be abrogated throughout his dominion. And though it could not be done without tumult, yet, the course of true doctrine should not be stayed for the multitude. Neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries who wickedly kick against the truth, whereof Christ also giveth us warning before. For fear of such tumults, therefore, we ought not to cease from that which we know is right; but constantly go forward in defence of God's truth, howsoever the world rage against it."

While Luther absented himself from Wittemberg, Andreas Carolostadius proceeding more roughly, stirred up the people to throw down images in the churches, besides other things more. For which cause Luther, returning again into the city, reproved the rashness of Carolostadius, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly; but that pictures and images ought first to be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; and that the people ought first to be taught, that we are saved only by faith; and that images serve to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not (said he) as though I would maintain images to stand, or to be suffered; but this ought to be done by the magistrate, and not by force.

They who write the lives of saints, use to set forth

such miracles as be wrought for them by God ; whereof there is plenty in M. Luther. And indeed what a miracle was this, for one man, a poor friar, creeping out of a blind cloister, to be set up against the pope, the universal bishop ; to withstand all his cardinals ; yea, to sustain the malice and hatred almost of the whole world ; and to work that against the pope, cardinals, and church of Rome, which no king nor emperor could ever do ; yea, durst never attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compass. Which miraculous work of God, I recount nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing Goliath. For Martin Luther to stand against the pope was a great miracle ; to prevail against him a greater ; to die untouched may seem the greatest of all ; especially having so many enemies as he had. Neither is it any thing less miraculous, what manifold dangers he escaped : as when a certain Jew was appointed to destroy him by poison ; yet it was the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the peril. Another time, as he was sitting in a certain place upon a stool, there was a stone in the vault over his head where he sat ; which being miraculously staid so long as he was sitting, immediately fell upon the place where he sat, as soon as he arose ; which would have crushed him all in pieces if it had lighted upon him.

His prayers were so ardent unto Christ, that (as Melancthon writes,) they which were under his window, where he stood praying, might see his tears fall down. Again, he prayed with such power, that, (as himself testifies,) he had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived the pope should not prevail in his country. Luther lived till the 63d year of his age, writing and preaching about 29 years.

On the 17th day of February, 1546, Dr. Martin Luther sickened, a little before supper, of his accustomed malady, viz. the oppression of humours in the orifice of the stomach. After supper he retired into a chamber, and

rested on his bed two hours; all which time his pains increased. And, as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awoke, and prayed him to rise, and call up Ambrose, his children's schoolmaster, to make him a fire in another chamber. Into which when he was just now entered, Albert, earl of Mansfield, with his wife, and divers others, at that instant came into his chamber. Feeling his fatal hour approach, before nine o'clock in the morning, Feb. 18, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer: "My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou hast manifested thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, unto me. I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my life, my health, and my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and afflicted. Draw my soul to thee." After this he said thrice, "I commend my spirit into thy hands: thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting.'" Soon after he was called to God.

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## THE MARTYRDOM

OF

## HENRY VOES & JOHN ESCH.



IN the year of our Lord, 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of 24 years; and the other, John Esch, who before had been of the order of Augustine Friars. They

were degraded the first day of July, at the suit of the pope's inquisitor, and the divines of Louvain. Their examiners demanded of them, what they believed? They said, The books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the articles of the creed. Then they were asked, Whether they believed the decrees of the councils and of the fathers? They said, They believed such as were consonant with the Scripture. When they constantly persisted in this, they were condemned to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God, who had delivered them, through his great goodness, from that false and abominable priesthood.

As they were led to the place of execution, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place, and were stripped of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake; patiently enduring whatsoever was done unto them; praising God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and singing psalms, and rehearsing the creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding it, said unto Henry, that he should take heed how he so foolishly glorified himself. To whom he answered, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes. Unto whom he answered, "I trust that I carry him in my heart." One of them, seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "Methinks ye strew roses under my feet." Finally, the smoke and the flame, mounting up to their faces, choked them.

## THE MARTYRDOM OF HENRY SUTPHEN.

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SOON after the burning of Henry Voes and John Esch, at Brussels, Henry Sutphen, a monk, who had been before with Martin Luther, came to Antwerp, and was excluded from thence for the gospel's sake. He, coming to Bremen, not with an intent to preach, but in his way to Wittemberg, was there required by certain citizens to make one or two brief exhortations. Whereunto, through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily persuaded. He made his first sermon to the people, the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When they heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him to preach again; and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the gospel. When the canons, monks, and priests heard it, they went to the senate, desiring that such an heretic might be banished the town. The senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish, and declared to them the complaint of the canons. The citizens answered, That they knew none other, but that they had procured a learned and honest man to preach the word of God to them. Notwithstanding, if any man could bring witness he had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or was repugnant to the word of

God, they were ready to put him away; adding, God forbid, that we should maintain an heretic. But if the canons cannot shew that he hath taught any error or heresy, but are only set maliciously to drive him away; we cannot (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the senate, that they would not require it of them.

The senate commanded this answer to be declared to the canons. When they saw they could prevail nothing with their words, they went straight unto the archbishop to certify him, that the citizens of Bremen were become heretics. The bishop straightway sent two of his council to Bremen, requiring that Henry Sutphen should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they would have him sent, they answered, "Because he preached against the holy church." The senators answered, "That forasmuch as he had not been convicted for an heretic, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he taught, they could by no means obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away."

When the bishop saw his enterprize frustrated, he attempted another way. He decreed a provincial council, not to be holden at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Buestade, which place he thought most meet for the purpose. To this council were called the prelates and learned men of the diocese; to which Henry also was called, notwithstanding they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest heretic. Wherefore the rulers of the city detained him at home, suspecting the malice of the council. Then Henry gathered the sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters to the archbishop; pleading his innocency, and offering, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of Scripture, to recant the same: notwithstanding earnestly requiring that his errors might be convicted by the Holy Scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his doctrine. But this took no place

amongst the anointed prelates. What their judgment was, may be well understood, in that shortly after they set the bull of pope Leo X. and decree of the emperor made at Wormes, upon the church-porch. Whereupon Henry proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, "That he was ready to give an account of his faith and doctrine to every man that should require the same." In the mean time the catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains to every sermon to trap him in his words. But God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them ; for he converted many of them. Insomuch that the greater part of those that were sent, openly witnessed his doctrine to be the truth of God, against which no man could contend, and such as they had not heard in all their lives before. Yet the canons and monks were so hardened and blinded, that they became the worse for these admonitions.

In the year 1524, Henry was sent for by letters from Nicholas Boy, parish-priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorph, a town in Diethmar, to preach the gospel to them. Having prepared all things, the 22d day of October he took his journey, and came to Meldorph, where he was gladly received by the parish-priest and others. Although he had not yet preached, the devil and his members began to fret. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black friars, went out of hand unto J. Swicken, his companion, and commissary to the official of Hamburg, to consult what was to be done. It was decreed by them, above all things, to withstand the beginnings ; therefore that he should not preach. For if, by any means, the people should hear him, they knew that it would be but a folly to resist, remembering what had happened before in Bremen. This being determined, the prior went the next day, early in the morning, to Heyda, to speak with the forty-eight presidents of the country. He complained to them, that a monk, a sedi-

tious fellow, was come from Bremen, who would seduce all the people of Diethmar, as he had done the Bremers ; moreover, Gunter, the chancellor of the country, assisted this prior.

The prior obtained letters from the presidents to the parish-priest, commanding him, under a great penalty, that he should put the monk out of his house, and cause him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came to Meldorph, and delivered them over-night to the parish-priest ; trusting, that by their command, Henry would be hindered from preaching. When the parish-priest had read the letters, he marvelled not a little ; because it was never heard of before, that the presidents should meddle with ecclesiastical matters ; and it had of long time been used, that the management thereof should be in the hands of the parish-priest ; and long before, it was decreed, by the whole province, that in every church the parish-priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher. The parish-priest delivered these letters to Henry ; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, “ That since he was come, being sent for by the whole congregation, to preach the Gospel of Christ, he would fulfil that vocation, because he ought rather to obey the word of God than man. And that if it pleased God, that he should lose his life in Diethmar, there was as near a way to heaven from thence as from any other place ; for that he doubted nothing at all, but that at last he must suffer for the Gospel’s sake.” The next day he went up into the pulpit, and expounded the Gospel of the day. After the sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the prior delivered the letters that were sent by the presidents, the tenor whereof was this, “ That they should be fined a thousand guilders if they suffered the monk to preach.” When they heard these letters read, they were much moved, because they were charged contrary to the custom of the country ; forasmuch as the parish-priest had always had authority,

according to his discretion, to choose or put away the preacher: and all determined with one voice to keep Henry for their preacher, and to defend him.

The next day the citizens of Meldorph sent messengers unto Heyda, offering to answer in all cases, before all men, for their preacher. The parish-priest also wrote letters to the presidents, wherein he pleaded, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of Henry Sutphen to move sedition, but only sincerely to preach the word of God; earnestly desiring them not to give credit to the monks, who being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the truth. He added, moreover, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned before the truth was tried, and his cause declared. With this answer the messengers returned to Meldorph with great joy and gladness, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would now rest.

When the prior perceived that his enterprise had no good success, he went up to the monks, Franciscans and Minors, for counsel. These straightway sent for certain of the rulers, which had the authority, and especially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; to whom they declared what an heretic monk had preached, and how he had gotten the favour of all the simple people; and that if they did not speedily withstand him, the honour of our lady and all saints, together with the two abbeys, in a little time would come to decay.

Peter Swine answered, "That they had written before to the parish-priest and to Henry what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again." "No," said the prior, "this must be attempted another way: for if you write to the heretic, he will answer you again. And it is to be feared lest the contagion of his heresy also infect you: for if you give him leave to speak, there is no hope that you shall overcome him." Wherefore they determined to take Henry by night, before the people should know it, or come to his defence. This device pleased all men, but especially

the Franciscan friars. Peter Hannus, the prior's chief friend, willing to get the chief praise, associated to him certain rulers of the town adjoining. All these assembled together in the house of Mr. Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting together with them. They concluded, the next day after the conception of our lady, to meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorph, with a great band of husbandmen. Having thus determined, they placed scouts every where, that so no news might come to Meldorph; commanding, that as soon as it began to grow dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above 500 men of the country, unto whom they declared the cause of their assembly, and also instructed them what was to be done; for before, no man, but only the presidents, knew the cause of the assembly. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing such an horrible deed. But the presidents, with most bitter threats, kept them in obedience; and to make them the more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamborough beer to drink.

About midnight they came armed to Meldorph. The monks prepared torches for them, that Henry might not slip away in the dark. They burst into the house of the parish-priest, with great violence, breaking and spoiling all things. Then they violently fell upon the priest himself, and with great noise cried out, "Kill the thief! kill the thief!" Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as a prisoner. Others cried out, that the priest was not to be meddled with, for they had no commission to take him. They then, with great rage and fury, ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands fast behind him, and drew him bound to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, who otherwise was a cruel persecutor, desired them to let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own accord. Then they committed the guiding of him

to John Balco. When he was brought to Hemmingsted, they asked him, for what intent he came to Diethmar? To whom he gently declared the cause of his coming. But they all in a rage cried out, "Away with him, away with him; for if we hear him talk, it is to be feared he will make us also heretics." Then he, being weary and faint, desired to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice. When they heard him say so, they mocked, saying, "Must we hire an horse for an heretic? He shall go on foot whether he will or not." First they carried him naked to Heyda: Afterward they brought him to the house of one Calden, and were for binding him there with chains in the stocks; but the master of the house taking compassion upon him, would not suffer it to be done. Wherefore he was carried away to a priest's house, and shut up in a cupboard by the rude people, who mocked and scorned him all the night. Here Mr. Gunter came to him, and asked him, whether he had rather be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Diethmar? To whom Henry answered, "If I have preached any thing contrary to God's word, it is in their hands to punish me." Gunter answered, "Hark, I pray you, good friends; hark! he desireth to suffer in Diethmar."

The common people continued all the night in immoderate drinking; and in the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the market-place, to consult what they should do. The people cried out, "Burn him, burn him! to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do so, we shall obtain the praise both of God and man." Then they commanded the crier to proclaim, that every man that was at the taking of him should be ready in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Among all other, the Franciscan friars were present, encouraging the people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound Henry's hands, feet, and neck, and with a great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he was passing by, a certain woman standing at

her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly. Henry turning himself, said to her, "I pray you weep not for me." When he came to the fire, for very weakness, he sat down upon the ground. One of the presidents who was present, named May, being bribed thereto, pronounced this sentence upon him : " Forasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed lady, I condemn him to be burned and consumed with fire."

Henry, lifting up his hands towards heaven, said, " O Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do ! Thy name, O Almighty God, is holy !"


In the mean time a certain woman, the wife of one Jungar, sister of Peter Hannus, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, if they would keep him in prison till he might plead his cause before the whole convocation of the country. When they heard these words, they grew more outrageous, and threw the woman down under feet, and trod upon her, and beat Henry unmercifully. One of them struck him behind on the head with a sharp dagger. John Holms, of the new church, struck him with a mace. Others thrust him in the back and in the arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak, Mr. Gunter cried out, " Go to it boldly, good fellows ; truly God is with us."

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar to Henry, that he should be confessed. Henry asked him, " My brother, when have I done you any injury, either by word or deed ?" " Never," said the friar. " What should I then confess to you," said he, " that you think you might forgive me ?" The friar being moved at these words, departed. The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding, they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kinds of weapons. Henry stood all this time in his shirt before all the people. At last they got a great ladder, bound him hard thereto ; and when he began to pray, one struck him

on the face with his fist, saying, "Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt." Then another treading upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one set his halbert for the ladder to lean against ; but the ladder slipping away, the halbert struck him through the body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood, which tumbled down light upon one side. Then John Holms ran up to him, and struck him with a mace upon the breast till he stirred no more. Afterward they roasted him upon the coals ; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom.

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF GEORGE CARPENTER.



THE 8th day of February, in the year 1527, there happened a rare example in the town of Munchen in Bavaria, on the death of George Carpenter, of Emering. When he came before the council, his offences were read, contained in four articles :

I. That he did not believe, a priest could forgive a man's sins.

II. That he did not believe, a man could call God out of heaven.

III. That he did not believe, God was in the bread on the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

IV That he did not believe, that the water itself in baptism doth give grace.


Which four articles he utterly refused to recant. Then there came a certain schoolmaster to him, saying, "My friend, dost thou not fear the death which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldest thou return to thy wife and children? Revoke your former opinion, and you shall be set at liberty." Whereunto George answered, "My wife and children are so dear unto me, that they cannot be bought from me, for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but for the love of my Lord God I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake to him again, saying, "Good George, believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign." Whereunto he answered, "I believe this sacrament to be a sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us."

After this, one Mr. Conrade Scheter, vicar of the cathedral church, came unto him, saying, "George, if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true; but if I should err, truly, I would be sorry and repent." Whereunto George answered, "God suffer me not to err, I beseech him!" Then said the schoolmaster, "Do not put the matter to that hazard, but choose some good Christian brother, master Conrade, or some other, to whom you may reveal your heart; not to confess yourself, but to take some godly counsel of him." He answered, "Nay, not so; for it would be too long." Then master Conrade began the Lord's prayer; and at the end of every petition Carpenter made a suitable reply, touching his faith, and expressing his readiness to suffer for Christ's sake. Prayer being ended, the schoolmaster said

to him, "Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully confess him with thy mouth?" Hereunto he answered, "It were a hard matter for me, if I (who am ready to suffer death) should not believe that with my heart which I profess with my mouth. For I knew before, that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ." Then said Conrade, "George, dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any man should pray for thee?" He answered, "So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian faith: but when the soul is separate from the body, then have I no more need of your prayers." When the hangman was binding him to the ladder, he preached much to the people. Then he was desired by certain Christian brethren, "That as soon as he was cast into the fire, he would give some token of his faith." To whom he answered, "This shall be my token; so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus."

The constancy of this man was incredible: for his face and countenance never changed colour, but he went cheerfully to the fire. "In the midst of the town, this day," saith he, "I will confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, the hangman put a bag of gunpowder about his neck; and he said, "Let it be so, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And when the two hangmen lifted him up upon the ladder, he smiled, and bade a certain Christian farewell. Then the hangman thrust him into the fire; and he with a loud voice cried out, "Jesus! Jesus!" Then the hangman turned him over; and he again for a space cried, "Jesus! Jesus!" And so joyfully yielded up his spirit.

## THE MARTYRDOM OF GILES TILLEMAN.



GILES TILLEMAN was born in Brussels, of honest parents. He was by occupation a cutler. He was so expert in his business, that he became rich and wealthy thereby. At 30 years of age, he began to receive the light of the gospel, through the reading of the Holy Scripture, and increased therein exceedingly. And as he was fervent in zeal, so was he of a humane nature, pitiful and mild, beyond all others in those parts. Whatsoever he had that necessity could spare, he gave it away to the poor. Some he refreshed with meat; some with clothing; some he helped with household stuff; to others he ministered wholesome exhortation. There was a poor lying-in woman who had no bed to lie on, to whom he brought his own bed; himself being contented to lie upon straw. He, being detected by a priest, was taken at Louvain, for that religion, which the pope calls heresy. His adversaries tried to reduce him to their doctrine, and to make him *abjure*. But as he was a man of sound reason, they went away many times with shame.

Having been eight months in prison, he was sent to Brussels to be judged: where he comforted divers who were there imprisoned; exhorting them to constancy in the truth, unto the crown which was prepared for them. At the table he waited upon them all, being contented

himself with a few scraps which they left. He was so ardent in his prayers, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that he seemed to forget himself. Being called many times to meat, he neither heard nor saw them that stood by him, till he was lifted up by the arms ; and then he would speak to them as one waked out of a sweet sleep.

Certain of the Grey friars were sent to him by two and two, to bring him back ; but he would always desire them to depart from him, for he was at a point. When the friars at any time miscalled him, he ever held his peace : but when they talked of religion, there he answered them fully by evidences of the Scripture, in such sort, that many times they would depart with wonder. He might many times have escaped, the doors being open, but he would not, for fear of bringing his keeper into danger.

About the month of January, 1544, he was brought to another prison, to be constrained with torments to confess purgatory. But no force could do it. Wherefore, on January 22, he was condemned to the fire, but privily, contrary to the use of the country ; for they durst not condemn him openly, for fear of the people, he was so well beloved. When news of the sentence came to him, he gave hearty thanks to God, that the hour was come that he should glorify the Lord.

When he was brought to the place of burning, he saw a great heap of wood piled up : he desired the greater part thereof to be taken away, and given to the poor ; for a little, said he, will suffice me. Seeing a poor man coming by, who lacked shoes, he gave his shoes unto him. That is better, said he, than to have the shoes burnt, and the poor perish with cold. As he stood at the stake, the hangman was ready to strangle him before he was burnt ; but he would not suffer him. " There is no need," said he, " that my pain should be mitigated ; for I fear not the fire : do therefore as thou art commanded." And thus the blessed martyr, lifting up his eyes to heaven, in the middle of the flame, died, to the great lamentation of all that stood by.

About the same time, when Charles the emperor lay in Gaunt, the friars and doctors obtained that the edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. Upon this, a great persecution followed; so that there was no city nor town in all Flanders, wherein some were not beheaded, or condemned to perpetual prison, or had not their goods confiscated; neither was any respect had to age or sex. At Gaunt especially, there were many of the chief men, who were burned for the sake of religion.

Afterward, the emperor coming to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people, in Brabant, Hennegow, and Artois; the horror and cruelty whereof is almost incredible. Two hundred men and women together, at one time, were brought out of the country round about into the city; of whom some were drowned, some buried alive, some privily made away, and others sent to perpetual imprisonment; whereby the prisons thereabout were filled with prisoners, and the hands of the hangman tired with slaughter.

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## THE MARTYRDOM

OF

## AYMOND DE LAVOY.



THIS Aymond preached the gospel at St. Faith's in Anjou, in the year 1543, where he was accused by the parish-priest to have taught false doctrine. Hereupon the magistrates of Bourdeaux sent to apprehend him.

He, having intelligence thereof, was desired by his friends to flee; but he would not; saying, "I had rather never have been born than to do so. It is the office of a good shepherd not to flee in time of peril, but rather to abide danger, lest the flock be scattered." And so, beseeching them to urge him no more to it, he told them, "That he feared not to yield up both body and soul for the truth, which he had taught;" adding, "That he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, but also to die."

In a little time, the summer came to Anjou, and was there three days; during which time Aymond preached three sermons. The people flew upon the summer, to defend their preacher, and deliver him out of his hands. But Aymond desired them not to stop his martyrdom; seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him. Then the consuls suffered the summer, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux, where many witnesses came in against him. All their accusation was only for denying purgatory.

He remained in prison about nine months with great misery, bemoaning exceedingly his former life, although there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came down letters, whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had heavier fetters put upon him, which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, bade him tell, What fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, "I have no other fellows, but such as know and do the will of God my Father, whether they be nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they be." He endured in these torments two or three hours, being but of a weak body, comforting himself with these words: "This body must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever." In the time of his being tormented he swooned. Afterward, coming

to himself again, he said, "O Lord! O Lord! why hast thou forsaken me?" To whom the president said, "Nay, wicked Lutheran, thou hast forsaken God." Then said Aymond, "O Lord, I beseech thee, forgive them, they know not what they do." "See (said the president,) this caitiff, how he prayeth for us." Nevertheless, he was so constant in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name; and he only said, "That he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him."

On the Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession, whom he refused; choosing the parish priest of St. Christopher's. When he could not be suffered to have the priest, he took a certain Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart. He had long talk with him, and at last converted him to the truth.

Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way the 114th psalm. As he passed by the place where he before had been imprisoned, he called to his fellow-prisoners, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the president. Moreover, he thanked the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. He then took his leave of them, and desired them to pray for him; and giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her kindness to him, he proceeded forward toward his execution. As he came over against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary. "I ask mercy of God, (said he,) but blessed St. Mary I never offended, nor did that thing for which I should ask her mercy." From thence he went on to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then one of the soldiers spake to the carman, bidding him drive apace, For (said he,) we have had preaching enough. To whom Aymond said, "He that is of God heareth the Word of God." As he was passing by a certain image of our

Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her. Whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invoke any other, save him alone. Coming to the place where he was to suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, That he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ. He would have spoken more, but was not suffered, for the tumult of the officers, crying, "Despatch him, despatch him; let him not speak!" Then, speaking a few words in the ear of a Carmelite, whom he had converted, he was bid to step up to the stage. When the people began to give a little audience, he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me. Tarry not; do not despise the work of thy hands.—And you, my brethren, that are students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel; for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls. My flesh fighteth marvellously against the Spirit, but I shall shortly cast it away. My good masters, I beseech ye, pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my spirit." As he was repeating the same, the hangman took and haled him upon the steps in such a manner that he strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life. His body was afterward burned.

## THE MARTYRDOMS

OF

THOMAS SANPAULIN, PHILBERT HAMLIN,  
NICHOLAS CLINET, TAURIN GRAVELLE, PHILIPPA  
DE LUNS, AND PETER GABART.

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I. THOMAS SANPAULIN, a young man of eighteen years of age, coming from Geneva to Paris, in the year 1551, rebuked there a man for swearing; for which he, being suspected for a Lutheran, was taken and brought before the council of Paris and put in prison; where he was racked, and miserably tormented, to the end that he might either change his opinion, or confess others of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore, that the sight thereof made Aubert, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy against the gospel, to turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary, at last was had to Maulbert-Place, in Paris, to be burned. When he was in the fire, he was plucked up again on the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? To whom he said, That he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go. Thus remaining inexpugnable, he glorified the Lord with the constant confession of his truth.

II. Philbert Hamlin was first a priest, then he went to Geneva, where he exercised printing. After that he was made minister of Allenart, in Xaintoigne, in which and in other places he did much good. At length he

was apprehended, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel. After he had made confession of his faith, he and the priest were carried to Bourdeaux before the president. As he was in prison, on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture to say mass there. Philbert seeing him, came and plucked his garments with such vehemency, that the mass-garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down, and were broken; saying, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in the churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailor hearing this, in his fury cudgelled him with his staff, and also complained of him. Then he was removed to a common prison, and laid in a low pit, loaded with great irons. Perceiving the priest his host to decline from the truth, he did what he could to confirm him; but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ, he said to him, "Is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving a few days, which you have to live by the course of nature, so to deny the truth? Know therefore, that although you have by your foolishness avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer, for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause." He had no sooner ended, but the priest, going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen who had a quarrel against him. When Philbert heard of it, he immediately made an exhortation upon the providence of God, which moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

Philbert, being condemned, was had to the place of his martyrdom, before the palace; and as he was exhorting the people, the trumpets blew without ceasing, to the intent that his words might not be heard. Being fastened to the stake, still praying and exhorting the people, he was strangled, and his body consumed with fire, on Palm-Sunday eve, in the year 1557.

In the year 1558, September the 4th, a company of the faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were

assembled together in a certain house at Paris, in the evening, to communicate together. Certain priests having discovered the matter, gathered together, and beset the house, and made an outcry, that the watch might come to take them; so that in a short time almost all Paris was raised, thinking some conspiracy to have been in the city. When they perceived that this uproar was raised on account of the Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood; and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires, to see that none should escape. The faithful, being exhorted by the governors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsel of some, who knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men which had weapons should venture through the press: Only the women and children remained in the house, with a few men who were less bold than the others. Here appeared the admirable power of God. Of them that went out, notwithstanding the lanes and passages were stopped, and fires made, yet all escaped save one only, who was beat down with stones. They that remained in the house were enclosed about six or seven hours; at last came Martin, the king's attorney, with commissaries and sergeants, who with much ado, appeasing the people, entered the house; where, seeing the women and children, he perceived sufficient testimonies of their innocency; insomuch that his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison in the little castle. I here omit the furious usage of the people by the way, how despitefully they dragged and haled the women, tore their garments, and disfigured their faces with dirt. Neither were they better treated in the prison than they were in the streets; for all the villains and thieves there were let out of their holes and stinking caves, and the poor Christians put in their rooms.

Besides these manifold wrongs, followed the slanderous reports of the friars and priests, who in their sermons

cried out against the Lutherans, persuading the people that they assembled together to make a banquet in the night, and there putting out the candles, they went together after a beastly manner. These rumours were no sooner given out, but they were received, and spread not only to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the states of the court, and even to the king's ears. The cardinal of Lorraine bore a great sway in the court, who procured a certain judge to come in, declaring to the king, That he found there lying in the floor of the house, divers couches, upon which they intended to commit their whoredom; also much other furniture, and preparation appointed for a sumptuous banquet. Whereupon the king was mightily inflamed against them, neither was there any one person that durst contradict it.—On the 17th day of September, a commission was directed by the king, and certain presidents and counsellors appointed to oversee the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor gospellers were brought forth to judgment and martyrdom.

III. Of these, the first was Nicholas Clinet, aged sixty years, who being first a school-master at Xaintoigne, (where he was born,) was there persecuted, and his effigy burned. From thence he came to Paris, where for his godly conversation, he was made one of the elders of the church. For his age he was suspected of the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chief of the Sorbonists, whom he so confuted, both by the Scriptures and also their own divinity, in the presence of the lieutenant, that the lieutenant confessed he never heard a man better learned, and of more understanding.

IV Taurin Gravelle was first a student of the law at Thoulouse; after that he was made an advocate in the court of Paris: lastly, for his godliness, he was ordained an elder to the said congregation. Seeing the congregation destitute of room, he received them into his house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with

enemies, though he might have escaped with the rest, yet he would not.

V. Philippa de Luns was brought out next, a gentlewoman, aged twenty-three years. She came first from the parts of Gascoigne with her husband (the lord of Graveron,) unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband had also been an elder, who in May before was taken with an ague, and died, leaving this widow, who ceased not to serve the Lord in his church.

The three last were condemned Sept. 27, 1558, and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them; but their constancy remained unmoveable. After that, they sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever cried by the way, That he maintained nothing but the truth of God.

The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said, That she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain counsellors did urge her to take the cross in her hands, alleging, Christ commanded every one to bear his cross; she answered, "My lords, you make me, in very deed, to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth us to bear our cross; but no such cross as you speak of."

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance; and being asked by his friends to what death he was condemned, "I see well (said he,) that I am condemned to death, but to what death I regard not." Coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, he said, That was not contained in the sentence, and therefore he was unwilling to grant it; but afterward, perceiving the same to be agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut; only saying, "I pray you, pray to God for me."

The gentlewoman also, being required to give her

tongue, did likewise, with these words, "Seeing I do not stiek to give my body, shall I stiek to give my tongue?" And so these three, having their tongues cut out, were brought to Malbert-Place: the constancy of Gravelle was admirable. Casting up his sighs and groans to heaven, he declared thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and age. But the gentlewoman surmounted all the rest in constancy, who neither changed countenance nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in a mourning weed, after the manner of the country. But *this* day, going to her burning, she decked herself in her best array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse, Christ Jesus. And thus these three, with singular constancy, were burned. Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philippa was strangled, after she had a little tasted the flame, and so she ended her martyrdom.

VI. Peter Gabart, a solicitor of processes, about the age of thirty, was put, among a great number of scholars, in the little castle. When he found they passed the time in talking of philosophy; "No, no, (said he,) let us forget these matters, and learn how to sustain the cause of our God, who lie here in defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ." And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of Christian doctrine, as well as if he had done nothing all his life but studied divinity. Then he was sent from them to another prison, full of filthy stench and vermin; where, notwithstanding, he ceased not to sing psalms so loud that the others could hear him.

