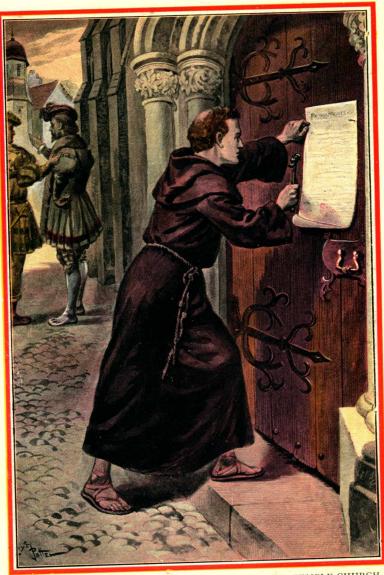
FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS

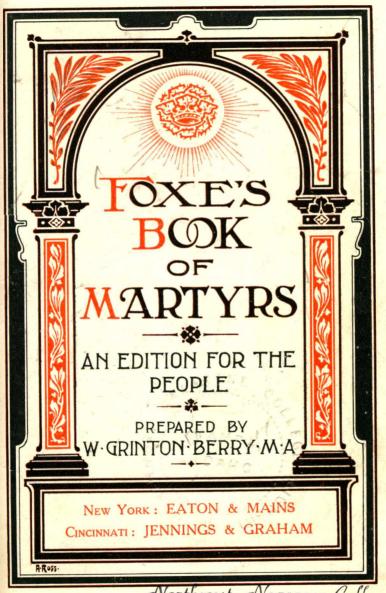
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FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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LUTHER NAILING HIS THESIS TO THE DOOR OF THE TEMPLE CHURCH.



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EDITOR'S PREFACE

ONLY a very few words of explanation are necessary to introduce this edition of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, a work which used to hold a place in thousands of households by the side of The Pilgrim's Progress and the Bible, and which is well fitted, at the present hour, to do great service for

Evangelical and Protestant truth.

Foxe is undoubtedly a vivid, powerful, truly interesting writer with a style whose simplicity covers elements both of tenderness and indignation; and some of his narratives are among the finest in the English language; but in his book, as he left it, he did not always arrange his materials in the way most likely to attract the reader of the present day. His literary craftsmanship in the making of phrase, sentence, and paragraph is noticeable; but he was markedly deficient in literary architectonics. did not always build up his hewn stones into a simple structure, the lines of which could at once be taken in by the observer. An endeavour has been made in this edition to remedy that defect. The modern reader is won by clear and simple arrangement of what is placed before him; accordingly the Editor has striven hard to merit the commendation of having secured that.

The Editor believes that nothing essential has been omitted in this edition, that he has conserved everything in The Book of Martyrs that most

EDITOR'S PREFACE

obviously makes for edification. Foxe, when he had the material, narrated at great length the examinations of the martyrs before their judges. Inevitably the same points of controversy emerge, the same questions are asked and the same answers given—again and again. The Editor of this edition has thought it necessary to avoid these repetitions, while having an anxious care that in the cases of the more illustrious martyrs—to each of whom a chapter is devoted—the truths for which they offered up

their lives are fully and explicitly stated.

Further, the biographical part of Foxe's immortal work has in this edition been disentangled from the very lengthy dissertations on general religious history in which the illustrious author delighted. Foxe's plan was to tell his story under each reign, then when he came to the hour in which his hero struck upon the scene he pulled up, began to relate the biography of his subject from the beginning of his career, and, that done, returned to his main narrative. National history and personal biography were more mixed up than they need have been, and repetitions were frequent. These saltatory methods led to confusion, the biography did not stand out in sharp relief, the reader was not clearly pointed to it, and the general impression of the whole on his mind was blurred. The discursiveness of Foxe's work, in its original form, is also a bar to its hearty acceptance by the modern reader, for of all characteristics discursiveness is that of which the latter is most impatient. He likes narratives that are clean-cut, swift, full of movement, making straight for the point.