When the time of his execution was come, he perceived the judges had intended, that, if he would *recant*, he should be strangled; if not, he should burn alive, and his tongue be cut from him. He being content to suffer these torments for Christ's sake, willingly offered

his tongue to the hangman ; although he began a little to sigh, lest he should no more praise the Lord with his tongue. He was drawn out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of St. Germain. The people, full of rage and madness, followed him with cruel taunts and injuries, as though they themselves would have done execution upon him. The cruelty of his death was such as hath not been seen ; for he was holden long in the air over a small fire, and his lower parts burnt off before the higher parts were much hurt with the fire. Nevertheless, the blessed saint ceased not in all these torments to turn up his eyes to heaven, and to shew forth testimonies of his faith and constancy.

Many testaments and bibles were also burnt in the same fire. Such was their rage against whatever tended to propagate the truth of the gospel.

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THE MARTYRDOMS  
OF  
FREDERICK DANVILLE,  
AND  
FRANCIS REBEZIES.

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MENTION was made before of certain young scholars, who were in the little castle with Peter Gabart ; of which number were Frederick Danville and Francis Rebezies ; neither of them being above twenty years of age. Frederick was called several times before the lords, where they asked him many questions. Rebezies had three ex-

aminations : the first with the lieutenant civil ; the second with the presidents and the counsellors ; the third with the friars. The president asked, If he were not afraid to be burned, and to bring his parents into dishonour ? He answered, that he knew well “ all who would live godly in Christ Jesus should suffer persecution.” And to him either to live or to die was gain. “ And, as touching my parents, Christ (said he,) doth admonish, ‘ Whosoever loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.’ ” “ Jesus Maria ! (said the president,) what youth is this now-a-days, which cast themselves so headlong into the fire ! ” And so he was commanded away.

About October 22, 1558, Rebezies and Danville were brought up to a chamber in the castle to be racked, to the intent they should discover the rest of the congregation. There they found three counsellors, who thus began with them : “ Lift up thy hand : thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image thou seest here.” Rebezies answered, “ I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart.” “ Why dost thou not swear (said the counsellors,) as we say to thee ? ” “ Because (said he,) it is a great blasphemy against the Lord.” Then the counsellors read their depositions. And first beginning with Rebezies, said, “ Wilt not thou tell us the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of this assembly ? ” Rebezies named Gravelle, Clinet, (which were already burnt,) and John Sansot. They replied, The court has ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the rack ; and so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary ; but he would neither receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying, that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion’s mouth ; and so, being drawn and stretched in the air, began to cry, “ Come, Lord, and shew thy strength, that man do not prevail ! ” But they cried, “ Tell truth, Francis, and thou

shalt be let down." Nevertheless, he continued still in his prayer to the Lord; so that they could have no other word but that. After they had long tormented him, the counsellors said, "Wilt thou say nothing else?" "I have nothing else (said he,) to say." And so they commanded him to be loosed, and to be put by the fire-side. Being loosed, he said to them, "Do you thus handle the poor servants of God?" The like was done to Frederick Danville also, (who at the same time was also very sick,) of whom they could have no other answer but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his servants.

After they were returned from the torture unto their fellow-prisoners, they ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederick oftentimes sighed, and being asked of them, Why he did so? He said, It was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. "Notwithstanding, (said he,) be strong, brethren, and be not afraid. Assure yourselves of the aid of God, which hath succoured us, and also will comfort you." Rebezies was so stretched upon the rack, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on one side, so that he could not move himself; and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, he there wrote his confession. When night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried out twice or thrice together, "Away from me, satan." Frederick, being in bed with him, asked why he cried so, and whether satan would stop him of his course? Rebezies said, That Satan set before him his parents; but by the grace of God (said he,) he shall do nothing against me.

The day following, they were brought before the counsellors, and required to shew what fellows they had in their assembly. When they would not discover them, they were sentenced to be brought in a dung-cart to

Maulbert-Place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, to be tied each one to his post, and afterward strangled, and burned to ashes.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. "Let God, (said they,) reign alone." When they were tied to their stakes, after they had ended their prayers, one of them, comforting the other, said, "Be strong, my brother, be strong : satan, away from us." As they were thus exhorting, one standing by, said, "These Lutherans call upon satan." One John Morel, (who afterward died a martyr,) standing by, answered, "I pray you, let us hear what they say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God." Whereupon the people listened to them, to hear, as well as they could, what they said. Their cry was still, as much as their mouths, being stopped, could utter, "Assist us, O Lord." And so they rendered up their spirits into the hands of the Lord.

Rena Seau and John Almerick were also of the same company. They were cast into prison, where they sustained such cruelty, being almost racked to death, that Almerick could not go when he was called to the court to be judged. And being upon the rack, he rebuked their cruelty, and spake as freely as though he had felt no grief. He testified (to those persons who came to visit him,) that he felt no pain so long as he was upon the rack. Both these died in prison, continuing still firm in the pure confession of Christ's church.

## THE MARTYRDOM OF BENNET ROMAIN.



BENNET ROMAIN, having a wife and children at Geneva, used to go about the country with mercery ware and corals. As he passed by the town of Draguignan, he met with one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc, who being desirous to have of his corals, and knowing that he was one of Geneva, went to a counsellor of the court of Aix, then at Draguignan, whose name was De Lauris. And after consulting with him, went to Romain, pretending to buy some of his corals, of which they knew that he had three hundred crowns worth. As soon as he was departed from him, he sent to the officer of the town to attach him as a Luthcran. He was quickly arrested, and Blanc and his fellows were as ready to seize on his goods. Romain was then examined before the consuls, and other counsellors; who, in answer to their questions, said, That he denied the worshipping of saints: and as for mass, he had heard none these four years, nor ever would again. Whereupon he was committed to a stinking house of easement, with iron chains upon his legs. Lauris, thus having his will, sent for the lieutenant, and willed him to see the prisoner. The lieutenant being angry that he so usurped upon his office, denied to go with him to the prisoner. Notwithstanding, the same day, the lieutenant, with another, went to the prison, and

caused the said Romain to come before him, of whom he inquired many things. Romain answered simply and truly in all respects. After this confession, certain brethren of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that, seeing he had sufficiently made confession of his faith, he would seek means to escape from his enemies; but he refused so to do, being willing to give an account of his faith, and content to die for the same.

His constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi came to see him, and asked, "What! do they believe in any God in Geneva?" Romain, looking upon him, said, "Who art thou, that dost so wretchedly blaspheme?" "I am (said he,) the ordinary judge of this place." "And who (said Romain,) hath put thee in this office? Thinkest thou that we are infidels? If the devils themselves confess a God, suppose you that those of Geneva deny him? No, no; we believe in God; we invoke his name, and repose all our trust in him." Barbosi was so irritated at this, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.—There was at the same time a friar, who had preached all the lent: he being very eager to set the matter forward, said, "That he would go and say mass of the Holy Ghost, to have the said Romain condemned and burned alive." Moreover, he procured the consuls to threaten the lieutenant, that they would complain to the parliament, if he would not condemn him to be burnt.

When the judges were set, Barbosi, with others, whom the friar had procured, had agreed before, that he should be put to the rack, to make him discover his fellows; and also gagged, that he might not infect the residue. On the other part, there was one of the advocates who gave contrary advice; saying, That he should be sent home again, for that he was a townsman of Geneva; neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books; neither had they any informations against him. Upon this, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The friar, the mean while, was not

idle, inciting still the consuls and the people ; who at the ringing of a bell, being assembled together, with the officers and the priests, in a great rout came crying to the lieutenant, "Burn the heretick, or else we will fire thee and all thy family."

The lieutenant, not being able to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix, and so he did. They, hearing the information, commanded the lieutenant and the rest of the judges to send up the prisoner to them. This went greatly against the minds of them at Draguignan, who would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent to the parliament at Aix, where he so handled the matter, that the cause was sent down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined to take unto him such ancient advocates as their order required, and to certify them within eight days. Romain, by the sentence of those old judges, was condemned to be burned alive ; and before the execution, to be put upon the rack, to the intent he should discover the rest of his company. From which sentence Romain appealed. Wherefore he was carried to Aix, singing the commandments as he passed along. The king's advocate seeing this, as he was looking out of his window, said, That he was one of them that concluded his death ; but desired God to forgive him. After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the counsellors ; before whom he remained as constant and firm as before. Then a friar was sent, who having been three hours with him and not being able to move him, came out to the lords, and said, "He is damned." The sentence of his condemnation was then confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At his return from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad to the parish curates, that they should signify the day of his death to their parishioners, to the end that they should come. Also, they caused to be cried through the town, by sound of trumpet, that all *good Christians* should bring wood to the market-place, to burn the


Lutheran. On Saturday, May 16, he was brought to the rack; where, at his first entry, the cords, irons and weights, were brought before him to terrify him. Then said they, Thou must discover thine accomplices, and renounce thy religion, or be burned alive. He answered, with a constant heart, That he had no accomplices, neither would he hold any other faith but that which Jesus Christ preached by his apostles.

Upon this he was put upon the rack, where being most barbarously torn, he ceased not to cry unto God. He was then commanded to call upon the Virgin Mary, but he would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed afresh in such a cruel manner, that they thought they had left him dead. When they found that he could endure no longer, they were afraid, lest all had been over, and hastened to bring him to the fire. They helped the hangman to carry him, all broken and dismembered as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron which was let down upon the faggots. Romain, seeing himself to be alone, lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say Ave Maria. When he would not do it, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these torments, he had recourse to God by prayer; beseeching him to give him patience. Then they left him lying as dead: but as soon as they were gone, he began to pray to God again in such a manner, that one would have thought he had felt no hurt. Then another friar, thinking to do more than the rest, came up to the wood to admonish him. Romain thought at first that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech, but when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romain lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great temptation. Whercat Barbosi cried, "Stop his mouth; let him be gagged." The people

cried, "To the fire with him ; let him be burned." Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks. Romain still remained hanging in the air, till all his nether parts were burned ; and even then he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips, without any cry ; and so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God.

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF FRANCIS SAN ROMANE.



IN the year 1540, Francis San Romane was sent, by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Bremen. Being there at a sermon, preached by Jacobus, some time prior of the Augustine friars of Antwerp, he was so touched, (though he had no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue,) that he not only understood all that was said, but also, coming to the preacher and accompanying him home, repeated the whole contents of his sermon, every word (as they said who heard it,) just in the form and order as it was preached. After this happy beginning, he proceeded further, conversing with learned men, so that in a short space he arrived to great knowledge in the Word of Life. The minister, seeing the vehemency of his zeal, instructed him more and more in the knowledge of the gospel, which he received as one that could never be satisfied ; and remained with the minister three days together, committing his worldly business to his compa-

nion, who came with him. Thus, being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch books as he could get; which he read so diligently, that by reading thereof, and partly by the help of Jacobus, he was able, in a short time, to judge in the chief articles of our religion: insomuch that he took upon him to write letters to his countrymen, the merchants of Antwerp: yea, and to Charles, the emperor, opening the miserable estate of Christ's church; desiring him to tender the quickness thereof; especially to reform the corruption of the church of Spain. He wrote also a catechism, and divers other treatises, in the Spanish tongue, all in one month's space.

The Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters, both his change of religion, and also his intent of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending much good will, but secretly practising his destruction. For, on the day of his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, who took him as he alighted from his horse, rifled his books, had him into a merchant's house just by, and bound him hand and foot. Being demanded of what faith he was: "My faith (said he,) is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified; which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ through the whole world. But this faith and doctrine (added he,) ye have corrupted; and by your impiety have brought most part of the world into miserable blindness." And to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the creed. They then conveyed him into a tower six miles from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep dungeon eight months. During his imprisonment, many discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. San Romane answered, That he maintained no heretical opinion; and if he was too vehement with the friars, he would frame himself more

temperately hereafter. Whereupon they discharged him out of prison ; which was about the time when the emperor was in his council of Ratisbon, in the year 1541.

San Romane, being freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about 20 days. From thence he went to Louvain, to a certain friend, named Francis Dryander, (who afterwards died a martyr,) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of religion. He counselled him not to alter his vocation of a merchant, which he might exercise with a good conscience, and do much good. Going from Dryander he went to Ratisbon ; and there having opportunity to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly to him, beseeching him to deliver his subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore the sincerity of Christ's doctrine ; declaring, that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the word of God, with many other words to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him a gentle hearing ; signifying that he would consider of the matter, and do therein as he trusted should be for the best. This mild answer of the emperor gave him no little encouragement ; so that he went the second, and also the third time to him ; who mildly answered him as before. Francis, not yet satisfied in his mind, sought the fourth time to speak to him, but was repulsed by certain Spaniards about him ; who, without any further hearing, would have thrown him headlong into the river, had not the emperor stayed them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the empire. Upon this order he was detained, with other malefactors, in bonds, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa. Then Francis, with other captives, following the court, after the emperor was come into Spain, was delivered to the inquisitors ; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under ground. Many times he was called to examination, where he suffered great injuries, but ever remained firm and unmoveable.

The articles for which he was condemned were these :

I. That life and salvation cometh to no man by his own strength, works or merits ; but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son, our Mediator.

II. That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists account available, *ex opere operato*, for the remission of sin, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

III. That auricular confession, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, are mere blasphemy against the living God.

After the inquisitors perceived that he could by no means be reclaimed, they proceeded to sentence, condemning him to be burned as an heretic. Many other malefactors were brought with him to the place of execution, but they were all pardoned and dismissed. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper, painted full of devils.

As he was brought out of the city gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way, whereunto Romanes was required to do homage ; which he refused, saying, That the manner of Christians is not to worship wood. Hereupon rose a great clamour among the people : but this was soon turned into a miracle. Such was the blindness of that people, that they imputed this to the divine virtue given to the cross from heaven, for that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped by an heretic : and immediately the multitude with their swords hewed it to pieces, every man thinking himself happy that could carry away some chip or fragment of it.

When he was come to the place of execution, the friars were busy about him to have him recant ; but he continued firm. As he was laid upon the wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling thereof to lift up his head towards heaven ; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping he would recant, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they saw him

resolved, and themselves frustrated of their expectation, they willed him to be thrown in again, and so he was despatched. The inquisitors then proclaimed openly, *That he was damned in hell, and that all were heretics who doubted his damnation.*

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## THE PERSECUTIONS

OF

## N. ENCENAS & F. ENCENAS.

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N. ENCENAS, or Dryander, was a Spaniard, born at Bruges. When he was young he was sent to Rome by his superstitious parents. After a long continuance there, he was instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word. And when it was known that he disliked the pope's doctrine, he was apprehended by certain of his own countrymen, just as he was preparing to take a journey to his brother Francis Encenas, in Germany. Being brought before the cardinals, he was committed to close prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which he boldly and constantly defended, in the presence of the cardinals, and all the pope's retinue. The cardinals, especially the Spaniards, being therewith offended, cried out, that he ought to be burned. The cardinals came to him, before sentence of death, offering him a mantle, going both before and behind him, with signs of the red cross; which was the badge of reconciliation. But Encenas denied to receive any other badge, but the badge of the Lord, which was to seal his religion

with his blood. So at last he was condemned to the fire; where he gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.

Francis Encenas, brother of the aforesaid Dryander, a man of notable learning, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered the emperor, Charles V. the New Testament of Christ, translated into Spanish. He was, therefore, cast into prison, where he remained 15 months, looking for nothing but present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of God, the first of February, Anno 1545, at eight o'clock, after supper, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and so going out, he escaped from thence, and went straight into Germany.

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF FANINUS, OF FAVENTIA.



FANINUS, born in Faventia, a town in Italy, through the reading of godly books, translated into the Italian tongue, was converted to the knowledge of Christ; wherein he so grew up, that he was able, in a short time, to instruct others. Being persuaded in his mind, that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his truth, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel, he employed himself diligently, in all his conversation, to communicate to others, as far as in him lay, that knowledge which himself had received from God. He was therefore apprehended by the pope's

clients, and committed to prison. But he remained not long there, for by the earnest persuasions of his wife, children, and friends, he was overcome, and so dismissed out of prison. After this, it was not long before he fell into great terror of mind. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully determined to adventure his life in the service of the Lord. Whereupon, being inflamed with zeal, he went about all the country of Romaina, publickly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, not without great success in all places. As he was thus labouring, he was apprehended again, in 1547, and condemned to be burned. But he said his hour was not yet come. No more it was; for shortly after he was removed to Ferrara, where he was detained two years. At last the pope's inquisitors condemned him afresh, in 1549. But his time being still not yet come, he remained after that till September, 1550. In the mean time many came to visit him; for which the pope commanded him to be kept in closer custody. There he suffered great torments for eighteen months; and still had suffered greater, if the Dominican friars could have got him into their house. Thus was Faninus removed from prison to prison, and many times changed his place, but never his constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where several great lords, captains, and noble personages lay, for stirring up commotions and factions. When these first heard him speak, they began to set him at nought, and to deride him: till he modestly and mildly declared unto them the doctrine which he professed. His words so moved their minds, that they were quite altered to a new kind of life; having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision. He proceeded then to preach to them the word of grace; declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner; but, by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through his grace alone, he was well assured his sins were forgiven. Besides these, there were others, who, having lived before a more delicate kind of

life, could not well away with the sharpness of the prison. These also received such comfort, by the said Faninus, that they were not only contented, but also rejoiced in their captivity, because thereby they had learned a better liberty than ever they knew before. When his imprisonment was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him, and persuaded him, with many tears and entreaties, to consider and care for his poor family. To whom he answered, "That he had once fallen into cowardliness for their sakes; wherefore he desired them to depart, and solicit him no more."

About the same time, died pope Paul III. and after him succeeded Julius III. who sent orders that Faninus should be executed. The next day, when one of the officers brought him word thereof, he rejoiced, gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity of the life to come. One asked him, "In what ease he should leave his little children, and his wife?" Faninus answered, "That he had left them with an overseer, who would see unto them sufficiently." And being asked, who he was? "The Lord Jesus Christ, (said he,) a faithful keeper of all that is committed to him." The next day he was removed into the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. He, in all his ways, words, and gestures, declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners, and tranquillity of mind, that they which were before extreme against him, as thinking him to have a devil, began now favourably to hear him. He talked with such grace and sweetness, that divers of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not forbear weeping. The executioner himself also wept. One seeing him go cheerfully to his death, asked, "Why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion?" "Christ (said he,) sustained all the sorrows and conflicts with death and hell due to us: by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all." He was brought forth,

early in the morning, to the place where he should suffer. And after he had prayed most earnestly to the Lord, he meckly and patiently gave himself to the stake ; where, with a cord drawn about his neck, he was secretly strangled, by the hangman, in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak. His body was afterward burned in the same place.

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THE MARTYRDOM  
OF  
GALEAZIUS TRECIUS.



GALEAZIUS TRECIUS was a gentleman, wealthy in worldly substance, and beneficial to the poor. By conference with some friars, he first began to conceive some light in God's truth ; and afterwards was confirmed therein more thoroughly. As he increased in judgment and zeal to set forward the wholesome word of God, he could not lie hid. In the year 1551, some were sent to lay hands upon him ; who brought him to the bishop's palace. Here he was kept in bonds, having under him only a pad of straw. He was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he gave reasons of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scriptures, and constancy of mind, that he was admired by all that heard him. Yet, not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his friends, he was brought to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But

the merey of God brought him again to repentance. As he was mourning for his fall in prison, his friends told him, that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance to God's glory, and an admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter; at which he took exceeding comfort. And when they would have left with him a book of the New Testament to comfort him, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his disciples.

In a short time the inquisitors and priests repaired to him again, supposing that he would confirm now that which he had granted before. But Galeazius, denying all that he had granted, returned to the defence of his former doctrine, confessing Christ with much more boldness, and proving that God only is to be worshipped: also that there is no Mediator, but Christ alone; that he only hath taken away the sins of the world; and that all who depart hence in this faith, are ascertained of everlasting life. With this confession, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries were as much appalled; who, at last perceiving that he could not be changed, caused him to be committed to the secular judge.

On November 24, 1551, early in the morning, Galeazius being brought out of prison to the market-place, was left standing bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all men to look upon. In which time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not to cast away his life. But nothing could stir the mind of this valiant martyr. Wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, save only these words, "Lord Jesus!"

THE MARTYRDOM  
OF  
DR. JOHN MOLLIUS.



DR. JOHN MOLLIUS, when only but 12 years old, was placed by his parents in the house of the Grey Friars, where he, in a short time, far excelled his fellows in all tongues and liberal sciences. Being grown up to the age of 18, he was ordained priest. After that he was sent to Ferrara to study; where he so profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned, by Vigerius, general of that order, to be doctor, and then reader in divinity: who then opposed himself as an utter enemy of the gospel. From thence he went to Brixia, and the next year to Millaine, where he read openly. Hence he was taken by Francis Sfortia, and brought to the University of Pavia, to teach philosophy. Here he remained four years. After that he was called to the University of Bononia, by Laurence Spatha, general of the order, where he read the books of Aristotle.

About the year 1538, God so wrought in his soul, that, growing weary of philosophy, he began secretly to expound the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans to a few; which being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the church; where the number of his audience daily augmented, and the fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that almost every man came with his pen and ink to write, and they took great care to come betimes to take

up the first places. There was at the same time at Bononia, one Cornelius, who took upon him, at the request of cardinal Campejus, to expound the same epistle of St. Paul, confuting the explanation of Mollius, and extolling the pope with all his traditions. Mollius, on the contrary, extolled and commended only Christ and his merits, to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect: for the auditors which first came to him, began by degrees to fall from him; and the other's auditors increased more and more.

When Cornelius perceived this, he persuaded Campejus, that unless that man were despatched, the church of Rome would greatly decay. For this end they devised, that Cornelius and he should come to open disputation. Which they did; and the dispute lasted till three o'clock in the morning. At length, when they could not agree, Mollius was bid to return home to his house: but when he came down to the lower steps, where the place was narrowest, so that his friends could not come to rescue him, he was taken and laid fast in prison. When the day came, there was such a tumult in the whole city, that Cornelius was forced to hide himself. The next day the bishop of Bononia sent his chancellor to Mollius, to signify to him, that he must either *recant* or *burn*. He being of a bold and cheerful spirit, would in no wise recant. But this one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned without being heard.

In the mean season, Laurence Spatha, general of that order, posted to Rome, and there so practised with the cardinal St. Crucis, the proctor in the court of Rome for the Gray Friars, that the pope wrote to Campejus, to deliver Mollius out of prison: but yet that he should personally appear at Rome within three months. Thus was he delivered after thirty days' imprisonment; who, but for the coming of the pope's letters, had been burned within three days after. The friends of Mollius advised him not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to

Germany. But he would not, saying, That the gospel must also be preached at Rome. After he was come thither, and appeared before pope Paul III. he desired, that the cause, being so weighty, might come to a public hearing; but that could not be obtained. Then he was commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs: which he readily performed; treating of original sin, justification by faith, free-will, and purgatory: proving his articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of ancient fathers; and so exhibited the same to the bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to hear the cause; who disputed with him three days. At last answer was made, that what he affirmed was truth; nevertheless, the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught without the detriment of the apostolic see: wherefore he should, for the future, let alone the epistles of St. Paul, and return to Bononia, and there profess philosophy. Being returned to Bononia, he declared all things openly in the pulpit, in order, as they were done.

At this, Campejus, being more offended than before, obtained of the pope, that the general of the order should remove the said J. Mollius from Bononia, and place him somewhere else. So he was sent to Naples, and appointed reader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy, not abiding his doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape. Departing from thence, he wandered in Italy from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. When cardinal Campejus was dead, he was called again to Bononia, by an abbot, named De Grassis, in the year 1543, where he began reading of St. Paul's epistles again; but was soon discovered. Whereupon, being apprehended the second time, he was brought to Faventia, and laid in a filthy and stinking prison, where he continued four years, no man having leave once to come to him. At length, through the intercession of the abbot

De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he abode a few months, and taught the gospel of Christ as before.

When the abbot was dead, he was the third time brought into prison by the pope's legates. But four men of great authority, being stirred up of God, had pity on him, and bailed him out of prison. One of whom took him to his house to instruct his children. Such a concourse of people soon came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult to kill him, lest his doctrine should spread further. Whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate, to lay hands on him, and send him bound to Rome. Here he was a fourth time imprisoned, and there continued in hold 18 months; being greatly assaulted, sometimes with promises, sometimes with threats, to give over his opinion: but his building was grounded upon a rock. At length, being constant in the defence of Christ's gospel, he was brought, with certain other men, (who were also apprehended for religion,) into the church of St. Mary, (called De Minerva,) September 5, 1553; either there to revoke or be burned. There sat upon them, six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge; before whom a Dominican friar preached; who incensed the cardinals to their condemnation, with all the vehemency he could. The poor men stood holding a lighted taper in their hands all the while: some of whom revolted for fear of death. But Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue; wherein he confirmed the articles of his faith by the sacred Scriptures; declaring also, that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but antichrist; and that his sectaries do figure the whore of Babylon. Moreover, he cited them before the judgment seat of Christ; and threw away the burning taper from him. Whereupon, being filled with anger, they condemned him, and a weaver, (who was accused with him,) to the fire, and commanded them to be had away. So they were carried to the field, called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First,

the weaver was hanged : Mollius meantime, exhorted the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other saviours but Christ. Then he was hanged also, commending his soul to God ; and afterward laid in the fire and burned.

In Calabria, in the year 1560, a blessed number of Christ's well-beloved saints, both old and young, suffered ; whose execution is thus described, in a letter sent from Montalto, in Calabria, by a Romanist, to his friend in Rome. "Hitherto, most noble lord, I have certified you, what hath been done about these heretics. I come now to signify to your lordship the judgment of this present day, executed in the morning against the Lutherans. The manner of their putting to death, may be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep. For they being all thrust into one house together, the executioner came in, and amongst them took one and blindfolded him with a muffler about his eyes, and so led him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commanded him to kneel down ; which being done, he cut his throat. Then taking his knife and muffler covered with gore blood, he came to the rest, and so leading one after another, he despatched them all, to the number of 88 persons. How horrible it was to behold this spectacle, I leave to your lordship's judgment. I myself cannot choose but weep to write of it. There was none of the beholders there present, who had seen one die, that could behold the death of another. But they went to death so humbly and penitent, as is almost beyond belief. Some of them, as they were dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do. Notwithstanding, the most part of them died in their own obstinate opinions. All the aged persons went to death more cheerfully ; the younger were more timorous. I tremble to remember how the executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all in gore blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking one after

another by the hand, and so despatching them all, no otherwise than a butcher kills his calves and sheep.

“This day it is determined, that 100 of the more ancient women shall appear to be examined and racked, and afterwards put to death. It is now about two o’clock in the afternoon : we shall shortly hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There are several of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor confess to the priest : these are to be burned alive.

“There are 1600 apprehended and condemned ; but as yet no more than these 88 are executed. This people came from the valley named Angrognia. There are four other places of the same people, in the kingdom of Naples, of whom, whether they live well or no, as yet we know not ; for they are but simple, ignorant people, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen : but, as I hear, very devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion’s sake.

“From Montalto, the 11th of June, 1560.”

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## THE HISTORY

OF

*The Persecution of the People of Merindol and Cabriers,  
in the Country of Province.*



THIS people, about 200 years ago, came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit in Province, in certain villages, destroyed by wars, and other desert places. They used such labour and diligence there, that they had

abundance of corn, wine, oil, honey, almonds, with other fruits of the earth, and much cattle. Before they came thither, Merindol was a barren desert. But these good people, (in whom God always had reserved some seed of piety,) remained there till the desert, through the blessing of God, and their great labour, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding the world detested and abhorred them. For they had long refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed a more perfect kind of doctrine, delivered from the father to the son, ever since the year 1200. For this cause they were often complained of to the king, as despisers of the magistrates, and rebels. They were called by divers names, according to the countries and place where they dwelt. In the country about Lyons, they were called *the poor people of Lyons*; in the borders of Sarmatia, Livonia, and other countries towards the north, they were called Lollards. But they were most commonly called Waldoys, or Waldenses, of Waldo, who instructed them in the word of God; which name continued till the name of Lutherans came up, which above all others was most abhorred. Notwithstanding these slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindol, and Cabriers, lived so godly, so uprightly, and justly, that in all their conversation, there appeared a great fear of God. That little knowledge which God had given them, they laboured to increase, sparing no charge to procure books of holy Scriptures, to instruct such as were most capable in learning and godliness; and to send them into other countries, yea, even to the farthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

In the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in certain towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent George Maurelle, and Peter Latomus, two learned men, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there, to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service of God; and particularly to have their advice upon certain

points which they were not resolved in. After much conference with the chief in the church of God, namely, with Œcolanpadius, at Basil ; with Bucer and Capito, at Strasburg ; and with Bartholdus Hallerus, at Bern ; as they were returning through Burgundy homeward, Peter Latomus was taken, and cast into prison ; Maurelle escaped, and returned to Merindol, with the books and letters which he brought from the churches of Germany ; and declared to his brethren, how great errors they were in, into which their old ministers, whom they called Barbes, (that is, Uneles,) had brought them, leading them from the right way of true religion. When the people heard this, they were moved with such a zeal, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the chief in knowledge and experience, of all Calabria and Apulia, to consult with them touching the reformation of the church. This stirred up the bishops, priests, and monks in all Province, with great rage against them. Amongst others, there was one called John de Roma, who, obtaining a commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the Waldoys or Lutheran profession, ceased not to afflict the faithful with all kinds of cruelty that he could devise. Amongst other torments, this was one which he most commonly practised ; he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them upon their legs, tying them backward to a form, with their legs hanging down over a small fire. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death. But he lived not long ; for shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible disease, unknown to any physician. The pains of his body were so extreme, that nothing could ease him one minute. None of his friends could come near him, so great was the stench that came from him. His body was full of ulcers and sores, and swarmed with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from his bones piece-meal. Whilst he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage, “ Oh, who will deliver me ? Who will kill and rid me of these

intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the evils and oppressions which I have done to these poor men?" And he went about divers times to destroy himself. In these horrible torments and despair, this blasphemer and cruel homicide miserably ended his days, as a spectacle to all persecutors. After his death, the bishop of Aix, by his official, Peronet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison; of whom some by torments revolted from the truth; after he had condemned the others, they were put into the hands of Meiranus, an ordinary judge, who without any form of process, put them to death, not without most cruel torments.

Soon after, some Merindolians, to the number of ten, were cited to appear before the king's attorney. But they, hearing that the court had intended to burn them without any further process, durst not appear at the day appointed. For which cause, the court condemned all the inhabitants of Merindol to be burned, both men and women, not even sparing the little children and infants; the town, moreover, to be rased, and the houses beaten to the ground; also the trees to be cut down, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness. The archbishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix, and divers abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this arrest might be executed. In this assembly they made a general agreement, confirmed with an oath, that every man should endeavour himself that it should be executed with all expedition; every man offering to furnish out men of war, according to his ability. The charge of this matter was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit, and persuade the presidents and counsellors of parliament, by all means possible, without fear or doubt, to execute the said arrest.

This conspiracy being concluded, the bishop of Aix departed from Avignon to go unto Aix, to perform his charge. Notwithstanding they desired him to be the next

day at a banquet which was to be at the house of the bishop of Rieux. After they had dined, they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper. As they passed through the streets, every one leading his minion upon his arm, they saw a man which sold lewd pictures, with filthy rhymes annexed to the same. All these goodly pictures were bought up by the bishops ; which were as many as a mule could well carry. As they walked along, there was a bookseller who had set out to sale certain bibles in French and Latin ; which, when the prelates beheld, they were greatly moved, and said unto him, " Darest thou set such merchandise to sell here in this town ?" The bookseller answered, " Is not the holy bible as good as these goodly pictures which you have bought ?" At these words the bishop of Aix cried out, " I renounce my part of paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken." The bookseller was immediately taken and carried to prison, and spitefully handled. For those who waited upon the prelates began to cry out, " A Lutheran ! a Lutheran ! to the fire, to the fire with him !" Then one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such manner that the poor man was all imbrued with blood before he came to prison.

The morrow after he was brought before the judges, in the presence of the bishops, where he was examined as followeth : " Hast thou not set forth to sale the bible and the new testament in French ?" The prisoner answered that he had. And being demanded, whether he knew not that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the bible in any other language than latin ? he answered, that he knew the contrary ; and that he had sold many bibles in the French tongue, with the emperor's privilege, and many others printed at Lyons ; also new testaments printed by the king's privilege. Furthermore he said, that he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the Holy Scripture in their vulgar

tongue: and afterward he said, with a bold courage, “O ye inhabitants of Avignon! are you alone, in all Christendom, those which despise and abhor the testament of the heavenly Father? Will ye forbid that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do not you know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power unto his apostles to speak all manner of tongues; to this end, that his holy gospel should be taught unto all creatures, in every language? What greater blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God’s most holy books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to bring again into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from poor souls their nourishment and sustenance? But, my lords, you shall give an heavy account, which call sweet sour, and sour sweet; which maintain abominable books and pictures, and reject that which is holy.”

Then the bishop of Aix, and the other bishops, began to rage and gnash their teeth. “What need you,” said they, “any more examination? Let him be sent straight to the fire.” But the judge, and certain others, were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause to put him to death; but endeavoured to make him confess the bishop of Aix, and others his companions, to be the true pastors of the church. The bookseller answered, that he could not do it with a good conscience; forasmuch as he did see before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthy books and abominable pictures, rejecting the holy books of God; and therefore he judged them rather to the priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the same day. And for a sign of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind. But this poor man had also the word of God in his heart and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, till he

came to the place of execution, to exhort the people to read the Holy Scriptures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the truth.

Then the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindol. With great difficulty he persuaded the president and counsellors of the court of parliament to put the said arrest in execution: and by this means, and through the authority of the said court, the drum was sounded throughout all Province, the captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of foot-men and horse-men began to set forward, and marched out of the town of Aix in order of battle, to execute the arrest. The inhabitants of Merindol being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death, with great lamentation commended their cause unto God; making themselves ready to be slain, as sheep led to the slaughter. Whilst they were in this grievous distress, mourning and lamenting together, suddenly there was news brought, that the army was retired, and no man knew how, or by what means; yet it was afterward known, that the lord of Alene, a wise man, learned in the Scriptures, and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared to the president Cassanee, that he ought not so to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation. Furthermore he said, "I desire you, my lord president, to remember the counsel which you have written in your book, entituled *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*; in which you have brought forth the proecesses which were holden against the rats by the officers of the court of the bishop of Authun. This matter was thus: there was throughout all the bailiwick of Laussois such a great number of rats, that they destroyed all the corn of the country. Wherefore they took counsel to send to the bishop of Authun's official to have the rats excommunicated. After the official had heard the plaintiff, he decreed, that before he would proceed to excommunication, the rats should

have admonition according to the order of justice. For this cause it was ordained, that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of Authun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days ; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them.

“ The three days were passed, and the procurator came into the court against the rats, and for want of appcarance, obtained a default, wherefore he required that they would proceed to the excommunication. Whereupon it was acknowledged, that the said rats, being absent, should have their advocate appointed them to hear their defence. And you, my lord president, being at that time the king’s advocate at Authun, was chosen to be the advocate to defend the rats. And having taken the charge upon you, you there declared, in pleading the matter, that the citation was of no effect, for certain causes which you there alleged. Then it was decreed, that the said rats should be again cited throughout the parishes where they were. After the citations were duly served, the procurator came again into the court as before, and there alleged by you, my lord president, that the term allowed for appearance was too short, and that there were so many cats in every town and village that they were to pass through, that the rats had just cause to be absent. Wherefore, my lord president, ought you not as well to minister right and justice to men, as you have done to the rats ?” By these, and such like demonstrations, the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission, and caused the army to retire, which was already within one mile and a half of Merindol.

The Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks to God, comforting one another, with exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient to his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself to his providence, patiently looking for the hope of the blessed, that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting

riches, having always before their eyes the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath entered into his glory, by many tribulations. Thus they prepared themselves to endure all the afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them ; and such was their answer to all those that either pitied, or sought their destruction. Whereupon the noise was so great, as well of the arrest, as of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not kept secret from king Francis, who gave orders to the Lord de Langeay, his lieutenant in Turin, that he should diligently inquire into the truth of all this matter. Monsieur de Langeay upon this, sent two men of credit and estimation into Province, charging them to bring him the copy of the arrest, and inquire all that followed thereupon, and likewise to make diligent inquisition into the life and manners of the Merindolians.

These deputies brought the copy of the arrest, and an account of all that happened thereupon to Monsieur de Langeay, declaring unto him the great injuries, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, as well secular as ecclesiastical, used against the Merindolians. As to the behaviour of those which were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the men of Province affirmed them to be men enured to hard labour ; and that about 200 years ago, they came out of Piedmont to dwell in Province, and took to inhabit many hamlets and villages destroyed by the wars, and other desert places ; which they had so well occupied, that now there was great stores of wines, oil, honey, and cattle, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved. Moreover, they affirmed, that the inhabitants of Merindol, and the others that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, men of good behaviour, constant in keeping their promise, and paying their debts : that they were charitable men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and suffered none amongst them to be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to poor travellers, harbouring and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power : moreover,

they were known by this, throughout all the country, that they would not swear, nor name the devil, or easily be brought to take an oath, except it were in judgment, or making some solemn covenant: that they could never be moved to talk of any dishonest matters, but in what company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing, or blasphemy, they straightway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their business, but first they made their prayers. But the people of Province further affirmed, that when they came to any fairs or markets, or to their cities, they were never seen in their churches; and if they were, they turned away their faces from the images: neither would they worship the relics of saints, nor once look upon them.

This was the tenor of the report made unto Monsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behaviour of the inhabitants of Merindol. Of all these things Monsieur de Langeay advertised the king; who, understanding these things, sent letters of pardon, not only for those who were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Province, which were accused and suspected in like case; expressly commanding the parliament, that they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before, against this people: but if there were any that could be proved, to have swerved from the Christian religion, then he should have good demonstration made to him by the Word of God, both out of the old and new testament; and so, as well by the gentleness, as by the rigour of the same, he should be reduced again unto the church of Christ: disannulling also all manner of sentences and condemnations, and commanding all prisoners to be set at liberty, which were either accused or suspected of Lutheranism.

By virtue of these letters they were now permitted to declare their cause; and to say what they could in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a confession of their faith. This confession was presented first to the court of

parliament; and afterward to cardinal Sadolet, with a supplication to this effect: "That the inhabitants of Cabriers, in the country of Venice, most humbly desired that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the confession of their faith and doctrine, wherein they, and their forefathers, had been of a long time instructed, and which they were persuaded was agreeable to the doctrine contained in the old and new testament. And because he was learned in the Holy Scriptures, they desired him to mark such articles, as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it appear to them, that there were any such articles, they would not only submit to abjure, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adjudged unto them. To this request cardinal Sadolet answered by letters written by his secretary, and signed with his own hand, the tenour whereof here ensueth. "I have seen your request, and have read the articles of your confession, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not understand that you are accused for any other doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is most true, that many have reported divers things of you, which, after inquiry made, we have found to be slanders. As touching the rest of your articles, it seemeth to me, that there are many words therein, which might well be changed, without prejudice to your confession. And likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the pastors of the church. For my part, I desire your welfare, and would be sorry that you should be spoiled or destroyed. And to the end you may the better understand my friendship towards you, I shall shortly be at my house near Cabriers, whither ye may resort unto me, either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any hurt or damage; and there I will advertise you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health."

About this time, which was the year 1542, the vice-legat of Avignon assembled a great number of men of

war, at the suit of the bishop of Cavaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, cardinal Sadolet went with speed to the vice-legat, and shewed him the request of the inhabitants, with the articles of their confession; so that for the present the army retired, without doing them any damage. After this cardinal Sadolet went to Rome; but before his departure, he sent for divers of Cabriers, and told them, that he would remember them as soon as he came to Rome, and communicate their confession to the cardinals, trusting to find means to have some good reformation, that God should be glorified, and all Christendom brought to unity and concord; advertising them, in the mean time, to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for they had many enemies. With this, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting, that at the suit of cardinal Sadolet, they should have an answer to their confession. But at his return they understood that he found all things so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there; but rather mortal war against all such as would not live according to the ordinances of that church.

On the other hand, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon prosecuted still the execution of the arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that, according to the king's letters, John Durand, counsellor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go to Merindol, and there declare to the inhabitants the heresies contained in their confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information; and having so convicted them by the Word of God, they should make them renounce those heresies; and, if the Merindolians should refuse, then they should make relation thereof, that the court might appoint how they should proceed. The bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry till the time appointed; but he himself, with a doctor of divinity, came to Merindol, to make them abjure. They required,

that he would tell them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, "He required a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, "That they would do nothing contrary to the king's letters, wherein he commanded, that the errors should be first declared to them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those errors were, that being informed thereof by the Word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters; otherwise it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required." Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the Word of God, but, in a fury, cursed and gave him to the devil, that first invented that means. At length, he departed, being very sore aggrieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

Shortly after, the bishop came again to Merindol, and calling before him the children, both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them to learn the pater-noster and the creed in Latin. The most part of them answered, that they knew the pater-noster and the creed already in Latin, but they could not understand it. The bishop answered, "That it was not necessary they should be so cunning; it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops, curates, yea, and doctors of divinity, who would be puzzled to expound the pater-noster and the creed." Here the bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, "To what purpose is it to say the pater-noster and the creed, and not to understand them? in so doing, we should but mock God." Then said the bishop unto him, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, *I believe in God*?" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable, if I did not;" and then he began to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I

could not have thought there had been so great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it more readily than I. I pray you, examine one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they are well taught or not." But the bishop either knew not how to examine them, or at least would not. Then one said, "Sir, one of these children may question with another, if you think good." The bishop agreed to it. Then one of the children began to examine his fellows with such grace and gravity, as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children, one after another, answered so to the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear; for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, that came lately out of Paris; one of whom said to the bishop, "I must needs confess, that I have often been at the schools of Sorbon in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines; but yet I never learned so much there as I have done by hearing these children."

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way. He caused the strangers to go apart, and said, "That he now perceived they were not so bad as many thought them to be; notwithstanding, it was necessary that they should make some abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make in the name of the rest." The bailiff and the two officers answered, "That they were fully resolved not to abjure at all, except they could make it appear, by the Word of God, that they had holden or maintained any heresy; marvelling much, that he should offer to persuade them to lye to God and the world." The bishop then rose up in great wrath, and departed.

Many came to hear these disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly demonstrations from the bishop, and the doctor that was with him, but were greatly abashed to see them so confounded. This afterward turned to the great benefit of many: for hereby they were incited to require copies of the Merindolians' con-

fession of their faith ; whereby they were converted, and embraced the truth. Three doctors, who several times attempted to dissuade the Merindolians from their faith, were thus converted ; whose ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his gospel.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in quietness for a space, insomuch that every man feared to trouble **them**, seeing those which persecuted them received nothing but shame and confusion ; as manifestly appeared not only by the sudden death of the president Chassance, but also of many others of the chief counsellors of the parliament of Province. Thus the Lord repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the execution of that cruel sentence, till John Miniers began a new persecution. He, being lord of Opedc, near Merindol, first began to vex the poor, by oppression and extortion ; getting from them what he could to enlarge his lordship. By such practices he was advanced in a short time to great wealth, and at length became not only the chief president of the high court of parliament, but also the king's lieutenant-general in the country of Province. This Miniers forged a most impudent lie, making the king to believe, that they of Merindol, and all the country near about, to the number of 12 or 15,000, were in the field in armour, with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and make it one of the cantons of the Switzers ; and to stay this enterprise, he said it was necessary to execute the arrest. By this means he obtained the king's letters patent, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians.

After this he gathered all the king's army, which was then in Province, ready to go against the English, and took up all besides that were able to bear arms, in the chief towns of Province, and joined them with the army, which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of Venice, and employed the same to destroy Merindol, Cabriers, and 22 other towns and villages ; giving commission to his soldiers, to

spoil, ransack, burn, and destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child, without mercy, sparing none. Miniers, before he came to Merindol, ransacked and burned the towns of La Roch, St. Stephens, Ville Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, St. Martin, Pipin, and other places; notwithstanding the arrest extended only to Merindol: where the most of the poor inhabitants were murdered without any resistance; women and maidens ravished; women with child, and little infants, born and in the womb, were also most cruelly murdered; the paps of many women cut off, who gave suck to their children, which looking for nourishment at their mother's breast, died for hunger.

The Merindolians, seeing all in a flaming fire round about them, left their houses, and fled into the woods, and remained all that night at the village Sanfales, in great fear and perplexity; for the bishop of Cavaillon, deputy to the bishop of Rome's legate, had appointed certain captains to go and slay them. The next day they went further, hiding themselves in woods, for there was danger on every side, and Miniers had commanded, under pain of death, that no man should aid them by any means. The same proclamation was of force also in the bishop of Rome's dominions. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful journey, carrying their children upon their shoulders, and in their arms, and in their swaddling-clothes; and among them who took this pains, were many women big with child. When they were come to the place appointed, a great number, which had lost their goods, and saved themselves by flight, was already resorted thither.

Not long after it was told them, that Miniers was coming upon them with all his power. This was in the evening; and because they were to go through rough places, and hard to pass, they all thought it most expedient to leave all the women and children behind them, with a few others; and among them also certain ministers. The residue were appointed to go to Mussi. They hoped that the enemy would shew mercy to the multitude of women

and children, being destitute of all succour. But no tongue can express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that woful parting, when the husband was compelled to separate from his dear wife, the father from his infants ; the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons, with evening prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

When they had travelled all night, and had passed over the great hill of Libron, they could see many villages and farms on fire. Miniers, in the mean time, had divided his army into two parts, marching himself with the one towards the town of Merindol ; and having knowledge whither the Merindolians were fled, he sent the other part to set upon them. Yet, before they came to the place, some of Minier's army, either out of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came to them, to give them warning that their enemies were coming ; and one of them, from the top of an high rock, beneath which he thought the Merindolians were, cast down two stones ; and afterward, although he could not see them, called to them, that they should immediately flee from thence. But the enemy suddenly came upon them, finding them all assembled together at prayers, and spoiled them of all they had, even to their garments. Some they ravished, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold like cattle, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. There were about 500 women.

In the mean time, Miniers came to Merindol, where he found none but a young man, named Maurice Blane, who had yielded himself to a soldier, promising him for his ransom two French crowns. Miniers would have had him away by force ; but it was answered, That the soldier ought not to lose his prisoner. Miniers therefore paying the two crowns himself, took the young man, and caused him to be tied to an olive tree, and shot to death.

Many gentlemen, who accompanied Miniers against their will, seeing this spectacle, could not forbear tears. For though this young man was not yet well instructed, yet in all his torments he always had his eyes lifted up to heaven, and ceased not, with a loud voice, to call upon God. The last words that he spake were these, "Lord God, these men take away my life, full of misery; but thou wilt give unto me life everlasting, by thy Son Jesus Christ; to whom be glory." Thus Merindol, without any resistance, was taken, ransacked, burnt, and laid even with the ground.

When he had destroyed Merindol, he laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the lord of the town, persuaded the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising, that if they would, no violence or injury should be done them. Upon this they opened their gates, and let in Miniers, with his captains, and all his army. But when he was once entered, he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and hewn in pieces by his soldiers. Then he exercised his fury upon poor women, and caused forty of them to be taken (of whom divers were great with child,) and put them in a barn full of straw, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the women, running to the great window, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. A soldier, moved with pity at the crying and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming out, Miniers caused them to be cut in pieces, opening their bellies that their children fell out, whom they trod under their feet. Many had fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves, whereof some were carried into a meadow, and there stript naked and slain: others were bound two and two, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains.

That done, Miniers commanded captain John de Gay to go into the church, (where was a great number of

women and young infants,) and kill all that he found there. At first the captain refused to do it, saying, "That were a cruelty unused among men of war." Whereat he charged him, upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain, fearing what might ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old. Mean while certain soldiers went to ransack the houses, where they found many poor men that had hid themselves in cellars, and other privy places, and flying upon them, cried out, "Kill, kill." The other soldiers that were without the town killed all they could meet with. The number of those that were thus murdered, were about a thousand men, women, and children. In token of this victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in Cabriers, in which was engraven the year and day of the taking and sacking of this town, by John Miniers, lord of Opede, and chief president of the parliament of Province, which was April 12, 1545. Mean while, the inhabitants of Merindol, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and much affliction. At last they procured certain men, who were in some favour with Miniers, to make request for them that they might depart whither it should please God to lead them, with their wives and children. Miniers answered, "I know what I have to do. Not one of them shall escape my hands. I will send them to hell, to dwell among devils."

It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable examples of this cruel persecution. No kind of tyranny was unpractised. They who escaped by woods, and wandered over mountains, were taken and set in galleys, or else slain outright. And of many which hid themselves in rocks and dark caves, some were famished with hunger, others were smothered with fire and smoke.

But Henry the Second of France, who succeeded Francis, considering how this cruel and infamous persecution was greatly disliked of other princes, and also objected both

against him and his father, by the emperor himself, Charles V and that in a public council of all the states of Germany; to purge himself thereof, caused the matter to be brought into the court of Paris, and there to be decided by order of justice. This cause was pleaded many times, but could never be determined, and so was passed over. And Miniers (who had for some time been confined,) was also loosed out of prison, and restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon his promising the cardinal of Lorraine that he would banish and expel these new Christians (so he termed the true professors of the gospel,) out of all Province.

Miniers then began to exercise greater cruelty than before; and did not cease, before the just judgment of God brought him, by a horrible disease, to the torments of death. For being stricken with a strange kind of bleeding, in manner of a bloody flux, and not being able to void any urine, his guts, by little and little, rotted within him. When no remedy could be found, and his entrails now began to be eaten of worms, a famous surgeon, named La Mote, who dwelt at Arles, was called; who, (after he had cured him of the difficulty of making water, and therefore was in great estimation with him,) would not proceed further to search the other parts of his putrefied body till he had caused those that were present to depart a little. When they were gone, he began to exhort him with earnest words, saying, "The time now requires that you should ask forgiveness of God for your enormous cruelty, in shedding so much innocent blood, which is the cause of this so strange a profusion of blood coming from you." These words so pierced the conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith more troubled than with the agony of his disease; inso-much, that he cried out to lay hands upon the surgeon as an heretic. La Mote hearing this, conveyed himself out of sight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithstanding, it was not long before he was sent for again; being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmly that he

should come without any danger, with much ado he returned again; but all was now past remedy: and so Miniers, raging and casting out horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire, which burnt him from his navel upward, with extreme stench of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Moreover, the justice of God is not to be forgotten, which followed upon others, who were the chief actors in this persecution; as Lewis de Vaine, brother-in-law to the said president, and also the brother and the son-in-law to Peter Durant, master butcher of the town of Aix, which three slew one another upon a certain strife that fell among them. And upon the same day, the judge of Aix, as he returned homeward, going over the river Durance, was drowned.

It is to be observed, that these inhabitants of Province, and other coasts of France and Piedmont, received their doctrine first from the Waldenses; being, by violence of persecution, driven out of Lyons, who were dispersed abroad in divers countries; of whom, some fled to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia, divers strayed to the countries of France, especially about Province and Piedmont. They which were in the country of Tholouse, were called Albii, or Albigenses, of the place where they frequented. Against the Albigenses, friar Dominic laboured ten years together, and caused many of them to be burned; for which he was highly accepted, and rewarded in the apostolical court.

These Albigenses had set up a bishop of their own, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia. Upon this account, the see of Rome took great indignation against them, and caused all their faithful catholics to rise up in arms, and take the sign of the holy cross upon them, and to fight against them. In the year 1206, great multitudes of them were then murdered, not only about Tholouse and Avignon in France, but also in all quarters, miserable slaughters and burnings of them continued long, from the reign of Frederick II. almost to this present time.

## THE HISTORY

OF THE

PERSECUTIONS *and* WARS *against the* WALDENSES, *in the Vallies of Angrogne, Lucerne, St. Martin, Perouse, and elsewhere, in the County of Piedmont, from the year 1555 to 1561.*

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WHEN the Waldenses divided themselves into divers countries, some went to Piedmont, and the Valley of Angrogne. These men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously afflicted, but yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor compelled to yield to the religion of the church of Rome; but ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry, and gave themselves to the Word of God as a rule whereby truly to serve him.

In the month of August, 1555, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and people intended at first to keep themselves still secret; but there was such concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly. For this cause they built a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached. It happened, about that time, that one John Martin, of Briqueras, a mile from Angrogne, vaunted every where, that he would slit the nose of the minister of Angrogne; but he himself was assaulted by a wolf, which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad.

At this season, the French king held these Valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. The same time also they began openly to preach in Lucerne. In March, 1556, the ministers of the Valley of St. Martin preached openly. The parliament, being sorely incensed, sent one, called the president of St. Julian, to hinder it. He coming first to the Valley of Perouse, where no preachers were yet come, very much troubled the poor people. From thence he, with others, went to the Valley of St. Martin, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter destruction. After that they came to Lucerne, and thence to Angrogne, accompanied with many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests. But by the way the president inquired for one who dwelt at St. John's, near to Angrogne, and examined him, Whether he had not baptized his child at Angrogne; and wherefore he had so done? The poor man answered, That he had baptized his child at Angrogne, because baptism was there ministered according to the institution of Christ. Then the president, in a great rage, commanded him, in the king's name, to baptize his child again, or else he should be burnt. The poor man desired the president that he might be suffered to make his prayer to God, before he should make answer. Which after he had done, in the hall, before all the company there present, he required the president that he would write and sign the same with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his child again. The president hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said he, in a great fury, "Away, thou villain, out of my sight." And after that he was never called more.

After they were come to Angrogne, the president, having visited the two churches, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being there assembled. As soon as he had ended his sermon, the people requested that their minister might be suffered to preach; affirming, that

the said monk had spoken many things which were not according to the Word of God. But the president would not grant their request. After that, he admonished them, in the name of the king, that they should return to the obedience of the pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life. The ministers and people answered, "That they were determined to live according to the Word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their superiors in all things, so that God thereby would not be displeased. And furthermore, if it were shewed to them by the Word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed." This talk endured about six hours, even till night. In the end, the president said, there should be a disputation appointed for those matters. Whereunto the people gladly agreed; but after that there was no more mention thereof.

He remained here fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them, causing assemblies to be made in every parish, by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding, he nothing prevailed; but still they continued constant. In-somuch that they, with one accord, presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories propounded by the president, concerning the mass, auricular confession, baptism, and burials.

To the first they answered, "That they received the Lord's-Supper as it was instituted by Christ himself; but as for the mass, except the same could be proved by the Word of God, they would not receive it. As touching auricular confession, they said, they confessed daily to God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sin, as Christ instructed his disciples in the prayer which he taught them: and seeing it is God alone which forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to him only, and to no other. As to baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of

Christ, and administered the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy Gospel, without any alteration, and that in their mother tongue ; but as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, they would not receive them. As touching burials, they answered, that they knew there was difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, forasmuch as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead ; and therefore they were accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the Word of God ; as well to comfort the friends of the dead, as to admonish all men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using candles, or lights, and praying for the dead, they would not receive these things. Moreover, as to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which (as St. Paul saith,) serve for order, decency, and reverence of the ministry. But as for other ceremonies, which have been brought into the church of God, as essential parts of Divine service, or to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, because they are repugnant to the Word of God, they could by no means receive them.

The president, and the rest of the commissioners, perceiving they laboured in vain, returned to Turin with the notes of their proceedings, which were immediately sent to the king's court, and there the matter remained a year before there was any answer. All this time the Waldos lived in great quietness ; as God, of his infinite goodness, is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful so augmented, that throughout the Valleys God's Word was purely preached, and his sacraments duly administered, and no mass was sung at Angrogne, nor in divers other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Pignerol, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the Valley of Lucerne, (six of Angrogne, and two of every

parish besides,) and shewed them, that the last year they had presented their confession, which, by a decree made by the parliament of Turin, was sent to the king's court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the king commanded them to return to the obedience of the church of Rome, upon pain of loss both of goods and life; enjoining them to give him a direct answer within three days. From thence he went to Lucerne, with great threatenings; but they, with one consent, persisted in their former confession. And lest they should seem stubborn in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom; and if the same, in any part, were disproved by the Word of God, it should immediately be amended; but otherwise, if that were not done, then they should be no more disquieted.

A little while after, proclamation was made in every place, That no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only such as were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives; and that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion used in the church of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the preachers of Geneva came, that they should be immediately apprehended. At the same time, the princes of Germany, and certain of the Switzers, sent unto the French king, desiring him to have pity on the said churches; and from that time, until three years after, the people of the Valleys were not molested by any of the king's officers; but they were sorely vexed by the monks of Pignerol, and the gentlemen of the Valley of St. Martin.

About that time, a minister of Angrogue, named Geoffry Variallia, a virtuous and learned man, went to visit certain churches in those quarters where he was born, and coming home, was taken at Berge, and led to Turin, where, after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his

adversaries, he most constantly suffered. A few days after, a minister of the valley of Lucerne, returning to Geneva, was taken prisoner at Suse, and sent to Turin, and with an invincible constancy made his confession before the parliament, and was condemned to be burnt. The hangman, at the time of execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveyed himself away. And so likewise another served them. Whereupon the minister was sent to prison again, where, after a long and painful confinement, seeing the prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

The year following, which was 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king, and the king of Spain. Whereupon the country of Piedmont, (certain towns excepted,) was restored to the duke of Savoy; under whom the said churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont, continued in great quietness; and the duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient. But the pope and cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards this people, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not; alleging, that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without dishonour to the apostolic see. Upon this, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution against the poor Christians, which were at Carignan. Amongst whom there were certain persons taken, and burnt within four days. One, named Mathurine, and his wife, and John de Carquignam, who dwelt in the valley of Lucerne. The woman died with great constancy. John de Carquignam had been in prison divers times before, and was always delivered by God's singular providence. But seeing himself taken this last time, he said, "He knew that God had now called him." Both by the way as he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he shewed an invincible constancy, as well by the pure confession which he made, as in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he en-

dured, both in prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away; others, fearing man more than God, consented to return to the obedience of the church of Rome.

Within a few days after, the churches of Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, and Suse, were wonderfully assaulted. It were too long to recite all the outrage and villainy that was there committed: we will recite only some of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Suse suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken among others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked. The minister was a faithful servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces, who in the end was put to a most cruel death. The patience he shewed in the midst of the fire astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of Larch and Meronne were marvellously tormented. Some were taken and sent to the galleys, others yielded to the adversaries, and a great number of them fled. It is certainly known, that those which yielded to the adversaries were more cruelly handled than the others which continued constant. Whereby God declared how greatly he detesteth all such as play the apostates, and shrink from the truth.

One Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the valley of Lucerne. By reason whereof they were awhile more gently treated than the rest. Yet the monks of Pignerol, and their associates, grievously tormented the churches near them. They took them as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey. And having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil those of the churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children; and some they tormented so, that they were compelled to swear to return to the mass; some they sent to the galleys, and others they burnt.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, and commanded them to return to

the mass ; spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all others, Charles Truchet, and Boniface his brother ; who, the second day of April, before day, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects, named Renclaret. As soon as the inhabitants of the said village perceived their intent, they fled into the mountains, covered with snow, naked and without victuals, and there remained till the third night after. In the morning, certain of his retinue took a minister of the said valley, who was going out to visit the poor people of Renclaret, and led him prisoner to the abbey, where soon after he was burnt, with another of the valley of St. Martin. The third night after, they of Pragela, pitying the poor people of Renclaret, sent about 400 to discomfit the company of the Truchets, and to restore those which were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by their enemies, who, notwithstanding, in the end were put to flight, and but one of the 400 hurt. Soon after the lords of the said valley took another minister, as he was going to preach a mile from his house ; but the people perceiving that, speedily pursued him and retook him. The enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead, and so persecuted the poor people, that they were almost destroyed.

The duke fell sick soon after. And in the month of April following, the lord of Raconis was present at a sermon, in a place near Angrogne. The sermon being ended, he talked with the ministers ; and having discoursed as well of the duke's sickness, as also of his clemency, he declared to them, that the persecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not the commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought best to appease the duke's wrath ? They answered, The best way they knew, was to present in writing the confession of their faith, and defence of the religion which they professed.

Whereupon they sent three supplications, one to the duke, the second to the dutchess, and the third to the duke's council; wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, which they and their ancestors had of a long time observed, being wholly grounded upon the word of God; and if by the same word it could be proved that they were in error, they would gladly embrace the truth. After this the persecution seemed to be somewhat assuaged for a little while.

In June following, the lord of Raconis, and the lord of Trinity, came to Augrogne, and caused the chief rulers and ministers to assemble together, propounding divers points of religion. They demanded, "If the duke should cause mass to be sung in their parishes, whether they would withstand the same or no?" They simply answered, "They would not." Then they demanded, "If the duke would appoint them preachers, whether they would receive them?" They answered, "That if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them." Thirdly, "If they were content that in the mean time their ministers should cease, and if they, which should be sent, preached not the word of God sincerely, then their ministers to preach again? If they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution should cease, and the prisoners should be restored again." To this question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered, "That they could by no means suffer their ministers should forbear preaching." The two lords, not contented with this answer, commanded in the duke's name, that all the ministers which were strangers, should be banished the country: demanding also whether they would maintain the prince's enemies within his own land, against his express commandment? To which they answered, That they could by no means banish them, unless they were convicted of some heresy or other crime; for their part they had always found them to be men of sound doctrine, and also of godly life and conversation.

Immediately proclamations were made against them, and the persecution began on every side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the monks of Pignerol were most cruel: for they sent out a company of hired ruffians which daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on; took men, women, and children, and led them captives to the abbey, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they sent a band of those ruffians by night, to the minister of St. Germain's house, in the valley of Perouse, being led thither by a traitor that knew it. He knocking at the door, the minister knew his voice, and came forth immediately, but perceiving himself to be betrayed, he fled. However he was soon taken and sore wounded; notwithstanding they prieked him behind with their halberds to make him hasten his pace. At that time also many they slew, many they hurt, and many they brought to the abbey, and there kept them in prison, and cruelly used them. The good minister indured sore imprisonment, and after that, a most terrible kind of death, with a wonderful constancy; for they roasted him by a small fire; and when half his body was burnt, he confessed and called upon the Lord Jesus with a loud voice. To be brief, they so tormented these poor people of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods, they were compelled to flee into the mountains to save their lives. So that many, who before had been men of much wealth, and had ministered great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to ask relief of others.

When these monks, with their troop of about 300 ruffians, made such havoc in all the country, that no man could live in safety, it was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against their violent outrages? The ministers answered, that it was lawful. Then they of the valley of Lucerne and of An-

grogne, sent certain men to them of St. Germain to aid them.

In June, the harvest-time in Piedmont, divers of the Waldoyes were gone into the country to reap: these were all taken prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison; whereat the adversaries were marvellously astonished. At the same time there were certain others also, which had sustained long imprisonment, looking for nothing but death; and yet they, after a wonderful sort, by God's merciful providence, were likewise delivered. In July, they of Angrogne, being at harvest upon a hill side, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain. Fifty of them immediately assembled together upon the mountain, and some ran over the hill, and some by the valley. They which went by the valley met the spoilers, 120 in number, coming from St. Germain, loaden with spoil, which they had gotten, and setting upon them soon overthrew them. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemies were fain to take the river Cluzon, where some were much hurt, many were drowned, and some narrowly escaped; and such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was dyed with blood, but none of the Angrognians were hurt at all. Within an hour's time, there were three or four hundred of the Waldoyes gathered together upon the river; and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners which were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers, and so deferred the matter until the next day. But their ministers counselled them not to enterprize any such thing. The rest of the country were wonderfully afraid, and rang the bells every where. The greater part of them fled, doubting lest the poor Waldoyes would have revenged the outrages done to them.

After this, there were many injunctions given out through all the country, to banish the Waldoyes out of the

mountains and valleys of Piedmont : who only desired that they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his word : simply obeying their lord and prince always, and in all things. Yet, in the end of October, the rumour went that an army was levying to destroy them ; and in very deed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour's warning. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne thereupon assembled, to advise what were best to be done. They determined, that for certain days following, a general fast should be kept. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that every one should withdraw to the high mountains, and carry away such goods as they were able to bear : and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves seemed strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just. But yet every one began to carry his goods and victuals into the mountain, and for the space of eight days, all the ways were filled with comers and goers to and from the mountains. All this they did in this great danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God, and singing psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you could not have seen any who grudged to leave their houses, and fair possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and to die if he had so appointed.

During this season, the lord of Angrogne, named Charles de Comptes, of Lucerne, laboured earnestly to cause them of Angrogne to condescend to the duke's pleasure, and solicited them to send away their ministers, promising that he would cause a mass to be sung at Angrogne, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat. The chief of Angrogne thereupon assembled and made answer, That if the duke would permit them to choose other ministers, they were content

to send away their foreign ministers. And as touching the mass, his highness might cause it to be sung in their parishes, but they could not with safe consciences be present, nor yet give their consent to it.

The 22d of October, the said lord went to Mondevis, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne several times, declaring unto them the great dangers wherewith they were environed, the army being at hand. He promised them, if they would submit, he would send immediately to stay the army. They answered, That they were all determined to stand to that which they had put in writing. With this answer he seemed at that present to be content. The next day the rumour was, that they of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. The people hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And it was agreed, that at that instant, some should be sent to the lord of Angrogne, to signify to him, that the determination of the counsel was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogne, to hear the voices of the people, not only of the men, but of the women and children. But he himself went not, but sent thither the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the judge laying all the blame upon the notary.

During this time the adversaries cried out, through all the country of Piedmont, *To the fire, to the fire with them.* The Thursday after, by proclamations set up in every place, Angrogne was exposed to fire and sword. On Friday, being the 2d of November, the army approached to the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. John, a little beneath Angrogne. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain of St. John, perceiving that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also took their fellows prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of their enemies were slain; but they suddenly

retired to the camp, and not one of them of St. John was slain or hurt. At the same time, two of the horse-men, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, being ready to march towards Angrogne, crying, *They come, they come!* At whose cry the whole army was so astonished, that every man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them in order again.

On Saturday, in the morning, the army mustered in the meadow-ground of St. John, near Angrogne. The Angrognians had sent certain to keep the passages, and stop the army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired into the meadow of Toure, and little thought of the coming of the army so soon; for they were yet carrying off victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passages. They which kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but the cause which they maintained: and if it were his will to take them, with their wives and infants out of this world, that he would mercifully receive them into his kingdom. In this sort, all those who kept the passages made fervent prayers with exhortation, that they should all together cry unto God. All this the lord of Trinity and the army perceived. Their prayers ended, they perceived their enemies coming towards them, through the vines, to win the top of the mountain of Angrogne. In the mean time the prior of St. John, and Jacomel, the inquisitor, were in the church of Angrogne, and communed with the rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the lord of Trinity to keep the people employed. The combat began in divers places, and endured for a long space in the passages of Angrogne. The poor Waldoys being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were

sore pressed with the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountain, where they defended themselves till night.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their enemies, who still pursued them, they turned, and slew divers of them. When the evening came, the enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves there to lodge all night. When the Angrognians perceived this, they fell to prayer, desiring God to succour them; but the enemies laughed them to scorn. As they were making their supplications to God, the lord of Trinity caused his soldiers, who were about to encamp themselves, to remove. This proved a great advantage to the poor people, which now were sore wearied, all wet with sweating, very thirsty, and in great peril, if God had not given them some little breathing time. Many of the enemies that day were slain, and many hurt. There were but three of the Angronians slain, and one hurt, who was afterwards healed. This combat gave great courage to the Waldos, and sore astonished the adversaries. But the army retiring, burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went.

The lord of Trinity, with his army, encamped in a village beyond Toure, in the valley of Lucerne, at the foot of the hill, between Angrogne and the other towns of the valley of Lucerne, which professed the gospel. They of Angrogne (seeing themselves now in a sea of troubles,) after they had recommended themselves to God by prayer, sent to them of Prouse, St. Martin, and of Pragela; who sent them all the help they were able. The next day there came letters to Angrogne from the lord of Trinity, intimating, that he was sorry for that which was done the day before; and that he came not thither to make war against them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a fort therein to serve the duke. The Angrognians answered, That they were grieved to be so assaulted by the subjects of their natural prince: and

as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be obedient to their sovereign prince, so they still offered the same.

Upon Monday, the 4th of November, the lord of Trinity sent his army to Villars and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended towards Villars. The people seeing their enemies approach, after they had called upon God with fervent prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many: many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other company ascended towards Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, yet making their prayers unto God, and commending their cause unto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly. In the mean season they of Villars came to assist their neighbours, and being assembled together, they courageously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit the poor people were suddenly enclosed on every side by an ambush, which came another way; but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, who were soon cured again. On the enemy's side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. The same day the inhabitants of Sanson, near Roccapiaata, assembled in great number, and went to a rich man's house of Roccapiaata, and spoiled all that he had. About 17 men of Roccapiaata, understanding this, set upon them, and soon put them to flight, took their drum, and forced them to leave their booty behind them.

After the lord of Trinity had received the Angrognians' letters, he sent his secretary to them. His charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certain to commune with the lord of Trinity. Whereupon they sent four to him, whom he treated very courteously, and said, he doubted not, but if they would send certain to the court with a supplication, they would obtain more than they themselves should require; and he would retire himself with his army. The people desiring but only to live peace-

ably under their lawful prince, were content to follow his counsel.

About this time the Angrognians perceived that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret, (which is the half way between Angrogne and those of the valley of Lucerne,) and the other part had already gotten a way, which led to the meadow of Tourc, by which they of Angrogne might easily have been enclosed. Therefore they immediately sent certain to keep the way, who soon after encountered with their enemies, and obtained the victory, pursuing them to their camp, not without great loss of their men. Not one of Angrogne perished, nor was hurt. It was feared that this combat would have hindered the agreement; but the lord of Trinity could well dissemble the matter, and excused that day's journey, putting the fault upon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to have slain certain of his men in the highway.

On Saturday following, being the 9th of November, the lord of Trinity sent for them of Angrogne, to consult touching the agreement; and added, That in token of true obedience they should carry their armour into two of the houses of their rulers, not fearing but it would be safe; for it should remain in their own keeping, and if need were they should receive it again. Also, that upon Sunday, (which was the next day,) he would cause a mass to be sung within the church of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the duke's wrath would be assuaged. The next morning he went into the church, his army marching before him; and having caused a mass to be sung, he desired to see the meadow of Toure, that he might make a true report thereof to the duke; the rulers, with a great troop of his own men, went thither, the residue of his company remained behind; who spoiled certain houses, and seized the armour which they had delivered up before. The said lord being entered the meadow of Toure, the people began to make a commotion: he, having intelligence

thereof, returned immediatly. All that day he shewed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The people in the mean time perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were sore moved at the sight of the army, the spoil of the soldiers, the taking away of their armour, but especially because the lord of Trinity had viewed the meadow of Toure, foresceing his traitorous purpose. A few days after, he sent his secretary to Angrogne to talk with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full resolution; which was then drawn up, and read in the assembly, the sum whereof was this, That the people of Angrogne submitted themselves to render all honour and reverence to God according to his holy word, and due obedience to the duke their sovereign prince, to whom they would send certain men to demand pardon of him, concerning their bearing armour in their extreme necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their religion, which was according to the word of God, not compelling them to do any thing against their consciences. To this they of St. John, of Roceapiata, of St. Bartholomew, and of Perouse, with those of Lucerne, agreed. For it was concluded, that the agreement should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. Whilst they were treating of this, the lord of Trinity vexed them of Tailleret, under pretence, that they had not presented themselves to treat of an agreement: and first he commanded that all their armour should be brought before him, and then on their knees they should ask him pardon, because they came not to treat of the agreement with the rest, (which notwithstanding the most part of them did.) Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to enrol all the names of those which would be of the aforesaid agreement. The next morning the chief of the householders went to the village Bouvets, the place appointed, and when they had heard a sermon, began to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the soldiers had gotten the top of the

mountain, and had taken all the passages ; whereat they of Tailleret were sore amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their wives and children. Some they saved ; the most part, with their goods, were in the enemy's hands already. At this time they did much mischief, by sacking, spoiling, and burning.

After this the said lord sent word to them which were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people, trusting on his promise, returned to Bouvets, and yet the next morning the soldiers came thither to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Such as were swift of foot escaped, but very hardly : the rest were all taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvellous means : for it happened that there was an old man which could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a naked sword to have slain him. The old man, seeing the imminent danger, caught the soldier by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill. The soldier cried out, " Help, help, this villain will kill me." His fellows hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him ; but in the mean time the old man escaped. The rest, seeing what the old man had done, took heart, and though their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet, with stones and slings, they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for the present time they carried no prisoners away. The day following, the soldiers returning to Tailleret, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all they could find, and so continued three days together ; which was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day, the said lord sent his army again before day to the mountain, and into the same place, and because the people of the village were retired towards Villars, and scattered in the high mountains, the soldiers, not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking Tailleret, ranged

about the confines thereof, and made havock, on every side, of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking prisoners both men and women. The poor prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst others there was one, whose ear a soldier of Mondevis bit clean off, saying, "I will carry the flesh of these heretics with me into my country." They of Villars also complained of the cruelty that was shewed unto them during the time of the agreement.

The lord of Trinity, to make a shew that he was offended therewith, came to his soldiers, who were so weary that they could scarce go, (not with fighting, but because they were so loaden with spoil,) and pretending to be in great choler, some he beat, and some things of a small value he caused to be restored. The same day two women, the mother and the daughter, were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers, and died immediately after. So likewise a blind man, aged 100 years, who had fled into a cave with his son's daughter, being 18 years old, was slain by the enemy, and as they would have forced the maiden, she escaped from them, fell from the top of the mountain, and died. At that time also a great company of women of Tailleret and Villars were taken as they fled with their goods, and brought to the camp, and sent empty away. There was at the same time a soldier which promised to find out the minister of Tailleret. And he never ceased till he had found him, and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing him, certain coming out of the mountain unawares, rescued the poor minister, and killed the soldier with stones. This especially is to be noted, that during these troubles divers of the papists, had sent their daughters into the mountains unto the Waldoys to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ravished by the soldiers, being wholly given over as to all cruelty and rapine, so to all villainy and abomination.

All this being done, the lord of Trinity caused the head officers and chiefest of the people to assemble together,

and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the army was a great charge to the duke, and that it was meet that they should bear the one half of the charges. For this cause he demanded 8000 crowns out of hand. But when the money was paid, yet the army retired not. After this, he commanded the Waldoyes to surrender up all their armour. Then he commanded that the ministers should be sent away, until the matters were determined before the duke: whereupon they determined their ministers should withdraw for a space, until the army were retired; which was not done without many grievous sighs, lamentations, and tears. At that season there fell abundance of snow, so that the people were constrained to make a way, with great pains, through the top of the mountain of St. Martin, for their ministers to pass. The lord of Trinity, thinking to have inclosed them, kept the plain, and the mountains being covered so thick with snow, he imagined they could by means have escaped his hands. But the people caused them to pass the top of the mountain, and at their departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the village of Bobby, and came together in a secret place, called Le Puis, not without great grief and sorrow. The army being informed that the ministers were assembled together, a great troop was presently at hand, who sought them to the very top of the mountain; insomuch that, if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken.

The lord of Trinity promised often, That although it were forbidden to all the ministers to preach, yet the minister of Angrogne should be excepted: and sent the minister word, That if he would demand any thing of the duke, it should be granted him. Wherefore the minister made this one request, That the poor people might live peaceably in their religion. A while after he sent for the same minister, to confer with him privately upon certain points of religion. He propounded three points to him: the first concerning the supremacy of the pope; the

other, concerning transubstantiation. The minister immediately declared his opinion of these two points, and he seemed to agree therunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last was to persuade the minister to go to the duke's court, and there defend the cause of the people. The minister answered, "That he was bound to God and his church, and if it seemed convenient to the people, he would go."

Shortly after, the said lord sent his army to St. Laurence, in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there, and suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister being warned thereof escaped, and withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied with five others. The army was soon at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where he was. At length they spied him among the rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him, and so they pursued him in the rocks, all covered with snow, till it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of Trinity. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogne, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found. After some days, when the soldiers had burned houses, pillaged the people, broke their mills, and done what mischief they could, the army retired. Notwithstanding the lord of Trinity left garrisons in the fortresses; but all at the costs of the Waldoyes. These garrisons, not contented with their wages, spoiled the people continually.

The rulers of Angrogne, which were gone to the fortress, to carry money and victuals thither, were retained by the soldiers, and in spite of them the people caused mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it; and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to death. One of them was sent again for more money; the other, with great peril of his

life, leaped over the walls, and escaped. In like manner did the other garrisons treat the villages near them. The garrison of Toure and Villars especially, and being assembled together by night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouvets, breaking open the doors, sacked and spoiled all they could lay hands on, took 14 prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the arms, and so led them to the fortress of Toure. But two that escaped, whilst the soldiers were taking others, set upon them who led the prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted them with stones, that they forced them to let go twelve of the prisoners, who rolling themselves down the mountain, having their hands tied behind their backs, and fastened two and two together by the arms, were contented rather to die, than to be carried to the fortress; and yet in the end they escaped. The other two which were led to the fortress, were cruelly tormented, and at last the captain strangled one of them with his own hands. The other, whose name was Odul Gemet, being about threescore years of age, suffered a strange and cruel death: for having bound him, they took a kind of creatures which live in horse-dung, called in French *Escarbotz*, and put them to his navel, covering them with a dish, which in a short space pierced into his belly, and killed him.

The poor Waldoys were yet in great distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's word. Therefore taking good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, but secretly, for two reasons: the one for fear of moving the duke, and hindering their messengers, having yet some hope of good success: the other, that no occasion might be given to the soldiers of further trouble and outrage. Also they of Angrogne were fully determined, as soon as their messengers were returned, to preach openly, what news soever they brought; and not to contribute to the maintaining of the garrison. The messengers, which were sent to the duke, were detained six weeks, and cruelly handled. When they returned,

and the people understood there was a new commandment, that they should return to the mass : also, that popish preachers were appointed, and ready to come to them, there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

Hereupon, they of the valley of Lucerne and Bobby, being assembled together, sent two ministers, with some of the people to the churches of Pragela, (which are in the country of Dauphiny,) to signify to them the estate of the poor churches of the valleys of Piedmont, and to have their advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand, if it were possible. For this cause they all fell to prayer, and after they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion ; in the end it was concluded, That all the people dwelling in the said valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphiny, should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised, by God's assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and administration of the holy sacraments ; also to assist one another, and to render all obedience to their superiors, so far as they were commanded by the word of God. And certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphiny were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to know if they would give their consent hereto, and ratify the same.

These messengers, the ministers and others of Dauphiny, being arrived at the village of Bobby, and the people being there assembled, word was brought, that the next day every householder should appear in the council-house, to know whether they would return to the mass or not ; and that they who would receive the mass, should quietly enjoy their houses ; and they which would not, should be burned, or sent to the galleys. Wherefore the people were brought to this extremity, either to die, or flee, or renounce God. Seeing themselves in such distress, they gladly consented to the league. After this they exhorted one another, saying, " Forasmuch as we shall be all called for to-morrow, to forsake our God, and revolt again

to idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false religion of the pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy word. Let us all go to-morrow to the church, to hear the word of God, and let us cast down to the ground all the idols." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us do it in that very hour, in which they have appointed us to be at the council-house."

The next day they assembled themselves in the church, and without delay beat down the images. After sermon, they went to Villars, to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a band of soldiers, which were going to spoil a village, named Le Vall Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers seeing them so ill accoutred, mocked them, thinking at the first brunt to have put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them even to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners who were there detained. The same day, the judge of Lucerne went to the council-house, to enrol the names of those who would return to the mass; but seeing what was done, he was sore afraid, and desired the people to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted. Divers gentlemen also came thither with the judge, to make their poor tenants forsake God; but seeing the tumult, they were fain to flee into the castle, where they and the garrison were besieged together. The second day of the siege, the captain of Toure went with a company of soldiers, thinking to raise the siege; but they were either slain or discomfited by those that kept the passages. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Toure, which caused a furious combat, wherein many of the enemies were slain, and a great number wounded; and yet of those that besieged the fort there was not one man hurt.

They attempted divers means to take the fortress, but

without ordnance it was impossible ; therefore they were now **past** all hope of winning it. Moreover, the lord of Trinity, returning with his army, was come to the valley of Lueerne, and the next day after might easily have **raised** the siege. But the garrison (not knowing the lord of Trinity was so near,) desired they might depart with **bag** and baggage. Here it is not to be forgotten, that the soldiers, who a while before did so cruelly persecute the poor ministers, were now fain to pray them to save their lives, which the ministers did. The soldiers gave them great thanks, and promised to do for them what they should desire. The same night the fortress was razed.

The second of February, the lord of Trinity encamped at Lueerne, and placed a garrison in the priory of St. John, between Lueerne and Angrogne. The next day he sent to inform them of Angrogne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. But they, and the rest of the valleys, agreed to aid one another, and to make no truce without the consent of all. About noon, the lord of Trinity marched with his army by St. John, to enter into the borders of Angrogne, by a place called La Sonnillette. The people had made certain bulwarks of earth and stone, not above three feet high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies, which assailed them divers ways. When the enemies were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh soldiers into their places ; so that the combat endured until night ; and all that day the army could not enter into the borders of Angrogne. Many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt. But two of Angrogne were slain ; one of whom was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy of the spoil. The army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselves stronger.

The Friday following, which was the 7th of February, at break of the day, the army marched towards Augrogne five several ways. The people of Augrogne were not assembled, and there were none to resist, but only a few

which kept the watch. They seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they went about to enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, recoiled by little and little to a high place, called La Casse, where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of Trinity, seeing the loss of his men, blew a retreat, and descended to Angrogne, (the people being fled to the meadow of Toure,) and there spoiled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find ; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand houses. It is not to be forgotten, that they often set fire upon the two churches of Angrogne, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the minister's house, which notwithstanding remained whole, the houses round about being all consumed with fire. This day none of Angrogne was slain or hurt, save only one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all Angrogne but two, that were enemies to the word of God, which were slain by the soldiers, not in the combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a covetous wretch, and had great store of gold and silver, but would spend nothing, either to help himself or others, no, not his poor parents. All this was spoiled by the soldiers, with 200 crowns beside, which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of Angrogne slain that day. All the rest of the people retired to the meadow of Toure, the situation whereof we will here describe, for the better understanding of that which followeth. "Toure is a little valley upon the borders of Angrogne, environed with mountains; two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst thereof, there are about 200 cottages ; also meadows, pastures, ground for tillage, trees, and fountains. On the south and north side, the mountains are so high, that no man can approach the valley that way. On the other sides, a man may enter seven or eight ways.

This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne. The way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass, because of the hills on both sides. There is also a river hard by, but the banks thereof are very high in many places." The people had carried thither very little victuals, because the way was so bad, and because of the sudden return of the army.

The lord of Trinity, after he had twice assaulted Angrogne, sent some to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne; but the soldiers were driven back four days together by those who kept the passages. Whereupon he sent his whole army, whom they valiantly withstood from morning till night. Then they of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambush of soldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass, that no man would have suspected it. The poor people, seeing themselves so environed by their enemies, saved themselves; some running through the midst of their enemies, and others into the rocks. The enemies being entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The residue of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all night upon the mountains full of snow, loaden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hand. When they of the valley saw them, they ran to them, praising God for their deliverance. Although this people were here in such great extremity, they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the poor little infants which cried for cold.

A few days after, the lord of Trinity entered the valley of Lucerne by three several ways; that is, by Rosa, by the plains, and by the sides of Tailleret. They which kept the passages at first resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves a while. But because they saw their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars, towards Boby, they

gave over, and leaving Villars, they fled into the mountains. The soldiers being entered, burned the houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor people who were fled into the mountains, seeing their village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, that had made them worthy to suffer for his sake : and they were glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies should encamp themselves there. Then the soldiers in great rage, mounted the hills on every side, pursuing the poor people in great fury ; but a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat their enemies back to Villars. This done, the army retired.

A few days after, the meadow of Toure was assaulted three ways on the east side. The combat endured a long season, during which divers of the enemies were hurt, and many slain. But none of this poor people were slain, only two were hurt, who were soon healed again. It were too long to declare the assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places ; it shall be sufficient to touch the principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, February 14, the people who were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Toure, perceived a company of soldiers were ascended up the hill to Angrogne, burning the rest of the houses there. They doubted, that it was a policy of their enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind. Therefore they sent only six men against those soldiers ; who having the higher ground, and not being seen of their enemies, discharged all their guns together. Whereupon the soldiers all ran away.

Shortly after, they of the ward of the meadow of Toure, which were on the top of the mountain, (because every morning there was a sermon made, whereunto the people resorted, and they could see afar off round about them,) espied a troop of soldiers marching on that side of the hill, which is between the east and the north ; and soon after, discovered another company, which marched on

the north side, towards the said troop. The first ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the mountain, but they were soon discomfited. And because they could not run fast in the deep snow, they often fell to the ground in their flight. Whilst the pursuers were earnest in the chase, there came some to them, crying out, "that the other troop was entered the meadow of Toure;" wherefore they gave over the chase; or else, in all probability, not one of their enemies had escaped. Not one of Angrogne was slain or hurt.

The other troop, which came by the north-side, took a high hill in the top of the mountain, which seemed almost inaccessible. The chief of this company were Lodoviek, of Monteil, (which had been master of the camp in the king's wars,) and Charles Truchet. When they were come to the top of the hill, they caused seven soldiers to go down the hill, and view the way, and see whether the troop might descend that way, or not. These seven went down almost to the houses. They sent others to secure the rest of the high places which were near the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the mean time, the ministers and the people which were in the Valley saw all this, and were much discouraged; wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God, not without sighs, lamentations, and tears, even until night.

The seven spies, which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their captain, Truchet, "Come down, come down, Seignior Charles, this day Angrogne shall be taken." The other cried to them again, "Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you shall be slain, every one of you." Immediately issued out five against these spies, and took some, and chased the rest. The first of the five which set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a fork. Soon after, eight Angrognians issued out against the whole troop. It was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness to assail such a multitude; it seemed likely they would have been all destroyed, and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went

a good way before the others, to discover the enemies. He carried a great staff, which they call a *rancon*, somewhat bigger than a halberd. The others followed two and two together with guns. These eight went from rock to rock, and from hill to hill, about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then came twelve others, who, joining with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies.

Soon after, there came 100 men from the Valley of Lucerne, with one of their ministers. For it was their custom to send out a minister, as well for prayer and exhortation as to keep the people in order. At length they saw them also coming which returned from the discomfiture of the former troop, making a great noise, and having a drum sounding before them, which they had taken. These joined with them of the Valley of Lucerne, and having made their earnest prayer to God, came to succour the other that now were encountering valiantly with their enemies. When the enemies saw such a company marching against them, their hearts so failed them, that they suddenly fled; and as soon as the other began to pray, they began to flee. But because they could not well save themselves by running away, some turned back twice, and fought while the rest fled.

He that carried the *rancon*, and discovered the enemies, was a very young, simple man, and it was thought that he could do nothing but handle a hatchet; yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great *rancon* with laying load upon them; and after that, he broke also four of their own swords in pursuing of them. There was a boy of eighteen years of age, and of small stature, who alone slew the lord of Monteil; wherewith the enemies were marvellously astonished and discouraged. Another simple man, who, a man would have thought, durst not once have looked Charles Truchet in the face, (because he was a very big man, strong and puissant, and one of the chief captains of the whole army,) felled him down

with the stroke of a stone : then a young man leapt upon him, and with his own sword, which was four fingers broad, cleft his head in pieces. This Truchet was one of the principal authors of this war, and one of the chief enemies of the poor Waldos. He vaunted and promised before to the lord of Trinity, that he would deliver the meadow of Toure into his hands. But God soon brought his proud brags to nought ; and for his spoiling the poor people, he lay spoiled and naked like a beast, in the wild mountain of Angrogne.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of blood, cried to the people, that it was enough ; and exhorted them to give thanks to God. They which heard him obeyed, and fell to prayer ; but they which were further off, and heard him not, chased their enemies till dark night. Insomuch, that if the rest had done the like, very few had escaped. That day they took a great part of their enemies armour and munition. So God restored to the poor Waldos the armour which the lord of Trinity had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place, and every man cried, "Who is he that seeth not that God fighteth for us ?" This victory gave great courage to the Waldos, and greatly astonished the enemies.