The Editor has kept these last-mentioned essential

EDITOR'S PREFACE

points in mind all the time of his preparation of this volume. The result, it is hoped, proves that Foxe's narratives, judged merely on literary grounds, are among the most graphic and the most readable in our literature. Add to that, that the great theme with which this famous book deals—the falsehood, aggressiveness, and intolerance of Romanism and its cruelty, which always merely waits its opportunity—are topics full of living significance at this hour, and it becomes reasonable to entertain hope that this volume may receive a great popular welcome and again nobly serve the cause for which it was written.

Perhaps it ought to be added that the Editor is quite aware that the Emperor Constantine, Wickliff, and Luther, whose lives are narrated in this book, were not martyrs in the current acceptation of the word. But the original meaning of martyr is witness, and these were assuredly witnesses whose testimony to the Gospel was of great value. Besides, every reader would have felt that the volume was

imperfect without these sketches.

W. GRINTON BERRY.

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JOHN FOXE THE MARTYROLOGIST¹

JOHN FOXE was born at Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1516. He was a studious youth, and, aided by his friends, was sent to Oxford when he was sixteen years old. He became B.A. in 1537, probationer Fellow of Magdalen College 1538, full Fellow 1539, lecturer in Logic 1539-1540, and M.A. in 1543. His intimate friends at Oxford included Hugh Latimer and William Tyndale, and like them he strongly favoured Protestantism. It was this fact which led in 1545 to the resignation of Foxe and

five other Fellows of Magdalen.

On leaving Oxford he received temporary employment as tutor in the Lucy family at Charlecote, Warwickshire. Early in 1547 he married at Charlecote Church Agnes Randall, the daughter of an old Coventry friend, and came up to London to seek a livelihood. Before the end of 1548 Foxe was appointed tutor to the orphan children of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who had been executed in 1547. There were two boys, Thomas, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, together with three girls. Foxe joined his pupils at the castle of Reigate, a manor belonging to their grandfather, the Duke of Norfolk.

¹ This notice is a condensation of the account given in the Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xx., by S. L. Lee.

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Foxe was ordained deacon by Ridley, Bishop of London, in St Paul's Cathedral, in 1550. Subsequently he preached at Reigate (though he had no pastoral charge there), being the first to preach Protestantism there. Meanwhile he was publishing theological tracts and reading much in church history.

When Queen Mary came to the throne in July 1553 an anxious time for Foxe began. The old Duke of Norfolk, a Catholic, was released from prison, and immediately dismissed Foxe from the tutorship of his grandchildren. The majority of Foxe's friends left England for the Continent at the first outbreak of persecution, and Foxe determined to follow them. He sailed from Ipswich to Nieuport, whence he proceeded to Strasburg, where he met his friend Edmund Grindal. He had brought with him in manuscript the first part of a Latin treatise on the persecution of Reformers in Europe from the time of Wycliffe to his own day. This volume, dealing mainly with Wycliffe and Huss, forms the earliest draft of The Acts and Monuments (so generally known as The Book of Martyrs), and was published

After a stay of about a year at Frankfort, where Foxe came into intimate contact with the Scottish reformer, John Knox, he removed to Basle, where he suffered acutely from poverty. He found employment, however, as a reader of the press in the printing-office of Johann Herbst or Oporinus, an enthusiastic Protestant and publisher of Protestant books, who allowed Foxe adequate leisure for his

own books.

Meanwhile Foxe was receiving through Grindal reports of the persecutions in England. Bradford's

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

case was one of the earliest he obtained. When reports of Cranmer's examination arrived Foxe prepared then for publication. Grindal urged Foxe to complete at once his account of the persecutions of reformers in England as far as the end of Henry VIII.'s reign. He worked steadily, and in 1559 had brought his story of persecution down to nearly the end of Henry's reign. This work, which was in Latin, bears a dedication, dated September 1, 1559, to Foxe's old pupil, now Duke of Norfolk.

Foxe returned to England the same year, and early in 1560 Grindal, now Bishop of London, ordained him priest. He was engaged in translating the work above mentioned into English and in elaborating his information. The papers of Ralph Morice, Cranmer's secretary, had fallen into his

hands together with much new material.