The 18th of February, the lord of Trinity, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of Villars, returned to burn all the villages round about, and to pursue the poor people which were fled up into the mountains, and dividing his army into three parts, entered by three several ways. The two first companies joined together between Villars and Bobby, having a great company of horsemen. From thence they went to seek the people, which were in the mountain of Combe, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders which were next, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them, and calling upon God

for succour, set themselves against their enemies. And though they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice. Many of the enemies were slain in those two combats, and not one of the other side. The lord of Trinity, seeing his men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his army, which were about 1500 men. There came about 100 to succour the warders. The combat was very fierce. At length the poor people were assaulted so vehemently, that they were forced to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. Then the enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had won the day. But the people, retiring not a stone's-cast, took courage, and crying to the Lord, turned upon their enemies, and with great power hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this, the enemies rested themselves awhile, and then they gave a furious assault; but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the enemies rested; and in the mean time the people fell to prayer, calling upon God all together, with their faces lifted up towards heaven; which affrighted the enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault; but God, by the hands of a few, drove them back. Yea, God here shewed his great power, even in the little children, who fervently called upon God, threw stones at their enemies, and gave courage to the men. So did also the women, who, beholding these furious combats, kneeled upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards heaven, with tears and groanings, cried, "Lord, help us." And the Lord heard their prayers. After these three assaults were given, there came one unto them, crying, "Be of good courage; God hath sent those of Angrogne to succour us." He meant, that they of Angrogne were fighting for them in another place; that is, towards Tailleret, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiving that they of Angrogne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, "Blessed be

God, who hath sent us succour." The enemies hearing this, were astonished, blew a retreat, and retired into the plain.

That troop which was gone towards Tailleret, divided themselves into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, which was 140, marched higher, thinking to take the people unawares. But they were driven back by seven men. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to enclose the people; but (as God would,) they of Angrogne, which came to succour them, encountered with them, and put them to flight. They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine, (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all day,) chased their enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the master of the camp was obliged to send to the lord of Trinity (who was at Toure,) for succour, or else all would have been lost. And immediately he rode with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, hearing the alarm which was given at St. John by those of Angrogne, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The army retired with great difficulty, (notwithstanding the new aid which was sent them,) and with great loss of men. One of their captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the Valley of Lucerne.

On Monday, being the 7th of March next following, the lord of Trinity, to be revenged of those of the meadow of Toure, assembled all the force that he could make with the gentlemen of the country. His army before was commonly about 4000, but it was now between 6 and 7000. He, with part of his army, encamped secretly in the night, in the midst of Angrogne, from whence the poor inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the sermon and prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the army to be encamped at the foot of the moun-

tain of Angrogne. Soon after, they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, the one towards the other; and they were such a multitude, and marched in such array, that the poor people were astonished. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down upon their knees, crying, "O Lord, help us." These two parts of the army joined together, near the meadow of Toure, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the bands mounted secretly by rocks, thinking to have enclosed the people in their bulwarks. But as soon as they who kept the bulwark below espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the aid which was sent them from the Valley of Lucerne, coming as it were from heaven. They joining together, soon discomfited their enemies. The captain of this band was named Bastian, a man very expert in war. At his going out of his lodging, he threatened that he would do terrible things that day. His hostess hearing that, said, "Monsieur, if our religion be better than theirs, you shall have the victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not prevail." Shortly after the captain was brought again into his inn, so wounded that he was not like to live. Then said his hostess, "Monsieur, it is now very evident that their religion is better than ours."

There was another band which kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from thence. The middlemost bulwark was then assaulted, in which were very few to defend it; who, seeing the number of their enemies, retired, leaving therein five only. There was a huge rock not far from the aforesaid bulwark; behind this a great number of the enemies were hid. Anon two ensigns issued out, assuring themselves to win the bulwark; but immediately one of the ensign-bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many recoiled back; the other set up his ensign upon the bulwark. They which were within had neither halbert, nor any other long weapon, but only one pike, and the same without any iron; with this one

of the five threw down the ensign, and manfully beat back the scalers, and threw them down to the ground. Divers of the enemies were entered into the bulwark by a door below, and slew one of the five. The other four looked to be destroyed out of hand. Then one of the four chased away those which had entered below with stones; and the other three, leaving their guns, defended themselves likewise with great stones; and perceiving the band which was on the rocks to flee, they took courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly till their companions returned from the chase.

In the mean time, the bulwark, which was upon the side of the mountain, was furiously assailed by half of the army. Those that were within suffered their enemies to approach near, without any gun shot, or other defence. The enemies marvelled much at this; but when they were at hand they fell upon them, some with throwing of stones, some with rolling down mighty stones, and some with guns. There was a huge stone rolled down, which passed through the whole army, and slew divers. The soldiers at that time had won a little cottage near the bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men; but one devised to roll down an huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the soldiers, that they thought they had been all destroyed, and straight they fled, and would never enter into it again.

Then the soldiers made certain fences of wood, five foot long, three foot broad, and of the thickness of three boards; but they were so sore vexed with the shot, that they were obliged to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made others of earth for the soldiers. But all these policies of the enemies availed nothing; for the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead one upon another. God so wrought with the poor Christians, that the shot of two guns slew four men. One shot came so near the lord of Trinity's head, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand; and seeing his soldiers murdered and wounded in

such numbers on every side, he wept bitterly. He then retired with the rest of his army. He thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Toure that day. Many gentlemen also came to see the discomfiture of the poor Waldoys ; and likewise those of the plain looked for nothing but to hear of their desolation. But God disposed it otherwise ; for the lord of Trinity had much ado to save himself. They of the plain also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies and the wounded to be so great, were exceedingly dismayed. The soldiers themselves confessed to them of the meadow of Toure, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain. Many marvelled why the people did not follow the army, seeing the great discomfiture ; but this was done for two causes. The one was, because they had already determined not to follow the army, being once retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves. The other cause was, for that they were weary, and had spent all their ammunition : for many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty. The rest of the army retired, crying, with a loud voice, "God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong."

The next day, one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of Trinity, saying unto him, That he would never fight against that people more : and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, that in that combat there were but two of the Waldoys slain, and two hurt. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, "God fighteth for them." One of the captains confessed that he had been at many fierce assaults, and sundry well-fought battles, but yet he never saw soldiers so amazed ; yea, the soldiers themselves told him, they were so astonished that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this people never shot but they hurt or killed some of the soldiers. Indeed, it is wonderful ; and marvellous are the judgments of God, that, notwithstanding so many combats, so much and so terrible shot, continually made against this poor people, yet all in

a manner was to no effect: insomuch, that for all the said combats and conflicts, of the Angrognians there were but nine that miscarried; and the whole number of those that were slain were only fourteen persons.

After that, the lord of Trinity sent two gentlemen of the Valley of Lucerne to them of Angrogne, to try if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer was made, that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent often to treat of the agreement; but what his meaning was might well appear. For when the poor people hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. At last there was a day assigned in the Valley of Lucerne to confer, and a safe conduct was promised and granted. But the night before the ministers and rulers of Angrogne were to attend, they perceived a company of soldiers going up a hill, by which they were to pass. These hid themselves in houses by the way-side, thinking so take the Angrognians, who were sent to treat of the agreement. But they, having intelligence of this conspiracy, set a watch. It was an easy matter that night to have taken the lord of Trinity, and spoiled his whole camp. But the Angrognians and Luccernians would not do this, lest they should offend God.

After this, the lord of Trinity, having left certain garrisons about Angrogne and the Valley of Lucerne, went to Perouse to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and continued there a month. During which time, they of Angrogne, and the Valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; but yet they were much afflicted by reason of the scarcity of victuals; and especially those of the meadow of Tourc, for they were spoiled of all. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread. But afterwards, when they were even like to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succour. The enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Toure by famine; for they took away the victuals that were in all places round about. Every household was

suffered to have no more than should sustain them that day, that they might not succour this poor people.

After that the lord of Trinity, being returned from Perouse to Lucerne, sent certain to treat of an agreement. But on Monday the 17th of April, by break of day, he sent certain bands of Spaniards, with the garrison of Toure, to the mountain of Tailleret, by the way which leadeth to the meadow of Toure on the south side. They murdered men, women, and children of Tailleret, whom they found in their beds. Then they marched along the mountain, towards the meadow of Toure. Anon the people perceived two other companies of soldiers, marching by Angrogne two several ways, to assault the meadow of Toure. In the morning, as soon as they rose, they blew their horns, for they saw the Spaniards already entered. When they had made their prayers, every man ran to meet the enemies; some on the east-side, and the others on the south. They that first resisted the Spaniards, (who were already past the bulwarks,) were in the beginning but twelve gunners, and a few others, whom they caused to go up to the hill, and roll down great stones. These twelve, having found a fit place to stay the Spaniards, began to shoot at them. The Spaniards, seeing themselves assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so strait, recoiled back, and retired as fast as they could the same way by which they came. The people chased them into their camp, which was at Toure. As they fled they often found some forts, where they resisted for a little while, but they were always beaten out. This combat was with great slaughter of the Spaniards, also very many of them were sore hurt and wounded.

Amongst others, there was one slain in that battle, for whom the lord of Trinity much lamented, saying, That he would rather have lost a whole band than that man. The other two companies, which marched by Angrogne, perceiving the Spaniards to be so beaten, retired in haste. Upon that, the lord of Trinity went to Cavers,

three miles from Lucerne, being in great perplexity ; and as he was about to send succour to the Spaniards, he heard the sound of a drum above Lucerne, and suspected that there was an army of the Waldoys coming against him. Upon this, divers of the soldiers fled away by the plain, crying, *All is lost*. If the Waldoys had pursued, as they easily might have done, the camp had that day been chased out of Lucerne. The poor people lacked no courage to do so ; for although they had neither eat nor drank all the day before, and had so sore travelled and fought, yet they said, If they had but a morsel of bread, they durst take upon them to enter into the camp of their enemies. Within a few days, they of Angrogne were advertised by the lord of Trinity's letters, that he fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corn on the ground. The day was assigned, and horsemen appointed, with all speed to execute this. But God prevented it ; for the night before this should be executed, the lord of Trinity received letters from the duke, which staid his enterprize.

About this season, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldoys, requested earnestly the lord of Raconis to present a supplication, which they had made to the dutchess of Savoy : for they had intelligence, that she was sore offended that her subjects were so cruelly handled. In which supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke, their sovereign lord, and humbly besought her grace to appease the displeasure which the duke had conceived against them, by the false surmises of their adversaries ; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon. After this supplication was viewed and read by the said dutchess, she so persuaded the duke, that an answer was made with these conditions, declared in the following articles :

1. "That letters patent shall shortly be made by the duke's highness, by which it may appear, that he hath pardoned them of the Valleys of Angrogne, Bobby, Villars, Valquichard,

Rora, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet, St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Bartholomew, and all such as have aided them, of all such faults as they have committed, as well in bearing arms against his highness, as against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection. 2. That it shall be lawful for them to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in places accustomed. 3. That it shall not be lawful for them to come to any other of his highness's dominions, nor to have their preachings, or disputations, out of their own borders. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods. 4. It shall be permitted to all of them of the towns and villages of the said vallies, who, at this present are fled, and continue in the said religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this war, to return to their houses with their households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the sermons and assemblies which shall be made by their ministers. 5. The goods already seized as forfeit, shall be restored to all the inhabitants of the said vallies, and to all that are fled, and continue in the said religion. 6. It shall be lawful for them to recover, by way of justice, of their neighbours, their moveable goods and cattle; and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by way of justice, so they restore the price for which it hath been sold. 7. All the freedoms and privileges, as well general as particular, granted by his highness's predecessors, or by himself, whereof they shall make proof by publick writing, shall be confirmed unto them.

“And, as it is known to every man, that the prince may build fortresses in his country, where it shall please him, without contradiction; nevertheless, to take all suspicion out of the minds of the Waldoys, it is declared, That if at any time hereafter his highness should make a fort of Villars, the inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the charges, but only as they shall

think good lovingly to aid their prince. Which fort being builded, a captain shall be appointed, who shall attempt nothing but the service of his highness, without offence to the inhabitants, either in their goods or consciences. It shall be lawful for them, before the discharging of their ministers, such as it shall please his highness to have discharged, to choose others in their stead. The mass shall be kept in all the parishes of the vallies, where the sermons, assemblies, and other ministries of their religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present thereat, nor to aid or favour such as shall use that service. All the expenses borne by his highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever. And his highness will command that the writings for that cause made, shall be annulled and cancelled. All the prisoners shall be restored, which shall be found in the hands of the soldiers, paying a reasonable ransom, according to their goods; and those which shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken shall be released without ransom.

“ Finally, It shall be lawful for all them of the said valleys, of what degree, estate, and condition soever, (except ministers,) to dwell, and daily converse with the rest of his highness’s subjects, and to tarry, go and come, to sell and buy, and use all trades of merchandizes, in his highness’s country : and in so doing, they shall not be molested by any means, in body or goods ; but shall remain under the protection of his highness.

“ For observation hereof, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrogne ; Constantion Dialestini, one of the elders of Villars ; Pirrone Arduino, sent from Boby ; Michael Raymondet, sent from Tailleret, and of La Rua de Bouet, bordering upon Toure ; John Malenote, sent from St. John ; Peter Paschall, sent from the valley of St. Martin ; and Thomas Romam, of St. Germaine, promise for them and their communities severally, that the contents of these conclusions shall be inviolably kept, and for breach thereof, do submit themselves to such punish-

ment as shall please his highness ; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families to allow and confirm the said promise.

“ The honourable lord of Raconis doth promise, that the duke’s highness shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions, at the intercession and special favour of the noble lady, the princess. In testimony whereof the aforesaid lord of Raconis hath confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand ; and the ministers have likewise subscribed, in the name of all the valleys ; and they which can write, in the name of all their communities.

“ At Cavor, the 5th day of June, 1561.

“ PHILIP, of Savoy.

FRANCIS VALLA, Minister of Villars.

CLAUDIUS BERGIUS, Minister of Tailleret.

GEORGIUS MONASTERIUS.

MICHAEL RAYMONDET.”

This accord being thus made and passed, by means of the dutchess of Savoy, the poor Waldoyes have been in quiet until now. And God of his infinite goodness, having delivered them out of so many troubles, hath set them at liberty to serve him purely, and with quietness of conscience.

## THE MARTYRDOMS

OF

MRS. SMITH, *Widow* ; ROBERT HATCHES, — ARCHER,  
 — HAWKINS, and THOMAS BOND, *Shoemakers* ;  
 — WRIGSHAM, a *Glover* ; — LANDSALE, a  
*Hosier* ; and ROBERT SILKEB.



THE principal cause of their being apprehended, was, the teaching of their children and family the Lord's prayer and ten commandments in English: for this they were taken up on Ash-Wednesday, and put in prison; some in places under ground, and some in chambers, till the Friday following. Then they were sent to a monastery, called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry. During which time their children were sent for to appear before the warden of the Grey Friars, in Coventry; who straitly charged them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's prayer, the creed, and commandments in English. Upon Palm Sunday, the fathers of these children were brought back again to Coventry, and condemned to be burnt. Only Mrs. Smith was dismissed for the present, and sent away. And because it was evening, and somewhat dark, Simon Mourton, the sumner, offered to go home with her. As he was leading her by the arm, he heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve; "Hey, (saith he,) what have you here?" And so took it from

her, and saw it was the Lord's prayer, the articles of belief, and the ten commandments in English. When the sumner heard this, "Ah! sirrah," said he, "come, as good now as another time;" and so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burnt with the six men before named, April 4, 1519.

In the same number was also Robert Silkeb, who, when these were apprehended, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken and brought to Coventry, where he was burnt the morrow after he came thither, which was January 14, 1521. When the people began to murmur, concerning the cruelty shewed upon these poor martyrs, and their unjust death, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad, that they were not burnt for having the Lord's prayer and the commandments in English, but because they eat flesh on Fridays, and other fast days.

## THE MARTYRDOM

OF

## THOMAS BILNEY.



THOMAS BILNEY was brought up in the University of Cambridge, from a child, profiting in all kinds of liberal sciences, even unto the profession of both laws. But at the last having gotten a better school-master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart, by his inspiration,

with the knowledge of better things ; forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended to godliness. And, as he himself was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion, so he had an incredible desire to allure many to the same ; desiring nothing more, than to encourage any to the love of Christ. Neither were his labours in vain ; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the gospel, amongst which number were Thomas Arthur, and Mr. Hugh Latimer ; which Latimer, at that time, was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days. At last Bilney, forsaking the University, went into many places, teaching and preaching, with Arthur, who accompanied him from the University. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, at that time, was great, but his pride and pomp much greater. Whereupon Bilney, marvelling at the incredible insolence of the clergy, began to reprove this excessive pomp, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome. It was now time for the cardinal to awake ; who thought good speedily to withstand these beginnings. Whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison.

After several examinations, both Mr. Arthur and Bilney were at length prevailed upon to abjure. But, from this time, Mr. Bilney had no rest in his spirit, till he was on the brink of utter despair ; so vehemently was he pierced with sorrow and remorse for almost two years, from the year 1529 to 1531. Then he, by God's grace, came at length to some quiet of conscience, and was resolved to give his life for the confession of that truth, which he had before renounced. Accordingly he took his leave of certain of his friends in Trinity-Hall, at ten o'clock at night, and said, That he would go to Jerusalem ; alluding to the words of Christ going to Jerusalem, and immediately he departed to Norfolk ; and there preached, first privily in houses, to confirm the brethren and sisters, whom he had converted to Christ. Then he preached openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and publicly

taught the doctrine, which he had before abjured; and willed all men to take warning by him, and never trust their fleshly friends in cases of religion. And so, going forward on his journey, he departed from thence to Norwich, where he was apprehended, and carried to prison. In the mean season, the friars, with their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in those opinions, saying, *He should be damned body and soul if he did.* Among whom the bishop sent to him, first Dr. Call, provincial of the Grey Friars, and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar, who lay with him in prison, till the writ came that he should be burned. Dr. Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, was reclaimed to the gospel's side. But Bilney, as he had planted himself upon the firm rock of God's word, so continued unto the end.

After his examination and condemnation before Dr. Pelles, doctor of law, and chancellor, he first was degraded, and then committed to the lay-power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Necton was Bilney's special friend. But such was the tyranny of that time, that he could do no otherwise but receive him. Who, notwithstanding, as he could not bear to be present at his death; so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked to, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, Mr. Bilney had divers of his friends resorted unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. One of whom, finding him taking some food, with a cheerful heart and quiet mind, said, "That he was glad to see him so heartily refresh himself, so shortly before his painful departure." He answered, "I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, bestow cost to hold it up, as long as they can; so do I now refresh this ruinous house of my body with God's creatures, in thanks to him, as ye see." Then having some

godly talk with his friends, one put him in mind, "That though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing." At this word, putting his hand to the flame of the candle, (as he had done many times before,) and feeling the heat thereof, "O, (said he,) I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by God's ordinance, is naturally hot, but yet I am persuaded, by God's holy word, and by the experience of some, spoken of therein, that they felt no heat in the flame; and I constantly believe, however the stubble of this body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, followed by joy unspeakable." And here he much treated of this place in Scripture, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel."

On Saturday, when the officers (as the manner is,) with their halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution, which was Bishop's-gate, in a low valley, called, the Lollard's Pit, under St. Leonard's Hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the execution,) at his coming out of the prison-door, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, prayed him, in God's behalf, to be constant. He answered, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troubled sea, he is tossed for awhile on the billows, but yet hopes to come to the quiet haven: so I now hope, that whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet my ship shall soon be in the haven; I doubt not thereof, by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers." He then went forth, accompanied with one Dr. Warner, whom he

chose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort. He gave much alms as he passed along. At last he came to the place of execution, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation. When he drew near to the stake, while the fire was preparing, he spake thus to the people, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and I was born to die; and that ye might testify that I depart this life as a true Christian, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse to you, in a steadfast faith, the articles of my creed." Then he began to rehearse them in order, oft lifting up his eyes and hands to God, and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *crucified*, he humbly bowed himself, and made reverence; and so he proceeded, without any words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring his death.

This done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeled upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven. He ended his prayers with the 143d Psalm, beginning thus, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, consider my desire." The next verse he repeated in deep meditation thrice, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." After that, turning to the officers, he asked them if they were ready? They answered, yes. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and in his hose and shirt went to the stake, and standing there upon the ledge, the chain was cast about him. As he stood there Dr. Warner came to bid him farewell; who spake but few words for weeping. Mr. Bilney, gently smiling upon him, inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks; and the last were these, "Doctor, feed your flock! feed your flock! that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing. Good doctor, farewell, and pray for me."

While he thus stood upon the ledge, certain friars came

to him, and said, "O Master Bilney, the people are persuaded that we have procured your death, and therefore it is likely they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us." Whereupon he spake with a loud voice to the people, and said, "I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they were the authors of my death; it was not they." Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire to the reeds, which making a very great flame, sparkled and deformed his face. He, holding up his hands, smote upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus," sometimes "I believe." But the flame was thrice blown away from him by the violence of the wind; and for a little pause he stood without flame. At length the wood took fire, and burnt more fiercely, and he soon gave up the ghost; and his body, being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert smote out the staple, in the stake behind him, and let his body fall into the bottom of the fire, and so he was consumed.

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF RICHARD BAYFIELD.

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RICHARD BAYFIELD, sometime a monk of Bury, was converted by Dr. Barns, and two godly men of London, brick-makers, Mr. Maxwell, and Mr. Stacy, wardens of their company; who were grafted in the


doctrine of Jesus Christ, and converted many men and women, both in London and in the country; and once a year, at their own cost, went about to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad. He prospered so mightily in two years' space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, and there sorely whipped with a gag in his mouth. He continued there three quarters of a year, before Dr. Barnes could get him out; with whom he afterwards went to Cambridge. He had not been there long, before he tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned to his abbey, but went to London, to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly awhile, and then conveyed him beyond the sea. This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Mr. Tyndale and Mr. Frith; for he brought substance with him, and sold all their works, both in France and England. At last, coming to London, to Mr. Smith's house, in Bucklersbury, he was taken and carried to Lollard's tower, and from thence to the Coal-house, where he was worse handled than he was before, in the Lollard's tower. He was tied both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, in order to force him to accuse others, that had bought his books; yet he accused none; but stood to his confession of faith, even to the end. He was in the consistory of Paul's thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or not? He said, "He would dispute for his faith;" and so he did, to their shame.

On Monday, November 20, 1531, the bishop of London pronounced sentence against him in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul. And when he had degraded him, kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier staff and smote him on the breast, so that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, so that he swooned. When he came to himself, he thanked God "that he was delivered from the church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true church of Jesus Christ, militant here on earth; and I trust, anon, (said he,) to

be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant, for ever." He was then led forth through the choir to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparel, manfully and joyfully. For lack of a speedy fire, he continued half an hour alive. And when the left arm was burnt, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body. He then continued in prayer to the end without moving.

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF JAMES BAINHAM.



JAMES BAINHAM, a gentleman of Gloucestershire, being virtuously brought up by his parents, had knowledge both of the Latin and Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the law, being a man of a virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of the Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless and afflicted, without money or reward.

Having been long suspected of what they call heresy, he was at last accused to Sir Thomas More, arrested by a sergeant at arms, and carried out of the Middle-Temple to the chancellor's house at Chelsea, where he continued in free prison a while, till Sir Thomas saw he could not pervert him. He then cast him into prison in his own house, and after whipping him at a tree in his garden, called *the tree of troth*, he sent him to the Tower to be racked; which was done in his presence, in such a manner

that he lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the temple, his acquaintance. After they had thus tortured him, he was brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, on the 15th of December, 1531. He then boldly confessed the truth: but by little and little he was so shaken, that on February the 5th, 1532, he read an abjuration thereof, before the bishop and Sir Thomas More, and subscribed it with his own hand.


The chancellor receiving the abjuration, sentenced him first to pay twenty pounds to the king; after that to go before the cross in procession to St. Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon, with a faggot upon his shoulder, the next Sunday, and so to return with the sumner to prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination. February 17, he was released and sent home; where he had scarce been a month, before he bewailed his abjuration, and was never quiet in his mind till he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God, and all the world, forgiveness before the congregation in Bow-lane. The next Sunday he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand, and standing up before the people, declared openly, with weeping, That he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and not to do as he had done: "For if I should not return again to the truth, this Word of God (said he, holding the New Testament in his hand,) would damn me, both body and soul, at the day of judgment." Then he prayed every body rather to die than to do as he had done: "For, (said he,) I would not feel such a hell again, as I have felt, for all the world's good." He also wrote to the bishop, to his brother, and to others; so that he was shortly after apprehended and committed to the Tower.

On the 26th of April, John Foxford, vicar-general to the bishop of London, pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left to the secular power. After sentence given, he was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard

Gresham, sheriff, then present, who caused him, by his officers, to be carried to Newgate. During his imprisonment he was cruelly handled. For almost a fortnight he lay in the stocks in the bishop's coal-house, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights. Then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for a fortnight; then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking, then to Chelsea, and there condemned, and so to Newgate; and from thence to Smithfield to be burned, at three o'clock in the afternoon, April 30, 1532. It is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the stake, in the midst of the flaming fire, which had half consumed his arms and legs, he spake these words, "O ye papists, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a bed of down: it is to me as a bed of roses."

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN FRITH AND ANDREW HEWET.



JOHN FRITH began his study at Cambridge. He had a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing; neither was there any diligence wanting in him; whereby it came to pass that he was not only a lover of learning, but also an exquisitely

learned<sup>\*</sup> man. In which, when he had laboured certain years, at last he fell into acquaintance with William Tyn-dale, through whose instructions he first received the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness into his heart.

At this time Thomas Wolsey was preparing to build a college in Oxford, now named Christ's-church, and called thither all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge. Among these was John Frith; who, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, were accused of heresy to the cardinal, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave under the ground of the same college where their salt fish was laid; so that through the filthy stench thereof they were all infected, and several of them died.

After the death of these, John Frith, with others, was dismissed out of prison by the cardinal's letter, who sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled. Frith went over the sea, and after two years came over to the prior of Reading. Being at Reading, he was taken for a vagabond, and set in the stocks. Where, after he had sat a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, he desired that the school-master of the town might be brought to him, which was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, Frith began in the Latin tongue, to bewail his captivity. The school-master did not only take pity upon him, but began to love such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such a state. Afterward, they conferring more together upon many things, fell from the Latin into the Greek. When the school-master heard him rehearse Homer's verses so promptly by heart, he greatly admired him; whereupon he went with all speed to the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injuries done to so excellent a young man. Thus Frith, through the help of the school-master, was set at liberty.

But his safety continued not long; Sir Thomas More persecuted him both by sea and land, besetting all the ways and havens, and promising great rewards if any

man would bring him any news or tidings of him ; while Frith, being beset on every side, and not knowing which way to turn, sought for some place to hide himself ; fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could be in safety no where, no, not amongst his friends. At last, being traitorously taken, he was sent to the Tower of London.

On the 20th of June, he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who were sitting in St. Paul's. These put to him certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper, and purgatory. To which, when he had answered, he afterward subscribed his answers with his own hand, in these words :—"I, Frith, think thus ; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and published in my books."


When he could not be persuaded to recant, he was condemned to be burnt, by the bishop of London. The bishop of London then directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, mayor, and to the sheriffs of London, for the receiving of him. The 4th of July, 1553, he was carried by them into Smithfield, and tied to the stake, which he embraced with great joy. The wind blowing the flame from him to Andrew Hewet, who was tied to his back, made his death somewhat the longer ; but, as if he had felt no pain, he seemed rather to rejoice for his companions, than to be careful for himself. This truly is the power and strength of Christ conquering in his saints. May he sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his most holy name ! Amen.

ANDREW HEWET, born at Feversham, in Kent, a young man, twenty-four years old, an apprentice to a taylor in Watling-street, was he that was burned with John Frith. The 20th of April, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, called him before them. Being demanded what he thought touching the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper ; he answered, "I think as John Frith doth." Then the bishops smiled at him ; and Stokesley,

bishop of Lincoln, said, "Why, Frith is an heretic, and already condemned to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him." Truly (said he,) I am content therewith. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth to follow them; but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned. When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would for a dog. At which words Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

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## THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BENET.



THOMAS BENET was born in Cambridge, and had the degree of master of arts in that university. He was a man well learned, and of a godly disposition, an acquaintance of Thomas Bilney. The more he grew in the knowledge of God and his holy Word, the more he abhorred the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore thinking his own country to be no safe place for him, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he left the university and went into Devonshire, in the year 1524, and dwelt first in a market town, called Torrington. He there kept a school, for the better main-

tenance of himself and his wife. But that town not serving his expectation, after one year, he came to Exeter, and hiring a house there, in a street called the Butcher-row, he taught school for his livelihood. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men. His greatest delight was to be at sermons, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no conference with any body but such only as he found were zealous for God's true religion.

But as every tree hath its due time to bring forth fruit, so did it appear by this man. For he daily seeing the glory of God so blasphemed, and the bishop of Rome so extolled, was so troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he uttered his mind therein. Wherefore he told certain of his friends, he could no longer endure, but must needs expose their abominations; and for the testimony of his conscience, and the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself to shed his blood therein; alleging, that his death would be more profitable to the church of God, and more for the edifying of his people, than his life. To whose persuasions, when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. Which done, in October he wrote his mind thus, upon several scrolls of paper, "The pope is antichrist; and we ought to worship God only, and no saints." These he fixed upon the doors of the cathedral church.

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the heretick that set them up. But not being able to discover him, the bishop proceeded to curse him, with bell, book and candle, in manner and form following:

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed virgin Mary, of St. Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse

and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have, in spite of God and St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father, the pope, God's vicar here on earth, fixed up with wax, such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this, and other holy churches within this city. Accursed may they be, and given, body and soul, to the devil. Cursed be they, he, or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We give them utterly over to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out :. (and with that he put out one of the candles :) and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as the light of this candle is : (so he put out the other candle :) and let us pray to God, and to our lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their body may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, (and so he put out a third candle,) except they, he, or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church; and as this holy cross staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent, and shew themselves;" and, one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down.

Benet could now no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, and for a space could not cease. Those that were next to him, asked for what cause he should laugh so. "My friends," said he, "who can forbear?" Straightway a noise was made, "Here is the heretic, here is the heretic, hold him fast, hold him fast." Yet he escaped to his house. Where, not being able to digest the lies there preached, he renewed his former bills, and

caused his boy, early in the morning following, to set them upon the gates of the church-yard. As the boy was setting up one of the bills, one going to hear a mass, (which was then daily said about five in the morning,) found the boy at the gate, and pulling down the bill, brought the same, together with the boy, before the mayor of the city, and thereupon, Benet, being known and taken, was committed to ward. On the morrow, the canons and heads of the city met; to whom he answered, "It was I that put up those bills, and would do it again; for I have written nothing in them but truth." "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your antichrist, the pope. If I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter hidden; but now I trust more of your doings will come to light; for God will no longer suffer you."

The next day after, he was sent to the bishop, who committed him to a prison, called *the bishop's prison*, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons. Then the bishop, with his clergy, began to examine him, and he answered in such a sober manner, and so learnedly proved his assertions, that not only confounded his adversaries, but also brought them greatly to admire him. The friars took great pains to persuade him to recant, and acknowledge his fault, touching the bills; but God had appointed him to be a blessed witness of his holy name, and to bid defiance to all their persuasions. "Look," said he, "where they are, that confess the true name of Jesus Christ, and where Christ only is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the glory of God only, by preaching his word; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron before God his Father, making intercession for us,

and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed ; where the sacrament is duly administered without superstition or idolatry, in remembrance of his blessed passion, and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth, of that church will I be."

Then stepped to him a grey friar, and laid before him great and many dangers. "I take God to record," said Benet, "my life is not dear to me. I am content to depart from it, seeing your detestable doings to the utter destruction of God's flock. And for my part, I can no longer forbear. I had rather by death, (which I know is not far off) depart this life, that I may no longer behold your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto antichrist, your pope." "Our pope," said the friar, "is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God." "I pray you," said Benet, "depart from me, and tell me not of your ways. He only is my way, which saith, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*. In this way will I walk ; his doings shall be my example ; not yours, nor your false popes. His truth will I embrace, not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer. Ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you ; no truth in you ; no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you, everlasting death would hang over me ; a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me, your company liketh me not."

A whole week, night and day, he was applied to by them. Mean time, being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him, and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many godly exhortations, and prayed her not to move him to yield to his adversaries. When they had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they proceeded to

judgment, condemning him, (as the manner is,) to be burnt. The writ being brought from London, they delivered him to Sir Thomas Denis, knight, then sheriff of Devonshire, to be burnt, Jan. 15, 1531. The mild martyr, glad that his end was so near, yielded himself as the sheep before the shearer. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery-dole, without Exeter, he made his most humble confession and prayer to Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, to seek the true honour of God, and the true knowledge of him, and to leave the imagination of man's invention, that all that heard and saw him were astonished and in great admiration. The most part of the people, as also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, confessed that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Nevertheless, two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises, but at length with threatnings, willed him to revoke his errors, and to call upon our lady and the saints, to whom he answered with all meekness, "No, no, it is God only upon whose name we must call, and we have no other advocate, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and by him we must offer and make our prayers to God, if we would have them heard." Barnehouse was so enraged at this, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and being set on fire, thrust it unto his face, saying, "Ah! thou whoreson heretic, pray to our lady, or by God's wounds, I will make thee do it." To whom he meekly answered, "Alas! sir, trouble me not." And holding up his hands, he said, "Father, forgive them." Whereupon, the gentlemen caused the wood to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, saying, "O Lord, receive my spirit." And so continuing in prayer, never stirred nor strove, till his life was ended.

THE MARTYRDOM  
OF  
WILLIAM TYNDALE.



WILLIAM TYNDALE was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he increased in the knowledge of tongues, and liberal arts, and especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures ; insomuch that he read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose manners and conversation were such, that all they that knew him, esteemed him a man of most virtuous disposition, and of unspotted life.

He removed from thence to the university of Cambridge ; where, after he had made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word, he resorted to one Mr. Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there school-master to his children. To this gentleman there often resorted sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors and beneficed men ; who, sitting at the table with Mr. Tyndale, used frequently to talk of learned men, as of Luther and Erasmus ; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture. Mr. Tyndale spared not to shew unto them, simply and plainly his judgment ; and

when they varied from him in opinion, he would lay before them the manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a season, reasoning and contending together, till at length they bore a secret grudge against him.

At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which being translated, he delivered to his master and lady. After they had read it, the prelates were not so often called to the house, neither had they the same countenance when they came. They, supposing this came by the means of Mr. Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more.

Not long after, there was a sitting appointed by the bishop's chancellor, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Mr. Tyndale was also warned to be there. Whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but this is certain, that by the way, he cried heartily to God, to give him strength to stand in the truth of his Word. When the time came, the chancellor threatened him grievously, and laid to his charge many things, whereof no witness could be produced; notwithstanding the priests of the country were present. And thus Mr. Tyndale, escaping out of their hands, returned to his master again.

Not far off dwelt a certain doctor, who had been chancellor to a bishop, an old familiar acquaintance with Mr. Tyndale. Unto him Mr. Tyndale went, for he durst be bold to disclose his heart to him. The doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say? for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life. I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works." Not long after, Mr. Tyndale was in company with a certain divine, and in a dispute with him, he drove him to that issue, that the doctor burst out into these words, "We were

better to be without God's law, than the pope's." Mr. Tyndale hearing this, full of godly zeal, replied, "I defy the pope and all his laws;" and further added, "That if God spared him life, he would, ere many years, cause a boy that driveth the plough, to know more of the Scripture than he did."

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing, Mr. Tyndale was constrained to leave that country. Thence he came to London, and preached a while, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about Bristol, and also in the said city in St. Austin's, (now called College-Green). He remained in London almost a year, waiting an opportunity to translate the New Testament into English. But finding no place for his purpose in England, and having some provision, by God's providence, ministered unto him by certain good men, he took his leave of it, and departed into Germany. Here, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal for his country, he refused no pain nor diligence, by all means possible, to reduce his countrymen to the same understanding of God's holy word, which the Lord had endued him with. He translated the New Testament about 1527. After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one. He wrote divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which are, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The Wicked Mammon*, *The Practice of Prelates*; with expositions upon certain parts of Scripture, and other books also, answering Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth. These books being published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, who had been so many years shut up in darkness.

At his first leaving England, he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, where he conferred with Luther, and other learned men. After he had continued there a certain season, he came down into the Nether-

lands, and abode mostly in Antwerp. When he had translated the fifth book of Moses, intending to print the same at Hamburgh, he sailed thitherward ; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck ; by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all anew, to his hindrance and the doubling of his labours. Having lost both his money, his copies, and time, he came in another ship to Hamburgh, where, at his appointment, Mr. Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him to translate the five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mrs. Margaret Van Emmerson, in the year 1529. So having despatched his business at Hamburgh, he returned to Antwerp again.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, inflamed in their minds against the Old and New Testaments translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their heads, never rested, before they had brought the king to their consent. By reason whereof, a proclamation in all haste was devised, and set forth under publick authority, that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works, both of his and other writers, were inhibited. And not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life. In the registers of London it appears, that if the bishops and Sir Thomas More had any poor man to be examined before them, that had been at Antwerp, they most studiously examined all things belonging to Tyndale ; where, and with whom he lodged ? whereabouts the house stood ? and what was his stature ? in what apparel he went ? All which things when they had diligently learned, then they began to work.

William Tyndale had lodged about a year at Antwerp, in the house of Thomas Pointz, who kept an house of English merchants. About which time one came thither out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, having a servant with him ; but wherefore he came, no man could tell. Tyndale was many times invited to dinner and

supper amongst merchants. By this means Philips became acquainted with him, and within a short space Tyndale brought him to his lodging, and entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house ; to whom he shewed, moreover, his books, and other secrets of his study. Philips was in doubt to move his purpose to any of the rulers or officers of Antwerp, for fear it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and so Mr. Tyndale should have warning thereof. He went therefore from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence 24 miles ; and brought from thence with him to Antwerp, the procurator-general, who is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers.

Within a while after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrow, being 18 English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for a month or six weeks. In his absence, Henry Philips came again to the house, and spake to his wife, asking for Mr. Tyndale, and then went forth again. He returned about noon, and went to Mr. Tyndale, and desired him to lend him 40s. "For," said he, "I lost my purse this morning." Mr. Tyndale lent him the money, which was easy to be had of him, if he had it, for he was simple and unexpert in the subtleties of the world. Then said Philips, "Mr. Tyndale, you shall be my guest here to-day." "No," said Mr. Tyndale, "I am going out to dinner to-day, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner-time, Mr. Tyndale went forth with Philips. At the going out of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, that two could not go abreast. Mr. Tyndale would have put Philips before him, but Philips would have Mr. Tyndale go before, pretending to shew great civility. So Mr. Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall person, followed behind him. He had set officers on either side of the door, who being there might see who came ; and coming through the entry, Philips pointed over Mr. Tyndale's head, that the officers might see, that it was he whom they should take. The

officers that took Mr. Tyndale, afterwards told Pointz this, and said to him, (after they had laid him in prison) "That they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him." Then they took him and brought him to the emperor's attorney; who went to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Mr. Tyndale's, as well his books, as other things. Tyndale was had from thence to the castle of Filford, 18 English miles from Antwerp.

By the help of some English merchants, letters in favour of Tyndale, were straightway sent to the court of Brussels. Not long after letters were directed out of England to the council of Brussels, and sent to the merchants at Antwerp, commanding them, that they should be delivered with speed. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there, being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them in the favour of Mr. Tyndale, to the lord of Barrow and others. The lord of Barrow (as it was told Pointz by the way) was departed from Brussels, as the conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark. Pointz rode after, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered his letters to him. He having then no leisure to write, Pointz said, "If it please your lordship, I will attend upon you to the next baiting-place," which was at Maestricht. So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, 15 English miles, and there received letters of him, one to the council at Brussels, another to the company of merchant adventurers, and another to the lord Cromwel in England.

Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord Barrow's letters also, and received letters for England, which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. He did so, and delivered his letters to the council, and was commanded by them to tarry till he had other letters; which being delivered him, at length he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and

there tarried for answer of the same. When Pointz had tarried there three or four days, it was told him, by one that belonged to the chancery, that Mr. Tyndale should have been delivered to him, according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips followed the suit against him, and hearing that he was to be delivered, knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, "That he had been a succourer of Tyndale, and was one of the same opinion." Upon this information Pointz was attached by the emperor's attorney, and delivered to the keeping of two serjcants at arms. He was long kept in prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, he made his escape by night. But Tyndale remained in prison still, who being brought to his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor; (for in any criminal case there, it is permitted to have council). But he refused to have any, saying, "He would answer for himself." After much reasoning, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsbourg; and being brought forth to the place of execution, and there tied to the stake, was strangled by the hangman, and afterward consumed with fire, in the morning, at the town of Filford, in the year 1536, crying at the stake, with a loud voice, "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment, (which was 18 months,) he converted the keeper, his daughter, and others of his household. Also the rest that were conversant with him in the castle, reported of him, that if he was not a good christian, they could not tell whom to trust. The procurator-general himself left this testimony of him, that he was "a learned, a good, and a godly man."

The same year in which William Tyndale was burned, died Katherine, princess-dowager, in the month of January. The same year also, in the month of May, the king, being in his justs at Greenwich, departed suddenly, with

a few persons, to Westminster. The next day after, queen Anne, his wife, was had to the tower, with the lord Rochford, her brother, and certain others ; and the nineteenth day after, was beheaded. Her words at her death were these : “ Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for by the law I am judged to death, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that, whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you ; for a gentler, or more merciful prince was there never ; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a sovereign Lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all ; and heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy on me. To God I commend my soul.” And so she kneeled down, saying, “ To Christ I commend my soul : Jesus, receive my soul.” Repeating the same divers times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off.

THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
WORTHY MARTYR OF GOD,  
**JOHN LAMBERT,**  
OTHERWISE NAMED NICHOLSON;

*With his Troubles, Examinations, and Answers, before  
the Archbishop Warham, and other Bishops; and also  
before King Henry VIII.*



IMMEDIATELY upon the destruction of the monasteries, in the month of November, 1538, followed the trouble of John Lambert. He was born and brought up in Norfolk, and studied in the university of Cambridge. Where, after he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, being forced by the violence of the time, he departed beyond the seas, to Tyndale and Frith, and there remained a year, preacher to the English-house at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More; and by the accusation of one Barlow, was carried from Antwerp to London; where he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Oxford, before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and others; having 45 articles ministered against him. His answers to these were delivered to Dr. Warham, arch-

bishop of Canterbury, about the year 1532, while he was in custody in the archbishop's house at Oxford. But the Providence of God wrought so for Lambert, that within a short space after archbishop Warham died, and he for that time was delivered. After the death of William Warham, succeeded Dr. Cranmer. Lambert, in the mean season, returned to London, and there exercised himself in teaching children the Greek and Latin tongue ; and continued in this vocation some time, with great commendation.

In the year 1538, he was present at a sermon, in St. Peter's church, at London. He that preached was Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel. In the time of King Edward, he was made bishop of Lincoln ; and in the time of Queen Mary deprived of his bishoprick, and ended his life among the confessors of Christ. When the sermon was done, Lambert went to the preacher, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied concerning the sacrament. Dr. Taylor, excusing himself for the present, on account of other business, willed him to write his mind, and come again some other time.

Within a while, after he had written his mind, he came again to him. His arguments were ten, proving the truth, partly by the Scriptures, partly by reason, and by the determination of the doctors. Dr. Taylor upon this, conferred with Dr. Barns, who, though he otherwise favoured the gospel, yet he seemed not to favour this cause : but persuaded him to lay the matter before Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. He did so ; and Lambert was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into court, and forced to defend his cause openly, (for the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterward he was an earnest professor.) In that dispute, Lambert appealed from the bishops to the king.

The king immediately sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops to come to

London, to assist the king against heresies, which the king himself would sit in judgment upon. A day was fixed, and a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places in the assembly-room were full of men round about the scaffold. Then John Lambert was brought from prison, with a guard of armed men, and placed right over the king's seat. At last the king himself came, as judge of that controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white. The bishops sat on his right hand, and behind him the lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to custom. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, and other nobles in their order. Mean time the king's look, and his brows bent, plainly declared a mind full of indignation, far unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was set on his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance, and then turning to his counsellors, he called forth Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, to declare the causes of the present assembly. The whole scope of his oration was, That the king would have no man think, that because the authority of the bishop of Rome was abolished, he would therefore extinguish all religion, or give liberty to heretics to trouble the churches of England, whereof he was the head; or, that they were assembled to make any dispute upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this person, that the heresies of this man present, and of all such like, should be openly condemned. When he had made an end, the king stood up, and leaning himself upon a cushion, turned toward Lambert, with his brows bent, and said, "Ho, good fellow, what is thy name?" Then he, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, though of many I am called Lambert." "What (said the king,) have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother."

Lambert replied, "Most noble prince, your bishops forced me to change my name." Then, after much talk, the king commanded him to go to the matter, and to declare his opinion, as to the sacrament of the altar. Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion. Then the king, interrupting him, said, with an angry voice, "I came not hither to hear mine own praises. Go briefly to the matter, without any more circumstance." Lambert, being abashed at the king's angry words, paused a while to consider which way to turn himself in these extremities. But the king, with anger and vehemency, said, "Why standest thou still? Touching the sacrament of the altar, sayest thou it is the body of Christ, or wilt thou deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap. Lambert answered, "I say, with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ after some manner." "Answer me, (says the king,) neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no?" (speaking in Latin.) Lambert said, "Then I deny it to be the body of Christ." The king replied, "Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum*."

Then he commanded Cranmer to refute his assertion: who began to dispute very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert, if I prove your argument to be false by Scripture, you will willingly revoke it; but if you shall prove it true by manifest testimonies of Scripture, I will willingly embrace it." The argument was this, Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: therefore it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven, was seen by St. Paul at the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, by the like reason may it not be in many places?

Lambert answered in such a manner, that the king seemed greatly moved, the bishop himself entangled, and all the audience amazed. Then the bishop of Winchester, who had the sixth place in the dispute, fearing lest the argument should be taken out of his mouth, without the king's commandment, and observing no order, before the archbishop had ended, alleged a place out of the 12th chapter of the Corinthians, where St. Paul saith, "Have I not seen Jesus?" And again in the 15th chapter, "He appeared unto Cephas; and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but last of all he appeared unto me as one born out of due time." Lambert answered, He did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear; but he denied that he was in two or divers places, as to his body.

Next to the bishop of Winchester, bishop Tonsal took his course; and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of God's omnipotence, he came at last to the point, saying, If Christ could perform what he spake, touching the converting of his body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform. Lambert answered, That there was no place of Scripture, wherein Christ says, that he would change the bread into his body; and moreover, that there is no necessity why he should. But this is a figurative speech every where used in Scripture, when the name of the thing signified is attributed to the sign. By which figure of speech circumcision is called the covenant; the lamb, the pass-over.

Next stepped forth Stokesley, bishop of London: It is nothing dissonant from nature (said he,) for the substance of like things to be changed one into another; so that nevertheless the accidents remain. Then he illustrated it by the example of water boiling so long till all the substance thereof be evaporated. Now (said he,) a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we do affirm the substance of the water to pass into the substance of the air; notwithstanding the quality

of the water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed. When this argument was heard, the bishops greatly rejoiced, assuring themselves of a certain victory. Here all men earnestly expected Lambert's answer. As soon as he had liberty to speak, he first of all denied that the moisture of the water did remain after the substance was altered. For although (saith he,) we grant the air to be naturally moist, yet it hath one degree of moisture, and the water another. Wherefore, when the water is converted into air, though there remaineth moisture, it is not the moisture of water, but the proper moisture of the air.

Then the king and the bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that he was forced to keep silence. After this the other bishops, every one in his turn, took their places of disputation. But their arguments were all but common reasons, and had little in them worthy to be heard or read. Lambert, in the mean time, being wearied with long standing, having stood no less than five hours, from twelve o'clock till five at night, and seeing no hope of success in speaking, chose rather to hold his peace.

At last, when torches began to be lighted, the king said to Lambert, "What sayest thou now, after all these reasons and instructions of these learned men? Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice." Lambert answered, "I yield myself wholly to the will of your majesty." "Then (said the king,) commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine." Lambert replied, "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield to your clemency." Then said the king, "If you commit yourself to my judgment, you must die, for I will not be the patron of heretics." And turning himself unto Cromwel, he said, "Cromwel, read the sentence of condemnation against him." This undoubtedly was the subtilty of the bishop of Winchester, who rather desired that the sentence might be read by

Cromwel, than any other ; so that if he refused to do it, he should have incurred the like danger. Cromwel, at the king's commandment, taking the schedule of condemnation, read it. Thus was John Lambert condemned to death by the king ; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when both princes and subjects shall appear before the tribunal seat of that great Judge, not to judge, but to be judged according to their works.

Upon the day that was appointed for him to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning, unto the house of the lord Cromwel, and carried into his inward chamber, where, it is reported, Cromwel asked him forgiveness. There, at the last, being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted, and being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, shewing no manner of sadness or fear. When breakfast was ended, he was carried straitway to the place of execution ; where, after his legs were consumed, and the tormentors had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, two that stood on each side of him, with their halberds pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, cried unto the people, "None but Christ ; none but Christ :" and so being let down again from their halberds, fell into the fire and ended his life.

About this time N. PEKE was burnt at Ipswich. It is recorded of him, that when he was so scorched that he was as black as soot, one Dr. Reading standing before him, having a wand in his hand, struck him on the right shoulder, and said, "Peke, recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ ; and here have I to absolve thee from thy misbelief that hath been in thee," shewing a seroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, "I

defy it and thee also," and with great violence he spit from him very blood, which came from him by reason that his veins brake in his body through extreme anguish. And when Peke had so spoken, Dr. Reading said, "My lord bishop of Norwich grants forty days pardon to as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this heretic." Then baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others of estimation, being there present, rose from their seats, and with their swords cut down boughs, and threw them into the fire, and so did all the people.

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THE  
LIFE AND DEATH  
OF  
THOMAS CROMWEL,  
EARL OF ESSEX.

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THOMAS CROMWEL was born at Putney, being a smith's son, whose mother was married afterwards to a sheerman. Such was the activity and ripeness of nature in him, so discreet was he in judgment, in tongue so eloquent, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not be long unespied. Neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. Which well appeareth in his learning the whole New Testament of Erasmus's translation without book, in his journey to and from Rome.

In his growing years he had a great desire to see the world abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned such languages as might better serve for his use hereafter. Being at Antwerp, he was there retained of the English merchants to be their clerk or secretary. All this while, he had no taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without regard of God and his word, as he himself was wont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer, shewing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon, at the siege of Rome, and so continued, till by learning the New Testament without book, in his going and coming from Rome, he began to be touched and called to a better understanding.

Mean time cardinal Wolsey began to bear a great sway in England, so that all men sought unto him. To his service was Cromwel advanced, where he continued, growing up in authority, till at length he was preferred to be solicitor to the cardinal. There was about the same time, in the houschold of the cardinal, Thomas More, afterwards chancellor of England, and Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester. These three were all of one standing; whose ages, as they were not much unequal, so neither was their fortune and advancements. And though, peradventure, in More and Gardiner there was more learning, yet there was in this man a more prompt and perfect judgment, equal eloquence, and a more heroical and princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the commonwealth. The cardinal had then in hand the building of his college in Oxford, by reason whereof certain small monasteries and priories, in divers places, were suppressed, and the lands seized to the cardinal's hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwel. And thus was he first set by the cardinal to suppress religious houses, about the year 1525.

It was not long before the cardinal who had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast. So that his house-

hold being dissolved, Thomas Cromwel, among others, laboured to be retained in the king's service. There was, at the same time, one Sir Christopher Hales, knight, master of the rolls, who, notwithstanding he was then a mighty papist; yet bare such favour to Cromwel, that he commended him to the king, who was willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

Cromwel soon understood that the king would talk with him, and therefore providing before hand, had in readiness the copy of the bishops' oath, which they use commonly to make to the pope at their consecration; and so being called for, was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster, which was about the year 1530. Cromwel, after loyal obeisance, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; especially making manifest unto his highness, how his princely authority was abused within his own realm by the pope and his clergy, who being sworn unto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, and sworn anew unto the pope; which (he said,) was derogatory to his crown, and prejudicial to the common laws of the realm. Declaring thereupon, how his majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The king, giving good ear to this, inquired if he could avouch that which he spake. He said, "He could avouch all this to be certain, for he had the copy of their oath to the pope to shew;" and therewith shewed the king the bishops' oath. The king took his ring off his finger, and first admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the Convocation-house among the bishops. Cromwel coming with the king's signet, and placing himself among the bishops, began to make his oration, declaring the authority of the king, and the office of his subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under public laws, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, falling in the law of *præmunire*, in that they had all sworn to the pope,

contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king, and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had. The bishops hearing this were not a little amazed, and first began to deny the fact. But after Cromwel had shewed them the very copy of their oath made to the pope at their consecration, they began to shrink and fall to intreaty, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, to be quit of that *præmunire*, it cost them to the king for both the provinces, Canterbury and York, no less than 118,840*l*.

After this, Thomas Cromwel growing in favour with the king, was knighted, and made master of the king's jewel-house, and shortly after was admitted into the king's council, which was about the coming in of Queen Anne Bullen. And within two years after that he was made master of the rolls, Dr. Taylor being discharged. In the year 1527, a little before the birth of King Edward, he was made knight of the garter, and not long after advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made great chamberlain of England. Over and above all which honours, he was also vicegerent to the king, representing his person. Which office, although it standeth well by the law, yet seldom hath there been seen any besides this Cromwel alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsel and wisdom, as Cromwel did,

After the bishop of Rome's authority was banished out of England, the bishops of this sect never ceased to seek all occasions either to restore his power, or at least to keep upright those things which remained; wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrate, yet had they brought much more to pass, if Cromwel, (as a mighty wall and defence of the church,) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

How studious Cromwel was in the cause of Christ's religion, examples need not be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care and travel to ad-

vance and further the right knowledge of the gospel. He first caused the people to be instructed in the Lord's prayer and creed in English. Then he procured the Scripture to be set forth in the same language, for every Englishman to understand: after that, to rescue the vulgar from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the grossest pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the commodity of the poor sort, which get their living with their daily labour, he provided that idle holidays should be diminished. Also, he procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat in Lent. Furthermore, it was by him provided, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, there to teach and keep hospitality, with many other things most usefully redressed for the reformation of religion. To adjoin his private benefits, in helping men and women at sundry times out of troubles, it would require a long discourse. Briefly, his whole life was full of such examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religion's sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings.

In the year 1538, Sir William Forman being mayor of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarne, dwelling in Paternoster Row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind to a maid, dwelling in Abchurch Lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her to a piece. The maid perceiving her earnest desire, told the husband what his wife had said to her, adding, that it might cost her her life, and the child's too of which she was pregnant, if she had it not. Upon this, Frebarne spake to one good-wife Fisher, to help him to a pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig. Fisher promised that she would bring him one the Friday following, and

so she did, being ready dressed. When she had delivered the pig, she conveyed one of the pig's feet to Dr. Cox, dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy Lane, who was at that time at his dinner. One of his guests, called Mr. Garter, being landlord to Frebarne, sent his man to him to inquire if there were no body sick in his house. Unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. The servant said again, it was told my master, that some body was sick, or else you would not eat flesh in Lent. Frebarne answered, that his wife was with child, and longed for a piece of pig, and if he could get some for her he would. Then the servant went home.

Shortly after, Frebarne's landlord sent for him. But first sent for the bishop of London's sumner. When Frebarne was come, he asked him, if he had not a pig in his house, which he denied not. Then Mr. Garter commanded the sumner to take the pig, and carry both that and Frebarne to his master, and so he did. The bishop being in his chamber with divers others of the clergy, called Frebarne before him, and examined him concerning this pig, charging him also, that he had eaten calves' heads that Lent. "My lord," says he, "if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten? But if any one can prove, that either I, or any in my house have done as your lordship saith, let me suffer death therefore." "Thou art no Christian," says the bishop. "My lord," said Frebarne, "I trust I am a true Christian, and have done nothing against God's law or my prince's." After this, the bishop called the sumner, and commanded him to go and carry Thomas Frebarne and his pig openly through the streets into the Old Bailey, to Sir Roger Cholmley; for the bishop said, "He had nothing to do to punish him; that belonged unto the civil magistrates;" and so Frebarne was carried with the pig before him, to Sir Roger Cholmley's house in the Old Bailey, and he being not at home, was brought back

again to the bishop's palace with the pig, and there lay in the porter's-lodge till nine at night. Then the bishop sent him to the compter in the Poultry.

The next day, being Saturday, he was brought before the mayor of London and his brethren unto the Guild-hall; but before his coming, they had the pig delivered to them by the bishop's officer. Then the mayor said, that the Monday following he should stand on the pillory in Cheapside, with the one half of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other. Then Frebarne's wife desired that she might stand there, and not he, for the fault was hers and not his. After this they took a satin-list, and tied it fast about the pig's neck, and made Frebarne carry it hanging on his shoulder till he came unto the compter.

After this was done, his wife took with her the wife of one Michael Lobley, who was well acquainted with several in the lord Cromwel's house, unto whom the said woman resorted, and desired them to speak to their lord. The same time came in Dr. Barnes, who understanding the matter by Lobley's wife, went up to the lord Cromwel, and certified him thereof, who sent for the mayor of London. The Monday following the mayor sent for the prisoner, and demanded sureties for his forth-coming: but for lack of sureties, upon his own bond, which was a recognizance of twenty pounds, he was delivered out of their hands.

About the same time, one Gray, a smith of Bishop's-Stratford, being accused for denying the sacrament of the altar to be our Saviour, was sent to London, and there should have been condemned to be burnt, but that by the means of the lord Cromwel, he was freed and sent home again.

Commonly men advanced from base degree to ample dignities, not only forget themselves what they were, but also cast out of remembrance all their old friends and acquaintance. From which sort of men how far Cromwel differed by divers examples may appear. A certain poor

woman some time kept a victualling house about Hounslow, the lord Cromwel owed her an old debt of 40 shillings. It happened that the lord Cromwel with Cranmer, was riding through Cheapside towards the court, and cast his eye over the way, and there espied this poor woman. He straight caused her to be called unto him. Being come he asked, after certain questions, If she were not such a woman, dwelling in such a place: and whether there was not a reckoning between him and her? She said, That he owed her some money upon an old reckoning, whereof she was in great necessity, but never durst ask him for it. Then the lord Cromwel sent the poor woman home to his house with one of his servants, and at his return from the court, he not only discharged the debt, but also gave her a yearly pension of four pounds, while she lived. The like courtesy he shewed to a certain Italian. The story, compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, I here insert, with the whole order and circumstances thereof.