The Acts and Monuments was published on March 20, 1563. From the date of its appearance it was popularly known as The Book of Martyrs. Foxe forwarded a copy to Magdalen College, and received in payment £6, 13s. 4d. The success of the undertaking was immediate. The author was rewarded with a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral and with the lease of the vicarage of Shipton (May 11, 1563). Yet he still suffered from slenderness of means.

On the Good Friday after the publication of the papal bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth (1570), Foxe, at Grindal's bidding, preached a powerful sermon at St Paul's Cross and renewed his attacks on the Catholics. A second edition of The Acts and Monuments was published in 1570. Convocation resolved that copies should be placed

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

in cathedral churches and in the houses of arch-

bishops, bishops, deacons, and archdeacons.

In 1575 Foxe energetically sought to obtain the remission of the capital sentence in the case of two Dutch Anabaptists condemned to the stake for their opinions. He wrote to the Queen, Lord Burghley, and Lord Chief Justice Manson, pointing out the disproportion between the offence and the punishment, and deprecating the penalty of death in cases of heresy. A respite of a month was allowed, but both the Anabaptists perished.

The third and fourth editions of The Acts and Monuments were issued in 1576 and 1583 respec-

tively.

Foxe's health began to break up in 1586, and he died, after much suffering, in April 1587. He was buried in St Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London, where a monument, with an inscription by his son Samuel, is still extant.

Foxe was charitable to the poor, although his own circumstances were frequently straitened, and he was never well off; and he seems to have been of a cheerful temperament. His wife survived him eighteen years, dying in 1605. There were at least five children of the marriage.

Foxe was a prolific author, but the work by which he will ever be held in grateful remembrance

is The Book of Martyrs.

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xiv

FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS

THE PERSECUTION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

Christ our Saviour, in the Gospel of St Matthew, hearing the confession of Simon Peter, who, first of all other, openly acknowledged Him to be the Son of God, and perceiving the secret hand of His Father therein, called him (alluding to his name) a rock, upon which rock He would build His Church so strong, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it. In which words three things are to be noted: First, that Christ will have a Church in this world. Secondly, that the same Church should mightily be impugned, not only by the world, but also by the uttermost strength and powers of all hell. And, thirdly, that the same Church, notwithstanding the uttermost of the devil and all his malice, should continue.

Which prophecy of Christ we see wonderfully to be verified, insomuch that the whole course of the Church to this day may seem nothing else but a verifying of the said prophecy. First, that Christ hath set up a Church, needeth no declaration. Secondly, what force of princes, kings, monarchs, governors, and rulers of this world, with their subjects, publicly and privately, with all their strength and cunning, have bent themselves against

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THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

this Church! And, thirdly, how the said Church, all this notwithstanding, hath yet endured and holden its own! What storms and tempests it hath overpast, wondrous it is to behold: for the more evident declaration whereof, I have addressed this present history, to the end, first, that the wonderful works of God in His Church might appear to His glory; also that, the continuance and proceedings of the Church, from time to time, being set forth, more knowledge and experience may redound thereby, to the profit of the reader and edification of Christian faith.

At the first preaching of Christ, and coming of the Gospel, who should rather have known and received him than the Pharisees and Scribes of that people which had His law? and yet who persecuted and rejected Him more than they themselves? What followed? They, in refusing Christ to be their King, and choosing rather to be subject unto Cæsar, were by the said Cæsar at length destroyed.

The like example of God's wrathful punishment is to be noted no less in the Romans themselves. For when Tiberius Cæsar, having learnt by letters from Pontius Pilate of the doings of Christ, of His miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, and how He was received as God of many, himself moved with belief of the same, did confer thereon with the whole senate of Rome, and proposed to have Christ adored as God; they, not agreeing thereunto, refused Him, because that, contrary to the law of the Romans, He was consecrated (said they) for God before the senate of Rome had so decreed and approved Him. Thus the vain senate (being contented with the emperor to reign over

THE PUNISHMENT OF PILATE

them, and not contented with the meek King of glory, the Son of God, to be their King) were scourged and entrapped for their unjust refusing, by the same way which they themselves did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor, and rejected Christ, so the just permission of God did stir up their own emperors against them in such sort, that the senators themselves were almost all destroyed, and the whole city most horribly afflicted for the

space almost of three hundred years.