Not many years past, saith the author, there was in Florenec, a merchant, whose name was Francis, descended from the noble family of the Frescobalds. This gentleman was naturally liberal, unto whom also riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth. He traded into many countries, but chiefly into England, where he lived a long time sojourning in London. Francis Frescobald being in Florence, a poor young man asking his alms for God's sake, Frescobald, (as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much virtue in him,) being moved with pity, demanded of what country he was? "I am, sir," quoth he, "of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwel. My father is a poor man, I am strayed from my country, and am now come into Italy with the camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at Gatilyon." Frescobald, partly considering the state of this young man, and partly for the love he bare the English nation, received him into his

house, and when he was minded to return into his country, provided such things as he needed. He gave him both horse and new apparel, and sixteen ducats of gold, to bring him into his country. Cromwel, rendering his hearty thanks, took leave of his host, and returned into England.

At what time Cromwel was advanced to such dignity, Frescobald was by many misfortunes become very poor. But still there was due to him from certain merchants in England, the sum of 15,000 ducats. He proposed, if he could recover that money, to trade no longer, but quietly pass over the rest of his days. All things being prepared for his journey, he set out for England, and at last arrived at London. He had utterly forgotten what courtesy he had long before shewed unto Cromwel. But one day, as he was riding towards the court, he chanced to meet lord Cromwel. As soon as the lord Cromwel espied him, suddenly alighting, (to the great admiration of those that were with him,) he embraced the stranger, and with a broken voice, scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not Francis Frescobald, the Florentine? He answered, "Yes, sir, and your humble servant." "My servant, (quoth Cromwel,) no; you have not been my servant in times past, and I will not now account you other than my special friend." But having now weighty affairs in my prince's cause, you must excuse me, that I can tarry with you no longer. Therefore at this time I take my leave, but desire that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner; and then remounting his horse, he passed to the court. Frescobald greatly marvelling who this lord should be, at last, after some pause, he knew him to be the same whom he had relieved at Florence, and thereat not a little joyed, especially considering, that by his means, he should better recover his due.

The hour of dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house, where he walked in the court, attending his coming. The lord Cromwel shortly returned from the

court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the lord admiral, and all the other noblemen of the court did not a little marvel thereat. When the lord Cromwel perceived this, turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the hand, he said, "Do not marvel, my lords, that I seem so glad of this man : that ye may not be ignorant of his courtesy when I greatly needed it, I will tell it you." Then he declared unto them every thing in order, as hath been before recited. He then led him by the hand into his house, and coming into the room where the dinner was prepared, he sat down to table, placing his welcome guest next to him.

The dinner being ended, and the lords departed, Frescobald in few words opened his ease, telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty; and that his only portion was 15,000 ducats owing him in England, and 2000 in Spain. Lord Cromwel taking him by the hand, led him into his chamber; and after every man was departed, he looked the door. Then opening a coffer, he first took out sixteen dueats, and delivering them to Frescobald, he said, "Here, my friend, is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence; and here are other ten, which you bestowed in my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the horse which I rode. But considering you are a merchant, it seems to me not honest to return your money without some consideration for the long detaining it. Take therefore these four bags; in every one of them is 400 dueats; these you shall receive from the hands of your assured friend." This done, he caused Freseobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the sum that every one owed him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge to search out those men, if they were within the realm, and straitly to charge them to pay these sums within fifteen days. During all this time, Freseobald lodged in the house of the lord Cromwel, who often moved him to abide in England,

offering him the loan of threescore thousand ducats, if he would continue and make his bank in London. But Frescobald, who desired to return into his country, after many thanks departed home, where he lived but a small time, for in the first year after his return he died.

One story more I may not pass over. He coming with other of the lords of the council to the house of Shene, about the examination of certain monks which there denied the king's supremacy; after the examination he chanced to spy afar off a certain poor man, who used to sweep their cells and cloisters, and to ring the bells. Lord Cromwel sent for the poor man to come to him, and before all most lovingly called him by his name, and took him by the hand, and asked him how he did, with many other good words; and turning to the lords, "My lords (said he,) see you this poor man? This man's father hath been a great friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meal's meat." Then said he to the poor man, "Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live."

In this worthy person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, authority, wisdom, and zeal. First, as to his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian faith, more cannot almost be wished in a nobleman, and scarce the like hath been seen in any. Secondly, his wisdom, joined with his Christian zeal, brought great things to pass. But especially his working was to nourish peace with foreign realms, with the emperor, the French king, the king of Scots, and also with the pope; in all whose courts he had such spies, that there was nothing done, whereof he had not intelligence. So that during all the time of Cromwel's prosperity, the king never had wars with any foreign nation; notwithstanding both the pope, the emperor, the kings of France and Scotland, were mightily incensed against him. And as his policy was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the realm from foreign wars, so his authority was no less occupied in keeping

good order and rule at home: first, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their devices; secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects in subjection; whereby, as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was he a terror to the evil doers; so that not the presenee of him only, but even the hearing of the coming of Cromwel put an end to many frays and riots.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy counsellor, by his prudent policy, his grave authority, and perfect zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the realm; and especially in the church of England, what good orders he established, what wickedness and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious delusions he detected and abolished out of the church.

While the lord Cromwel was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the commonwealth, and purging the church, it happened to him, as it doth to all men, that where true piety is, there persecution follows. The principal enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner; who disdainng and envying the state of lord Cromwel, and now taking occasion by the marriage of lady Anne, of Cleve, being a stranger, put in the king's ears what a thing it were to the quiet of the realm, and establishment to the king's succession, to have an English qucen. And the king's affection, the more it was diminished from Anne, of Cleve, the less favour he bare unto Cromwel.

The year following, which was 1541, in the month of April, a parliament was held, which, after divers prorogations, was continued till the month of July; in which month the lord Cromwel being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London. Whereat as many good men lamented, so more there were that rejoiced, especially of the clergy, such as had been in some dignity before in the church, and now by his means were put from it. These hated

him much, which was the cause of shortening his days ; so that on the 19th day of the same month he was attainted by parliament. In the attainder sundry crimes were brought against him, but chiefly he was accused of heresy, for that he was a supporter of heretics : also that he dispersed abroad great numbers of books containing manifest heresies. Lastly, that he caused to be translated into English, books comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the altar.

In the mean season, however the case of the lord Cromwel stood, this is certain, that Stephen Gardiner wanted not an head to watch the time, when the king was disposed to marry Katherine Howard, which, during the life of Cromwel, could not so well be brought to pass. So long as he went with full sail of fortune, how moderately he ever carried himself hath been declared before. So now lord Cromwel, always one man, being overblown by the contrary wind of adversity, received the same with no less constancy, neither yet was he so unprovided of counsel and forecast, but that he foresaw this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same. Two years before, fearing what might happen, he called his servants to him, and shewing them in what a slippery state he stood, he required them to look diligently to their doings, lest any occasion might rise against him through their default. And further, before the time of his apprehension, he took such order for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, who had little else to take to, had somewhat handsome left for them in their friends' hands to relieve them, whatsoever should befall him. Briefly, such a loving and kind master he was to his servants, that he provided beforehand for them all; insomuch that he gave twenty pounds apiece to twelve children, which were his musicians, and so committed them to their friends.

When he was in the tower, it is worth noting how quietly he bore it; how gravely and discreetly he answered and entertained the commissioners that were sent

to him; they could put nothing to him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more furnished in every condition than they themselves. Amongst those commissioners there was one whom the lord Cromwel desired to carry a letter to the king from him, which when he refused, saying, "He would carry no letters from a traitor:" the lord Cromwel desired him at least to do a message to the king from him. He promised that he would, so it were not against his allegiance. Then the lord Cromwel, taking witness of the other lords what he had promised, "You shall commend me (said he,) to the king, and tell him, when he has thoroughly proved you, as I have done, he will find you as false a man as ever came about him."

However, he wrote a letter from the tower to the king, and when none durst carry it, Sir Ralph Sadler went to the king, to know whether he would permit him to bring the letter; which when the king had granted, Sir Ralph presented the letter to him. He commanded it to be read to him thrice, he seemed to be so much moved therewith. Notwithstanding, by reason of the act of parliament, the lord Cromwel, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned without hearing, on the 28th day of July, was brought to the scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he said these words following:

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some peradventure think I will. For if I should do so, I were a very wretch. I am by the law condemned to die, and I thank my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for which I heartily ask him forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to a high estate, and since the time I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I heartily ask him forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And

now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue. But I confess, that like as God by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church: and I heartily desire you to pray for the king's grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, Prince Edward, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh I waver nothing in my faith." Then making his prayer, kneeling on his knees, he spake these words:

"O Lord Jesus, who art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee; I, wretched sinner, submit myself wholly unto thy blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last, in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace strengthen my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no good hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works (alas,) I see a great heap; but yet through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wast born for my sake; thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my

sake ; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake ; all thy holy works thou wroughtest for my sake ; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake. Finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour, who hast given thyself also for me, let all these things profit me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and blood shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee ; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry, and say unto thee, ‘ Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit !’ Amen.”

After he had prayed thus, and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe.

THE HISTORY  
OF  
ROBERT BARNES, THOMAS GARRET, AND  
WILLIAM JEROME.



WHEN the valiant standard-bearer of the Church of England, Thomas Cromwel, was made away, lamentable it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men ensued. For the bishop of Winchester having now gotten his full purpose, lest by delays he might lose the occasion, he straightways made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom, within two days after Cromwel's death, he caused to be put to execution.

Dr. Barnes, after he came from the University of Louvain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the University, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in very few. Whereupon Barnes began in his house to read Terence and Cicero, so that, what with his industry, pains, and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnel, his scholar, whom he brought from Louvain with him, he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters. After these foundations laid, he read openly Paul's epistles, and turned their fruitless disputations to better matter of the

holy Scripture, and thereby in short space he made divers good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the University, when he disputed with any man in the common schools. And the first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the Scriptures was Mr. Stafford, which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great doctors, and joyful to the godly. Thus Barnes, with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures; and yet he did not see his inward and outward idolatry, till Mr. Bilney converted him wholly to Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached according to the truth, was the Sunday before Christmas-day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity-Hall, on the epistle of the Sunday; and for that sermon he was accused of heresy, by two fellows of King's-Hall. Then the godly of divers colleges shewed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools and at sermons, and at the other disputations conferred continually together. The house they resorted to was the White Horse, which was chosen because many of them of St. John's-College and Queen's-College came in on the back-side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him in the Regent-House, before the vice-chancellor, where his articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation. This tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, till within six days of Shrovetide. Then a sergeant at arms was sent down to Cambridge, who suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid; and they had privily determined to make search for Luther's books, and all the German works. But they were conveyed away by the time that the sergeant at arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at every man's chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay, (whereby it was perceived that there were some spies among that small company.) The sergeant

carried Dr. Barnes with him the next day, which was the Tuesday before Shrove-Sunday, and came on the Wednesday to London. In the morning he was carried to cardinal Wolsey, but could not speak with him till night. Then said the cardinal to the company present, "Is this Dr. Barnes, that is accused of heresy?" They answered, "Yea, and please your grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise."

"What, Mr. Doctor, (said the cardinal,) had you not a sufficient scope to teach the people, but my golden shoes, my cushions, my crosses did offend you?" He answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures." And then he delivered him six written sheets of paper. He received them smiling, and said, "We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles." "Yes, (said Barnes,) that I do, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour." He answered, "Such as you are bear us little favour. I will ask you a question, Do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's person, or to sell all these things, and give it to the poor?" He answered, "I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor." Then answered he, "Lo, Mr. Doctors, here is the wise man you told me of." Then they kneeled down, and said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable." Then said he, "Stand up; for your sakes and the University, we will be good unto him. How say you doctor, do you not know that I can dispense in all matters within this realm, as much as the pope?" He said, "I know it." "Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honour, and for the honour of the University?" He answered, "I thank your grace for your good will: I will stick to the holy Scripture, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me." "Well, (said he,) thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law." And he must directly have gone to the tower, but that Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night,

and so he came home to Mr. Parnel's house again, where he immediately fell to writing again, and slept not. In the morning he was committed to the serjeant of arms to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops and the abbot of Westminster. They asked the serjeant of arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy. After a little talk, they swore him, and laid his articles to him. He answered them as he did the cardinal before. Then they asked him, whether he would subscribe to his articles, or not, and he subscribed willingly: after that, they committed him and young Mr. Parnel to the Fleet, where they remained till Saturday morning; and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On Saturday he came again into the chapter-house, and remained there till five at night. After long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, they called him, to know whether he would abjure, or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than abjure. But Gardiner and Fox persuaded him rather to abjure. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure. Then they put him to an oath to execute all that they commanded him. The next morning he was brought to St. Paul's church, which was so full that no man could get into it. The cardinal had a scaffold made for himself, with thirty-six abbots, mitred priors and bishops, his chaplains and doctors, in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple. There was a new pulpit erected for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books stood before them, which were commanded there to be burnt, and Dr. Barnes, after the sermon, to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in his faggot. This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight marshal were commanded to have him to the Fleet again, and keep him there till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known.

After he had continued there half a year, he was committed to be a free prisoner at the Austin Friars, in London. They complained again to the lord cardinal; whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, to be burnt. He himself understood nothing of this, but supposed that he should remain there in free prison. At last, one Mr. Horne, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, gave him intelligence of the writ, which would be shortly sent down to burn him. Upon this he privately withdrew: and they were seven days searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel. He tarried not there, but straightway took ship and went to Antwerp, and so to Luther, and there gave himself to study. Here he became strong in Christ, got favour both with the learned in Christ and foreign princes, in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melanethon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark, who in the time of More, sent him with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to king Henry VIII. He lay with the Lubeck's chancellor at the Still-yard.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not let him. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops in defence of the truth, and so he departed again without restraint. After his going again to Wittemberg, he remained there to set forward his works in print; and after a while, he returned in the reign of queen Anne, and continued a faithful preacher in London all her time. After that, he was sent ambassador by king Henry VIII. to the duke of Cleve, for the marriage of the lady Anne of Cleve, and was well accepted in all his doings, till the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France. But after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen, nor Cromwel, nor the preachers; who, after the marriage of the lady Cleve, never ceased till he had grafted the marriage in another stock. For not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before

the king to Hampton-Court; where the king (seeking his safety,) to bring Winchester and him agreed, granted him leave to go home with the bishop to confer with him. But they, not agrceing, Gardiner sought by - all means how to entangle them in further danger; which not long after was brought to pass. By complaint made to the king, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following at the Spittle; at which sermons Stephen Gardiner was present. Barnes, who preached the first sermon, seeing Gardiner there, humbly desired him, in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand; which he did. Yet, notwithstanding, shortly after, by the means of his report, they were sent for to Hampton-Court, and from thence carried to the Tower.

About the year 1526, Mr. Garret, curate in Honey-lane, London, came to Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English, which books he sold to divers scholars in Oxford. After he had been there a while, news came that he was searched for through all London, to be apprehended as an heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling heretical books. Mr. Cole, of Magdalen-collcege, who was well acquainted with Mr. Garret, gave warning to a friend of Mr. Garret's of this search, and willed that he should, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford. So the Wednesday before Shrove-tide, Garret departed out of Oxford, in order to go (upon the recommendation of a friend,) to be curate at Stal-bridge, in Dorsetshire. But the Friday next, in the night-time, he came again to one Radley's house, where he lay before; and after midnight he was apprehended there in his bed by the two proctors, and in the morning was delivered to Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln-college, commissary of the university, who kept him prisoner in his own chamber. When the commisary, and all his company, were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone

in his chamber, he hearing no body stir, put back the lock with his finger, and so came straight to Gloucester college. He there declared to his friend, that after he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return to Oxford. But now, with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed his friend to help to convey him away into Wales, and thence he would escape into Germany, if he could. Then, putting on a sleeved coat, he and his friend knecled down together, and prayed to God with plenty of tears, to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might escape his enemies, if it were his good pleasure; and then, embracing each other, he departed.

But he was soon taken again by Mr. Cole, the proctor, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford; and so, being brought back, was committed to ward: that done, he was convened before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, in St. Mary's church, where they convicted him as an heretic, and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession. After that, he was sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken. After this, Mr. Garret, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended with Dr. Barnes, and William Jerome, some time vicar of Stepney.

William Jerome was a diligent preacher of God's Word. It happened that Jerome, in a sermon preached at Paul's on the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1540, made mention of Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified. And he shewed further, how that Sarah and her child Isaac, and all they that were Isaac's, and born of the free woman, Sarah, were freely justified: on the contrary, they that were born of Hagar, the bondwoman, were bound, and under the law, and cannot freely be justified. Not long after, he was convened before the king at Westminster, and there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Gardiner, hearing that Barnes, Jerome, and Garret were to preach the Lent following, 1541, at Paul's Cross, to stop the course of their doctrine, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for himself to preach at Paul's. It was appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes. Dr. Barnes preached the third Sunday after, and sharply refuted all that Gardiner had said. Gardiner immediately went to the king to complain. Whereupon the king was highly incensed against Barnes, and with many sharp words rebuked his doings in his privy closet. Unto whom, when Barnes submitted himself—"Nay," said the king, "yield thee not to me, I am a mortal man:" and therewith rising up, and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his bonnet, said, "Yonder is the Master of us all, the Author of truth; yield in truth to him, and that truth will I defend; and otherwise yield thee not unto me." There was much ado, and in conclusion, this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester to confer together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being appointed to be as indifferent hearers. At their first entry of which talk, Gardiner (forgiving him, he said, all that was past,) offered him the choice, whether he would answer or propose. The question propounded was, Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before justification?

The king, being advertised of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the bishop's house, at London, the Monday following. But within two days after his coming to the bishop's house, he signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more.

Dr. Barnes being ordered to preach before the king, preached contrary to that which before he had recanted. The like also did Jerome and Garret after him.

They were quickly after apprehended and committed

to the Tower, where they remained till July 30, which was two days after the death of the lord Cromwel. Then not coming to any answer, nor knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing, they were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield. Here Dr. Barnes spoke thus: "I am come hither to be burned as an heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous doctrines I hold. I take God to record, I never (to my knowledge,) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my sermons, I never maintained any error, neither moved or gave occasion of any insurrection.

"I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, that made all the world; and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second Person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed Virgin Mary. And I believe that his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death, he overcame sin, death, and hell; and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only; and that no work of man can deserve any thing of God, as touching our justification; for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect." And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses. "For although, perchance, (said he,) you know nothing by me, yet I confess that my evil thoughts be innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, for if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment?—Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here, that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and verily they that do them not, shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, but not to merit; for

that is only the death of Christ. I believe that there is a holy church, a company of all them that do profess Christ; and all that have suffered and confessed his name be saints, and that they all praise God in heaven: and I always have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady was a virgin, immaculate and undefiled." Then said the sheriff, "You have said well of her before." He said, "Mr. Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but beckon me with your hand, and I will hold my peace." Then one asked him his opinion of praying to saints? Then said he, "I have said before that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But I say, throughout the Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints: whcther they pray for us, or not, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you, Mr. Sheriff, within this half hour, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ. If the dead can pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

Then he spake to the sheriff, and said, "Have ye any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" The sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there any man else that knoweth wherefore I die? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer." And no man answered. Then said he, "Well, I am condemned by the law to die; and as I understand, by an act of parliament; wherefore I cannot tell; but belike for heresy, for we are like to burn. But I pray God to forgive them that have been the occasion of it, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester, if he have sought or wrought this my death, either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, and as freely as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death. I beseech you all to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him, that godly prince Edward may so reign that he may

finish those things that his father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God."

Then spake he to the sheriff, and said, "Mr. Sheriff, I require you, on God's behalf, to have me commended unto the king's grace, and to shew him that I require of his grace these five requests: first, That when his grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbeys, it may please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects. The second thing I desire of his grace is, that he will see matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every light cause cast not off their wives; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom. The third, That the abominable swearers may be punished; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths." Then he desired Mr. Pope to have him commended to Mr. Edgar, and to desire him, for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave off that abominable swearing which he used; for except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end. The fourth, That his grace would set forth Christ's true religion; and seeing he had begun, to go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do. Now, (said he,) how many petitions have I spoken of?" And the people said, "Four." "Well, (said he,) even these four be sufficient; which I desire you the king's grace may be certified of—and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace may take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers."

Then he desired all men, if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him,

and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear witness that he detested all evil opinions and doctrines against the Word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. With these words he desired them all to pray for him; and then turned about and put off his clothes.

The like confession made also Jerome and Garret, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith; protesting, moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear son, prince Edward. Which done, Jerome added this exhortation: "I say unto you, good brethren, that God hath bought us with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful, therefore, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth to fulfil his commandments. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need; and bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered, and how patiently he endured all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving: for if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust in their works, but in the blood of Christ; to whom I commit my soul, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may depart in the true faith of Christ."

Garret ended his protestation as followeth: "I also detest and refuse all heresies; and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy,—or if I have been so rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken offence, or evil opinion, I ask him, and all other persons

whom I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, I never preached willingly any thing against God's holy Word, or contrary to the true faith, but have always, according to my little wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his laws and to the king. And if I could have done better, I would. And I pray God send the king's grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And now I yield my soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and believing that he, of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me all my sins, whereby I most grievously from my youth offended his Majesty; wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die steadfastly in true faith, hope, and charity." And so, after their prayer made, taking each other by the hands, and kissing one another, they quietly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause.

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## THE MARTYRDOM

OF

JOHN PORTER.



EDMUND BONNER, bishop of London, (in the days of the lord Cromwel,) being then ambassador at Paris, set forward the printing of the Bible in that great volume: promising, moreover, that he would for his part have

six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London: which, at his coming home, he performed, according to the king's proclamation.

The Bibles thus standing in St. Paul's, by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of the bishop, many used to resort to the hearing thereof; especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger; and no more there was, so long as the days of Cromwel lasted. After he was gone, amongst sundry persons which frequented the reading of the aforesaid Bible, one John Porter used sometimes that godly exercise, to the edifying as well of himself as of others. This Porter was a fresh young man, and of a big stature; who, by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of sermons, became very expert. The Bible then being set up on divers pillars in St. Paul's church, fixed unto the same with chains, great multitudes resorted thither to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains, being grieved, sent for Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for reading. But Porter answered him, "That he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements, which he had fixed in print over every Bible."

However, Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon. Being so cruelly handled, he sent for a kinsman of his, who seeing him in this miserable case, entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons, and so, through friendship and money, had him up among other prisoners, which lay there for felony and murder; where Porter, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave them such instructions as he had learned of the Scriptures. For this he was complained of, and so carried down and laid in the lowest dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where within six or eight days he was found dead.

The night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near the place where Porter lay, heard him piteously groan, and make a lamentable noise; where, some suppose, that he was put in certain strait irons, called, *The devil on the neck*, being devised, after an horrible sort, to strain and wrench the neck of a man, with his legs together, in such a manner that the more he stirreth the straiter it presseth him; so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a man's back and body in pieces.

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## THE MARTYRDOM

OF

ROBERT TESTWOOD, HENRY FILMER, AND  
ANTHONY PEARSON,

WITH THE  
PERSECUTION OF JOHN MARBECK.



IN the year of our Lord 1544, there was one Robert Testwood, dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name that the musicians in Windsor college thought him a very worthy man to have a place among them. Whereupon they informed Dr. Sampson, their dean, and he was soon after removed to Windsor. He was many times troubled here for leaning to the new doctrine; as was Henry Filmer, a tradesman of Windsor, and a priest named Anthony Pearson, who, about the year 1540, was greatly esteemed among

the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which he made, both in the town and country, that the papists were sorely offended. About a year after, Dr. London, warden of New College in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor, who at his coming soon learned what heretics were in the town. On this he conspired with some others to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in Windsor and thereabout, indicted for heresy. And first they drew out certain notes of Pearson's sermons, which he had preached against the popish mass. That done, they put in sir Philip Hobby with his wife, sir Thomas Cardine, Mr. Edmund Harman, and Mr. Thomas Weldon, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Pearson. Also they noted Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, as a receiver of suspected persons.

Then they got privy spies to walk up and down the church, to hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament at the elevation time, and to bring his name to Dr. London. When they had gathered as much as they could, Dr. London gave the account to the bishop of Winchester, with a great complaint against the heretics that were in Windsor. Bishop Gardiner, spying a time convenient, went to the king, complaining what a sort of heretics his grace had in his realm, and forthwith procured a commission for a private search to be made in the town of Windsor.

Mr. Ward and Mr. Fachel of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who came to Windsor the Thursday before Palm-Sunday, in the year of our Lord 1543, and began their search about eleven at night. In which search were apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the six articles, and kept in ward till Monday after, and then all fetched up to the council, except Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, he being ill with the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were

committed to prison, Filmer and Benet to the bishop of London's prison, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea.

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called, *The Concordance of the Bible*: which book, being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, at the upper end of the board. The bishop beholding the man a while, said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?" "No, my lord," said he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor." "Thou knowest the matter well enough," quoth the bishop; and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, "Understandest thou the Latin tongue?" "No," said he, "but simply." "No!" said the bishop; and with that spake Mr. Wrisley, secretary to the king, "He saith but simply." "I cannot tell," quoth the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance; and if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue."

After a while sir Anthony Wingfield came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one of the guard, saying, "Take this man, and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure he shall treat him gently, and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the prisoners take it, and portion it out to him as he shall have need." And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission faithfully, both to the keeper and prisoner.

On the next day, which was Tuesday, by eight o'clock in the morning, there came Mr. Knight, one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen, into the Marshalsea, whose man brought after him two great books, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such commandment," said he, "for the messenger which

brought him last night from the council, said it was their pleasure he should be gently used." "My lord," said Mr. Knight, "will not be content with you:" and so taking the books of his man, he called for a room, up to which he carried the prisoner, and laying the books upon a bed, sat down, and said, "Marbeck, my lord doth favour thee well for some good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither, to admonish thee to take heed lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much harm. I assure thee, my lord lamenteth thy case, because he hath always heard a good report of thee; wherefore now play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great sort of heretics, and knowest much of their secrets; if thou wilt now open them at my lord's request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to a better living." "Alas, sir," said he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so trusted." "Perhaps," said Mr. Knight, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest they should hear thereof, and withdraw their friendship from thee; but thou needest not fear that, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee any more, nor any man else." With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepest thou?" said Knight. "Oh, sir," quoth he, "I pray you pardon me; these men have done me good; wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted myself." Then Mr. Knight, after asking some questions, called up his man to take away the books, and departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber, the door being fast shut. Two hours after, Knight came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and sat down upon the bed-side as before, and said, "By my troth, Marbeck, my lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. Thou must be plainer with my lord, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou thinkest."

“How plain will his lordship have me to be, sir?” said he. “There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his lordship’s pleasure.” “What tellest thou me,” quoth Knight, “of thy conscience? Thou mayest with a safe conscience utter those that be heretics.” “If I knew, sir,” said he, “who were an heretic indeed, it were something; but if I should accuse him to be an heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived? Yea, it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment.” “In faith,” quoth Knight, “thou knowest as well who be heretics, as I know this paper to be in my hand; but it is no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined; and thinkest thou that they will not tell of thee all that they can?” “Whatsoever,” quoth he, “they shall say of me, let them do it in the name of God, for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know.” “Well,” said Knight, “if thou wilt do so, my lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now peradventure thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things to remembrance, I have brought thee ink and paper, that thou mayest write such things as shall come to thy mind.” Then he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Hereupon Marbeck was full of heaviness: and falling down with tears, cried out to God, and said, “O most merciful Father of heaven, Thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner, who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, that to save this vile body, which shall turn to corruption at his time, I may not say or write any thing that may be to the casting away of my Christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ’s sake.” Then he rose up, and at last writ these words: “Whereas your lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows; pleaseth it your lordship to understand, that

I cannot call to remembrance any thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be the reading of the New Testament ; more than this I know not."

When Mr. Knight came again, he found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," said he, "hast thou written nothing?" "Yes, sir," said he, "as much as I know." "Well said," quoth Knight ; and took up the paper. Which when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lord's body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his master. "Therefore," said he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, sir," said Marbeck, "if his lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said." "Then wilt thou repent it," said Knight ; and so putting up his pen and ink, departed with the paper in his hand.

The next day, which was Wednesday, by eight o'clock in the morning, the bishop sent for Marbeck, to his house at St. Mary-Overy's ; and as he was entering the hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a great roll in his hand ; and going toward the great window, he called him to him, and said, "Marbeck, wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my lord," said he, "I trust." "Yes," said the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures ? Thy vocation was another way." "My lord," said he, "I have done my part, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me." "And why the devil," said the bishop, "didst thou not hold thee there?" And with that he flang away from the window, out of the hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, the bishop began on this wise : "Ah sirrah, the nest of you is broken, I trow." And unfolding his roll, (which was about an ell long,) he said, "Behold, here is the whole pack of your sect, and you will utter none of them."

"Alas, my lord," said he, "how should I accuse them of whom I know nothing?" "Well," said the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can let thee? What helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy book?" "Forsooth, my lord," said he, "none." "None," said the bishop, "how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help." "Truly, my lord," said he, "I did it without the help of any, save God alone." "Nay," said the bishop, "I do not discommend thy diligence, but why shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertaineth not to thee?"

Then one of the bishop's men came up and told him, the priest was ready to go to mass. The bishop then went down to hear mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the gallery. Then Mr. Knight came up again with ink and paper. "Come, sirrah," said he, "my lord will have you occupied till mass be done." Marbeck calling upon God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the bishop was come from mass, and had looked on the writing, he pushed it from him, saying, "What will this do? It hath neither head nor foot. This is a marvellous sect, for the devil cannot make one of them betray another." Then the bishop's gentlemen made him ready to go to court. And when his white rochet was on him, and all: "Well, Marbeck," said he, "I am now going to the court, and was purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's majesty for thee; but seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil for me." Then was he carried down by the bishop's men, with many railing words into the hall, where he was received of his keeper, and carried to prison again. It was not half an hour after, ere the bishop sent one of his gentlemen to the keeper, called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut up in a chamber alone, and to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore,

that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own wife) to come and see him, or minister any thing unto him.