For first, the same Tiberius, who, for a great part of his reign, was a moderate and a tolerable prince, afterward was to them a sharp and heavy tyrant, who neither favoured his own mother, nor spared his nephews nor the princes of the city, such as were his own counsellors, of whom, being of the number of twenty, he left not past two or three alive. Suetonius reporteth him to be so stern of nature, and tyrannical, that in one day he recordeth twenty persons to be drawn to the place of execution. In whose reign through the just punishment of God, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and sent to Rome, deposed, then banished to the town of Vienne in Dauphiny, and at length did slay himself. Agrippa the elder, also, by him was cast into prison, albeit afterward he was restored.

After the death of Tiberius, succeeded Caligula, Claudius Nero and Domitius Nero; which three were likewise scourges to the Senate and people of Rome. The first commanded himself to be worshipped as god, and temples to be erected in his name, and used to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set up in all

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THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

temples, and also in the temple of Jerusalem; which caused great disturbance among the Jews, and then began the abomination of desolation spoken of in the Gospel to be set up in the holy place. His cruelty of disposition, or else displeasure towards the Romans, was such that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one neck, that he, at his pleasure, might destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod Antipas, the murderer of John Baptist and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetual banishment, where he died miserably. Caiaphas also, who wickedly sat upon Christ, was the same time removed from the high priest's room, and Jonathan set in his place.

The raging fierceness of this Caligula had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other gentlemen, who slew him in the fourth year of his reign. After whose death were found in his closet two small books, one called the Sword, the other the Dagger: in which books were contained the names of those senators and noblemen of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this Sword and Dagger, there was found also a coffer, wherein divers kinds of poisons were kept in glasses and vessels, for the purpose of destroying a wonderful number of people; which poisons, afterward being thrown into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish.

But that which this Caligula had only conceived, the same did the other two, which came after, bring to pass; namely, Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but especially the third of these Neros, called Domitius Nero, who, succeeding after Claudius, reigned fourteen

NERO'S BURNING OF ROME

years with such fury and tyranny that he slew the most part of the senators and destroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome. So prodigious a monster of nature was he (more like a beast, yea rather a devil than a man), that he seemed to be born to the destruction of men. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother-in-law, his sister, his wife and his instructors, Seneca and Lucan. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it six days and seven nights in burning, while that he, to see the example how Troy burned, sang the verses of Homer. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Christian men, and caused them to be persecuted.

And so continued this miserable emperor till at last the senate, proclaiming him a public enemy unto mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the city, and to be whipped to death; for the fear whereof, he, flying 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 then neither friend nor enemy left, that

would do so much for him.

The Jews, in the year threescore and ten, about forty years after the passion of Christ, were destroyed by Titus, and Vespasian his father, (who succeeded after Nero in the empire) to the number of eleven hundred thousand, besides those which Vespasian slew in subduing the country of Galilee. They were sold and sent into Egypt and other provinces to vile slavery, to the number of seventeen thousand; two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph; of whom, part he gave to be

devoured of the wild beasts, part otherwise most

cruelly were slain.

As I have set forth the justice of God upon these Roman persecutors, so now we declare their persecutions raised up against the people and servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred years; which persecutions in number commonly are counted to be ten, besides the persecutions first moved by the Jews, in Jerusalem and other places, against the apostles. After the martyrdom of Stephen, suffered next James the holy apostle of Christ, and brother of John. 'When this James,' saith Clement, 'was brought to the tribunal seat, he that brought him and was the cause of his trouble, seeing him to be condemned and that he should suffer death, was in such sort moved therewith in heart and conscience that as he went to the execution he confessed himself also, of his own accord, to be a Christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgive him what he had done. After that James had a little paused with himself upon the matter, turning to him he saith "Peace be to thee, brother;" and kissed him. And both were-beheaded together, A.D. 36.'