About three weeks before Whitsunday, Marbeck was sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission, Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, having before them, all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Marbeck, we are sent from the king's majesty, to examin thee of certain things, whereof thou must be sworn to answer us truly." "I am content, my lord," quoth he, "to tell you the truth so far as I can," and so took his oath. Then the bishop of Salisbury laid before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered, they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works, six years ago. "Methinks," quoth the bishop of Ely, "thou hast read all sorts of books, both good and bad." "So I have, my lord," quoth he. Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, who looking upon it a while, lifted up his eyes to Dr. Oking, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great sort of our priests." To the which he made no answer.

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?" "Truly, my lord," quoth he, "no help at all." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?" "I will tell your lordship," quoth he, "what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas Matthew's bible came first out in print, I was desirous to have one of them; and being a poor man not able to buy one, I determined to borrow one, and writ it out. And when I had written out the five books of Moses, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my

friend, Mr. Turner, chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the bible, asked me what I meant. And when I had told him the cause: Tush, quoth he, thou goest about a tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English. A Concordance, said I, what is that? Then he told me, it was a book to find out any word in the bible, and that there was such a one in Latin already. Then I told him, I had no learning to go about such a thing. Enough, quoth he, for that matter; for it requireth not so much learning as diligence." "What is that Turner?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," quoth May, "an honest learned man, sometime a fellow in Magdalen College, in Oxford." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it into this order and form, as it is?" "I borrowed a Latin Concordance," quoth he, "and began to practise my wit, and at last, with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your lordship sees." "A good wit with diligence," quoth the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass." "It is great pity," quoth the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue." "So it is," said Dr. May. "Yet I cannot believe," said the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work, than written it out after some other."

"My lords," said Marbeck, "I besecch you to grant me one request." "Say what thou wilt," said the bishop. "I am loth any other should be punished for my fault. Therefore to clear all men, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book. Ye see that I am but yet at the letter L, beginning now at M; take what word ye will of that letter, and give me the words in a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone, with ink and paper, the English bible, and the Latin Concordance; and if I bring you not these words written in the same order that the rest is, then was it not I that did it." "By my truth, Marbeck," said the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then thou wilt bring many out of suspicion."

"That he will," said they all. Then they bade Dr. Oking draw out such words as he thought best, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with Marbeck, who perceiving the bishops so disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. "Shall I tell thee, Marbeck?" said the bishop of Sarum. "Thou art in a better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give 40*l.* to be in no worse case than thou art." Then came Dr. Oking with the words he had written, and while the bishops were perusing, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, "Good Mr. Marbeck, make haste, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered."

When dinner was done, the bishop of Sarum came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men, to go with him; at whose going, he demanded of the bishop, "What time his lordship would appoint him to do it in?" "Against to-morrow this time," said the bishop, and so departed. Marbeck now fell to his business, and by the next day, when the bishop sent for him again, he had written more than three sheets of paper, in the same order and form he had done the rest. When he had delivered it to the bishop of Sarum, he marvelled and said, "Well, Marbeck, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee," said he, (putting up the paper into his bosom,) "the king shall see this ere I be 24 hours older;" but he dissembled every word, and thought nothing less. For afterward, the matter being known to his grace, what a book the poor man had begun, which the bishops would not suffer him to finish; the king said, he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the bishop of Sarum to prison, and heard no more of his book.

When the time drew nigh, that the king (who was newly married to lady Katherine Parr) was to make his progress abroad, Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, were sent to Windsor by the sheriff's men,

the Saturday before St. James's day, and laid fast in the town-jail; and Testwood, (who had kept his bed,) was brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them; but as for Benet (which should have been the fifth man,) his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behind in the bishop of London's jail, whereby he escaped the fire.

These men being brought to Windsor, there was a sessions holden the Thursday following; against which sessions (by the counsel of Dr. London,) were all the farmers belonging to the college of Windsor warned to appear, because they could not pick out papists enough in the town to go upon the jury. The judges were these: Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, sir William Essex, sir Thomas Bridges, and sir Humphry Foster, Mr. Franklin, dean of Windsor, and Mr. Fachel, of Reading. When these had taken their places, and the prisoners were brought forth before them, the clerk of the peace called Anthony Pearson, and read his indictment, which was, That he had spoke against the host two years before, in a sermon preached at a place called Wingfield. To this Pearson answered, "I will be tried by God and his holy word, whether this be heresy or no. So long as I preached the bishop of Rome and his traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ, and his gospel, ye have always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, it shall not lie in your powers to hurt my soul." "Thou callest us thieves," quoth the bishop. "I say, (quoth Anthony Pearson,) ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach the word of God purely and sincerely to the people, which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and glory's sake." Then spake Symonds, his accuser, standing within the bar, "It is a pity this fellow had not been burnt long ago." "When we shall both appear before

the tribunal seat of Christ, (said Anthony,) then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved to stand in this place." "Shall I have so long a day? (quoth Symonds, holding up his finger,) nay, then I care not."

Then Testwood was called, and his indictment read, which was that he should say, when the priest was lifting up the sacrament, What wilt thou lift up so high? What yet higher? Take heed; let him not fall. After which the bishop said, "Yes, and thou hast been seen, when the priest lifted up the sacrament over his head, to look down on thy book, or some other way." "I beseech you, my lord, (quoth Testwood,) whereon did he look that marked me so well?" "Marry, (quoth the king's attorney,) he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics that so despise the blessed sacrament."

Then Filmer was called, and his indictment read, setting forth that he should say, the sacrament of the altar was nothing but a similitude, or a ceremony; which they had brought his brother, a poor labouring man of Clewer, to testify.

Then was Marbeck called, and his indictment read, to the same effect. To this he answered, "That the words whereof they had indieted him were not his, but the words of John Calvin, which he had only written out, and that long before the six articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence, by the king's general pardon."

Then said Filmer, "The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one." "Nay, (quoth the king's attorney,) thine own brother is witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses." Then the jury was called, to whom sir Humphry Foster spake, "Masters, you see there is no man that layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man Marbeck, saving he hath written certain things of other men's sayings, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon."

Then the jury went to the chamber over the place where the judges sat, and in the mean time went all the

knights and gentlemen abroad, saving the bishop, sir William Essex, and Fachel, which three sat still upon the bench till all was done. And when the jury had been in the chamber about a quarter of an hour, one of them came down to the bishop, and talked with him a good while; whereby many conjectured that they could not agree concerning Marbeck. But he had not been gone long up again before they came down to give their verdict; and one Hide, dwelling beside Abingdon, speaking for the rest, said, they were all guilty. Then the judges, beholding the prisoners a good while, (some with watery eyes,) made courtesy who should give judgment. Fachel requiring the bishop to do it, he said, "He might not." The others being required, said, "They would not." Then said Fachel, "It must be done, one must do it, and if no man will, then I will." And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgment. Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried unto the bishop, "Ah, my lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah, my lord, you have deceived me." Then the bishop, casting up his hand, said, "He could not do with all."

The prisoners being had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of Christ, their Master; yea, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers, watching the prison without, whereof the sheriff himself was one, with divers gentlemen more, were constrained to shed plenty of tears, as themselves confessed. On the morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought that they should not die that day. The cause was this, the bishop of Sarum had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, to the bishop of Winchester, in the favour of Marbeck. At the sight of which letter, the bishop straitway went to the king, and obtained his pardon.

Which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand, delivering the same to the messenger, who returned with great joy, bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon, whereat many rejoiced.

On Saturday, in the morning, Pearson seeing much people in the prison, began to say the Lord's prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the officers came to fetch them away. Then taking their leave of Marbeck, they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue, and besought him heartily to help them with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their afflictions, and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

As the prisoners passed through the people in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as the priests who rode on each side the prisoners, would persuade them to turn to mother church, Pearson would cry, "Away, away with your Romish doctrine, and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it." When Filmer was come to his brother's door, he called for his brother, but he could not be seen. When he had called three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, "And will he not come? Then God forgive him, and make him a good man." And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Pearson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now, welcome mine own sweet wife; for this day shalt thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God."

When they were all bound to the stakes, Filmer, rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hands unto God, for, after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer." At the which words,

Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord to receive his spirit. And Anthony Pearson, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good quantity thereof upon his head, saying, "This is God's hat ; now I am dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only, I trust this day to enter into his joy." And so yielded up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son, Jesus Christ.

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## THE MARTYRDOM

OF

## MR. KERBY & ROGER CLARK.



MR. J. KERBY, and Roger Clark, of Mendelsham, were apprehended at Ipswich, in the year 1546, and brought before the lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed there to examine them.

In the mean time Kerby and Clark, being in the goaler's house, named John Bird, an honest and good man, (who had checks divers times at the bar, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a keeper,) came in Mr. Robert Wingfield, son and heir of Humphry Wingfield, knight, who said to Kerby, "Remember, the fire is hot; take heed of thine enterprize, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet." Kerby answered, "Ah, Mr. Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, 'There stands a Christian soldier in the fire : ' for I know that fire, sword, and all

other things are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give us strength to bear." "Ah Kerby," said Mr. Wingfield, "if thou art at that point I will bid thee farewell; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so, saying that he would pray for them, he shook hands with them, and went away.

When Kerby and Clark came to the judgment-seat, they lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion, making their prayers secretly to God for some time. That done, their articles were declared to them: and then it was demanded, whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest, there were not the very body and blood of Christ, and no bread? They answered, "No; they did not believe so; but that they believed the sacrament, which Christ Jesus instituted at his last supper, was only to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins, and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine, consecrated to an holy use."

Sentence was then given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the said town on the next Saturday, and Clark to be burned at Bury the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the lord Wentworth, holding up his hands, and bowing himself devoutly, said, "Praised be Almighty God!" And so stood still without any more words. Then the lord Wentworth talked secretly, putting his head behind another justice that sat between them. Clark, perceiving that, said with a loud voice, "Speak out my lord, and if you have any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy; speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men." The lord Wentworth, somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance, said, "I spake nothing of you; nor have I done any thing, but according to law." Then were Kerby and Clark sent forth; Kerby to prison there, and Clark to

St. Edmund-Bury. And as they were going, one of them burst out with a loud voice, and said, "Fight for your god, for he hath not long to continue."

On Saturday, about ten o'clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place in Ipswich, where a stake was ready, with wood, broom, and straw. Having put off his clothes to his shirt, and putting a night-cap upon his head, he was fastened to the stake with irons. The lord Wentworth, with all the justices of those quarters, were in a gallery to see his execution, and also to hear what Kerby said, and a great number of people, about 2000 by estimation. There was also in the gallery, with the lord Wentworth, Dr. Rugham. Then silence was proclaimed, and the Doctor began to expound the 6th chapter of St. John. And as oft as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bid the people believe him: but when he did otherwise, he told him, You say not true; believe him not, good people. When the Doctor had ended, he said to Kerby, "Thou good man, dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread." Kerby answered, "I do not believe so: I believe that in the sacrament, that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, his death and passion for the redemption of the world, are to be remembered." After that the Doctor spake not one word more.

Then said the under-sheriff to Kerby, "Hast thou any thing more to say?" "Yes, Sir, (said he,) if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff. Then Kerby, lifting up his hands, said the hymn *Te Deum*, and the belief, with divers prayers in the English tongue. Whilst Kerby was doing this, lord Wentworth screened himself behind one of the posts in the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done; you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he

called upon God, smiting on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God, with great admiration of his constancy.

On Monday, about ten o'clock, Roger Clark was brought out of prison, and went on foot to Southgate, in Bury; and by the way the procession met with them, and he would not bow cap or knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition. When he was come without the gate, to the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he kneeled down, and said *Magnificat* in the English tongue, making a paraphrase upon it; wherein he declared how the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness as any other, yet humbled herself to our Saviour. "And what sayest thou John Baptist, (said he,) the greatest of all men's children? 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.'" Thus with a loud voice he cried to the people, while he was fastening to the stake. Then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn; and moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking by the sides, he was therewith sore pained. At length one standing by took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, struck him so upon the head, that he sunk down into the fire, and so was dissolved.

## THE MARTYRDOMS

OF

MRS. ANNE ASKEW, NICHOLAS BELENIAN,  
JOHN ADAMS, AND JOHN LACELS.



ANNE ASKEW was first examined March, 1545.

First, Christopher Dare asked her, at Sadler's-Hall, If she did not believe the sacrament was the very body of Christ. Then she demanded of him, Why St. Stephen was stoned to death? He said, He could not tell. Then she said, No more will I answer your vain question. Secondly, he said, There was a woman which testified, that she had read, how God was not in temples made with hands. Then she shewed him what Stephen and Paul had said in the 7th and 17th chapters of Aets. Thirdly, he asked her, Why she said, she had rather read five lines in the Bible, than hear five masses in the temple? She answered, Because the one edified her greatly, and the other nothing at all. Fourthly, he charged her with saying, That if an ill priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God. She answered, That she never spake any such thing. But her saying was, That whosoever he were that ministered, his ill condition could not hurt her faith, but she received nevertheless the body and blood of Christ. Fifthly, he asked her, What she said concerning confession. She answered, That every man ought to confess his faults to another, and the one

to pray for the other. Sixthly, he asked, What she said to the king's book? She answered, I can say nothing to it, because I never saw it. Seventhly, he asked her, If she had the Spirit of God in her? She answered, I have not, I am but a reprobate or a cast-away. Then he said, he had sent for a priest to examine her, who was at hand. The priest then came and asked her, what she said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know her opinion therein. But she desired him again to hold her excused concerning this matter; and would make him no other answer, because she perceived him to be a papist. Lastly, he asked her, If she did not think that masses helped the souls departed? She said, It is great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

Then they had her thence to my lord mayor, who examined her, and she answered him in all things as she answered before. Besides this, my lord mayor falsely charged her with asking, whether a mouse eating the host received God or not. [This question she declared, she never asked, but they asked it of her.] Whereunto she made no answer, but smiled.

Then the bishop's chancellor removed her, and said, that she was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For St. Paul, (he said,) forbade women to speak or talk of the word of God. She answered, St. Paul said, a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by way of teaching. And then she asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said, he never saw any. Then said she, you ought to find no fault with poor women, except they offend the law.

Then the lord mayor commanded her to custody. She asked him if sureties would not serve? and he answered shortly, he would take none. Then she was had to the compter, and there remained eleven days; no friend being admitted to speak with her. In the mean time, there was a priest sent to her; who said, that he was commanded to examine her: and first he asked her, for

what cause she was put in the compter? She told him, she could not tell. Then said he, it is great pity. I am very sorry for you. Secondly, he said, It is told me that you deny the sacrament of the altar. She answered again, What I have said, I have said. Thirdly, he asked, If she were content to be confessed? She told him, Yes, if she might have one of these three, Dr. Crome, sir Guillam, or Huntington, because she knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you, (says she,) I will not dispraise you, because I know you not. Fourthly, he asked, If the host should fall, and a beast should eat it, whether the beast received God or not? She answered, Since you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to answer it yourself. He said it was against the order of schools, that he which asked the question should answer it. She replied, I am but a woman, and know not the course of schools. Fifthly, he asked, If she intended to receive the sacrament at Easter? She answered, Yes, or else I were no Christian; and I rejoyce that the time is so near at hand. Then the priest departed with many fair words.

The 23d of March, one Britain, her cousin, went to my lord mayor, desiring him that she might be bailed. My lord bid him go and ask the chancellor of London. So he went to the chancellor; who bade him come again on the morrow. And upon the morrow he spake both with the chancellor and with the bishop of London. The bishop appointed Mrs. Askew to appear before him the next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon. Also he required Mr. Britain, that he should earnestly persuade her to utter the very bottom of her heart; and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of her words, neither would he lay ought to her charge for any thing that she should there speak.

On the morrow, the bishop of London sent for her at one o'clock, and said, he was very sorry for her trouble, and desired to know her opinions in such matters as were laid against her. He required her also, to utter boldly

the secrets of her heart, bidding her not to fear in any point, for whatsoever she said in his house, no man should hurt her for it. She answered, As your lordship appointed three o'clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to excuse me giving answer till they come. Then he went into his gallery with Mr. Spilman, and willed him to exhort her to utter all her mind. In the mean while, he commanded his arch-deacon to commune with her, who said to her, Mistress, wherefore are you accused? She answered, Sir, pray ask my accusers, for I know not. Then he took her book out of her hand, and said, Such books as this have brought you to the trouble you are in. Beware, beware, for he that made this book was an heretic I warrant you. She asked him, If he were sure that was true which he had spoken? He said, He knew the book was of John Frith's making. She asked him again, If he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or knew the truth of it. Then she opened the book and shewed it him. He said, I thought it had been another. Then she desired him to be so swift in judgment no more: with that he went away. Immediately after came in Mr. Britain, with divers others. Then my lord of London said, He would have her credit the counsel of such as were her friends, and utter all things that burdened her conscience. She answered, I have nought to say, for my conscience (I thank God,) is burdened with nothing.

Then said he, If a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would administer help to it before he had seen it uncovered. So, says he, I can give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened. She answered, My conscience is clear in all things, and to lay a plaister to the whole skin is mere folly. Then you drive me, (saith he,) to charge you with your own report. You said, "He that receives the sacrament from the hands of an ill priest, receives the devil, and not God." She answered, I never spake such words. But, as I said

before, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the priest cannot hurt me; but in spirit and faith I receive no less than the body and blood of Christ. Then said the bishop, What saying is this, *in spirit*? I will not take you at advantage. She answered, My lord, without faith and the Spirit, I cannot receive him worthily. Then he charged her with saying, That the sacrament was but bread. She answered, I never said so; but indeed they asked me such a question, whereunto I said, I would not answer, till they had answered this question of mine, Why Stephen was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, No more would I tell them what it was. Then the bishop said again, What if the Scriptures say, It is the body of Christ? I believe, says she, as the Scripture teaches me. Then he asked again, What if the Scripture says it is not the body of Christ? Her answer was still, I believe as the Scripture informs me. He tarried a great while upon this argument, in order to have driven her to make answer to his mind, but could not. Then he asked, Why she had so few words? She answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance. Fifthly, the bishop laid to her charge, that she had said the mass was superstitious. She answered, I said not so. Howbeit I say, they asked me, Whether private mass did relieve souls or no? Unto whom I answered, Lord, what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in masses than in the death of the dear Son of God! Then said my lord, What answer is that? Though it be but mean, (says she,) it is good enough for the question.

Then certain priests tempted her much to know her mind. But she answered, What I have said to my lord of London, I have said. Then said my lord, There are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not. She said again, My lord, I could wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it,

I pray you bring them forth. Then my lord went away, and wrote a great deal, part of which was as follows: "Be it known of all men, that I, Anne Askew, confess this to be my faith, notwithstanding many reports to the contrary. I believe that they which receive the host at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good, or not, receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I believe in this, and all other sacraments of holy church, in all points, according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name."

Then he read it to her, and asked if she agreed to it. She said, "I believe so much thereof as is agreeable to holy Scripture: wherefore I desire that you will add that thereunto." Then he answered, "You shall not teach me what I shall write." With that he went forth into his great chamber, and read the same bill before the audience, who willed her to set her hand to it, saying, That she was favoured. Then said the bishop, "You may thank others, and not yourself, for the favour you have found at my hands; for I considered that you have good friends, and that you came of a worshipful stock."

Then the bishop sat down, and gave her the writing to set her hand to, and she wrote after this manner, "I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church." Then, because she added, *the catholic church*, he went into his chamber in a great fury. With that, her cousin Britain followed, desiring him, for God's sake, to be a good lord to her. He answered, "She is a woman, and I am nothing deceived in her." Then Mr. Britain desired him to take her as a woman, and not to set her weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom. Then Dr. Weston went in unto him, and with much ado they persuaded my lord to come out again, and to take her name, with the names of her sureties, which were her cousin Britain and Mr. Spilman

of Gray's-Inn. This being done, it was thought she would have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of law. Howbeit, he would not suffer it, but committed her to prison again till the morrow; and then he ordered her to appear in the Guild-hall, and so she did. Notwithstanding, they would not admit her to bail there; but commanded her again to prison. Then her sureties were appointed to come before them on the morrow, in St. Paul's church. There they would again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman, whom they knew not. At last, after much ado, they took a bond of them for her forth-coming; and thus she was at last delivered.

The sum of her latter examination before the king's council, at Greenwich, was this: Being before the council, Mr. Kyme asked, What was her mind now? She answered, That my lord chancellor knew her mind. They said, It was the king's pleasure she should open the matter to them. She answered them plainly, She would not; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear her, she would shew him the truth. Then they said, It was not meet for the king to be troubled with her. She answered, Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet he misliked not to hear two poor common women; much more his grace a simple woman, his faithful subject. Then my lord chancellor asked her, her opinion of the sacrament? Her answer was, "I believe, that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion." The bishop of Winchester bade her make a direct answer. She said, She would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said, You speak in parables. She said, It was best for him; for if I shew the open truth, (quoth she,) you will not accept it. Then he said, she was a parrot. She told him again, I am ready to suffer all things at your hands, not only your rebukes, but all

that shall follow, yea, and that gladly. Then she had many rebukes of the council, because she would not express her mind in all things as they would have her. But they were not unanswered. She was with them about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed her to my lady Garnish.

The next day she was brought again before the council. Then they would needs know of her, what she said to the sacrament. She answered, I have already said what I could say. After many words, they bade her go by. Then came my lord Lisle, my lord Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring her earnestly to confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said she to my lord Parr and my lord Lisle, It is a great shame for you to counsel contrary to your knowledge. Then said the bishop, I will speak with you familiarly. So did Judas, (says she,) when he betrayed Christ. Then he desired to speak with her alone. But she refused it. He asked her the reason, and she said, In the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter shall stand. Then my lord chancellor began to examine her again concerning the sacrament. And she asked, How long he would halt between two opinions? Then he went his way; and the bishop said, she should be burnt. She answered, I have searched all the Scriptures, yet I could never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. Then she was commanded to stand aside. Then came Dr. Cox and Dr. Robinson, but she and they could not agree.

On the Sunday she was very sick, thinking no less than to die. Therefore she desired to speak with Mr. Latimer, but it could not be. Then she was sent to Newgate in the extremity of her sickness; in all her life never having been in such pain, as she herself testified, who wrote this account with her own hand; which she concluded thus: The Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray,

*“ The Confession of me, ANNE ASKEW, at the time I was in Newgate, concerning my belief.*

“ I find in the Scripture, that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, ‘ Take, eat, this is my body, which shall be broken for you :’ meaning, in substance, his own very body,—the bread being a sign or sacrament thereof. After like manner of speaking, he said, He would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again ; signifying his own body by the temple, as St. John declareth it, (John ii.) and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it.

“ Written by me, Anne Askew, that neither wish death, nor fear his might; and as merry as one that is bound towards heaven.”

*The Condemnation of ANNE ASKEW at the Guild-hall, written with her own hand.*

“ They said to me there, That I was an heretic, and condemned by the law. I answered, That I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I wrote to the council, I would not (I said,) deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ’s body and blood. I said, Yes. For the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven. And as for that ye call your god, it is a piece of bread. After that, they willed me to have a priest ; and then I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good ? I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so I was condemned. My belief that I wrote to the council was this : That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ’s death, the only remedy of our souls ;

and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion : concluding thus,

“ I neither wish death, nor fear his might : God have the praise thereof.”

*The Copy of her Letter to the Lord Chancellor.*

“ THE Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen. My duty to your lordship remembered : It might please you to accept this my bold suit, as the suit of one which, upon due consideration, is moved to the same. My request to your lordship is only, That the king’s majesty may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief ; which, when it shall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me, I think his grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my cause to Almighty God, which rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all saints. Amen.

“ By your handmaid,

“ ANNE ASKEW.”

*An Account of her Faith, written to the King.*

“ I, ANNE ASKEW, of good memory, (although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins deserve,) desire this to be known unto your grace, That, forasmuch as I am condemned for an evil-doer, I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency. And according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ has said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as the catholic church doth teach. For I will not forsake the commandments of his holy lips. But look what God

hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart.

“ And thus I end, for lack of learning,

“ ANNE ASKEW.”

On Tuesday she was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where the bishop of London, with all his power, strove to persuade her from God. Then came Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled her to recant, as he had done. She said, It had been good for you never to have been born ; with many other like words.

Mr. Rich then sent her to the Tower, where she remained till three o'clock. Then came Rich, and one of the council, charging her to shew if she knew any man or woman of her sect. Her answer was, That she knew none. Then they asked her of my lady Suffolk, my lady Sussex, my lady Hertford, my lady Denny, and my lady Fitzwilliams. To whom she answered, If I pronounce any thing against them, I am not able to prove it. Then they said, The king was informed that she could name, if she would, a great number of her sect. She answered, The king is as much deceived in that behalf, as he is dissembled with by you in other matters. They then commanded her to shew how she was maintained in the Compter, and who willed her to stick to her opinion. She said, There was no creature that strengthened her therein. And as for the help that she had in the Compter, it was by the means of her maid : for as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the apprentices, and they sent her money by her ; but who they were she knew not. Then they said there were several gentlemen that gave her money ; she said, she knew not their names. Then they said, there were of the council that maintained her ; but she denied it.

Then they put her on the rack, because she confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of her opinion, and thereon they kept her a long time ; and because she lay still, and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Mr. Rich

took pains to rack her with their own hands till she was nigh dead. The lieutenant then caused her to be loosed from the rack. She swooned immediately, but they recovered her again. After that, she sat two hours upon the bare floor, reasoning with the lord chancellor ; where he, with many flattering words, persuaded her to leave her opinion. But my Lord God, (said she,) I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the end. She was then brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with weary and painful bones. Afterwards, my lord chancellor sent her word, if she would leave her opinion, she should want nothing ; if she would not, she should forthwith go to Newgate, and so be burned. She sent him word again, that she would rather die than break her faith. Then she wrote to a friend, and concluded thus : “The Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend ; and pray, pray, pray.”

Touching her racking in the Tower, it was thus : first she was led down into a deep dungeon, where sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his goaler to pinch her with the rack. Which being done, as much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down ; but Wrisley, the chancellor, not content that she was loosed so soon, and had confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again ; but he refused to do it : wherefore he was threatened grievously by the said Wrisley, saying, That he would signify his disobedience to the king. And so he and Mr. Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs do it themselves ; first asking her if she was with child. To whom she said, Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me ; and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder, so that she was obliged to be carried away in a chair. When the racking was over, Wrisley and Rich took horse toward the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way

by land, the lieutenant, taking boat, went to court in all haste to speak to the king before the others; and did so: who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and shewed him the whole matter as it stood; as of the racking of Mrs. Askew, and that he was threatened by the lord chancellor, because at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly desired his highness's pardon. When the king understood the affair, he seemed not well to like of their so handling of the woman, and also granted the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge. There was great expectation among the warders and officers of the Tower, who waited for his return. When they saw him come so cheerfully, and he had declared how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyful, and gave thanks to God.

*Anne ASKEW's Answer to JOHN LACEL's Letter.*

"O FRIEND, most dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. I desire you not to believe of me such weakness. For I doubt not but God will perform his work in me like as he hath begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear lest the king's majesty should have information thereof. Well, God forgive them.

Your's in Christ Jesus,

"Farewell and pray,

"ANNE ASKEW."

*The last Confession of Faith which ANNE ASKEW made in Newgate.*

"I, ANNE ASKEW, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the

water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy Word; and I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will assist me against all evil opinions. For I take him to witness that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"As touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

"Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart, and my full trust is, (as David saith,) that it shall be a lanthorn to my footsteps.

"But as concerning your mass, as it is now used, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with tecth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death."

### *The Prayer of Anne Askew.*

"O LORD, I have more enemies now, than there be hairs on my head: yet, Lord, let them not overcome me with vain words; but fight thou Lord in my stead, for on thee I cast my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature.

Yet, sweet Lord, let me not fear them which are against me; for in thee is my whole delight: and I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt, of thy most merciful goodness, forgive them that violence which they do, and have done, unto me. Open thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and set forth thy truth aright, without all vain fancies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it.

“ By me,

“ ANNE ASKEW ”

After she had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, nor yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret; the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought to Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, by means of her great torments. When she was brought to the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Dr. Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew hearing, and answering again, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, there, said she, he misseth, and speaketh without book. The sermon being finished, she and the other martyrs, standing tied at their several stakes, began their prayers. The concourse of people was exceeding great, the place where they stood being railed about to keep off the press. Upon the bench, under St. Bartholomew's church, sat the chancellor of England, the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers others besides. Before the fire was set to them, one of the bench hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being apprehensive that the faggots, by strength of the gunpowder, would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid; but the earl of Bedford declared the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots, but only

about their bodies; and as it had vent, there was no danger to them.

Then lord chancellor Wrisley sent letters to Anne Askew, offering her the king's pardon, if she would recant. Who, refusing once to look upon them, said, "I came not hither to deny my Lord and Master." Then the letters were offered to the others, who likewise refused not only to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cried with a loud voice, "Let justice be done." Thus Anne Askew, having passed through so many torments, after a long course of agonies, being compassed about with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, slept in the Lord.

Those who suffered with her, were Nicholas Belenian, priest, of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, gentleman, of the court and household of king Henry: who, beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, set apart all fear; and confirming one another with mutual exhortations, tarried for the fire, which at the last flaming round them, consumed their bodies in happy martyrdom, about the month of June, 1546.

END OF VOLUME II.