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes and Persians, also to the Carmanians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians and Magians. He suffered in Calamina, a city of India, being slain with a dart. Simon, who was brother to Jude, and to James the younger, who all were the sons of Mary Cleophas and of Alpheus, was Bishop of Jerusalem after James, and was crucified in a city of Egypt in the time of Trajan the emperor. Simon the apostle, called Cananeus and Zelotes, preached in Mauritania, and

THE BOLDNESS OF ANDREW

in the country of Africa, and in Britain: he was likewise crucified.

Mark, the evangelist and first Bishop of Alexandria, preached the Gospel in Egypt, and there, drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burnt and afterwards buried in a place called there 'Bucolus,' under the reign of Trajan the emperor. Bartholomew is said also to have preached to the Indians, and to have translated the Gospel of St Matthew into their tongue. At last in Albinopolis, a city of greater Armenia, after divers persecutions, he was beaten down with staves, then crucified; and after, being

excoriate, he was beheaded.

Of Andrew the apostle and brother to Peter, thus writeth Jerome. 'Andrew did preach, in the year fourscore of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the Scythians and Sogdians, to the Sacæ, and in a city which is called Sebastopolis, where the Ethiopians do now inhabit. He was buried in Patræ, a city of Achaia, being crucified by Ægeas, the governor of the Edessenes.' Bernard, and St Cyprian, do make mention of the confession and martyrdom of this blessed apostle; whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers, we have collected after this manner: When Andrew, through his diligent preaching, had brought many to the faith of Christ, Ægeas the governor, knowing this, resorted to Patræ, to the intent he might constrain as many as did believe Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the senate, to do sacrifice unto the idols, and so give divine honours unto them. Andrew, thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsel and the doings of Ægeas, went unto him, saying to this effect unto him: 'that it behoved him who

was judge of men, first to know his Judge which dwelleth in heaven, and then to worship Him being known; and so, in worshipping the true God, to revoke his mind from false gods and blind idols.' These words spake Andrew to the proconsul.

But Ægeas, greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him, whether he was the same Andrew that did overthrow the temple of the gods, and = persuade men to be of that superstitious sect which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and rejected. Andrew did plainly affirm that the princes of the Romans did not understand the truth and that the Son of God, coming from heaven into the world for man's sake, hath taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not only not gods, but also most cruel devils; enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but that wherewith God is offended, and, being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not; and so by the wicked service of the devil, they do fall headlong into all wickedness, and, after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them, but their evil deeds.

But the proconsul charged and commanded Andrew not to teach and preach such things any more; or, if he did, he should be fastened to the

cross with all speed.

Andrew, abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatened: 'He would not have preached the honour and glory of the cross, if he had feared the death of the cross.' Whereupon sentence of condemnation was pronounced; that Andrew, teaching and enterprising a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified.

A LOVER OF THE CROSS

Andrew, going toward the place, and seeing afar off the cross prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, neither did his blood shrink, neither did he fail in his speech, his body fainted not, neither was his mind molested, nor did his understanding fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speak, and fervent charity did appear in his words as kindled sparks; he said, 'O cross, most welcome and long looked for! with a willing mind, joyfully and desirously, I come to thee, being the scholar of Him which did hang on thee: because I have always been thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee.'

Matthew, otherwise named Levi, first of a publican made an apostle, wrote his Gospel to the Jews in the Hebrew tongue. After he had converted to the faith Æthiopia and all Egypt, Hircanus, their king, sent one to run him through with a spear.

Philip, the holy apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the word of salvation to them, at length suffered, in Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death; where also he was buried, and his daughters also with him.

Of James, the brother of the Lord, thus we read: James, took in hand to govern the Church with the apostles, being counted of all men, from the time of our Lord, to be a just and perfect man. He drank no wine nor any strong drink, neither did he eat any animal food; the razor never came upon his

¹ It should be understood that the accounts of the martyrdoms of apostles are mainly traditional.

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head. To him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, for he was not clothed with woollen, but with linen only; and he used to enter into the temple alone, and there, falling upon his knees, ask remission for the people; so that his knees, by oft kneeling (for worshipping God, and craving forgiveness for the people), lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camel. He was, for the excellency of his just life, called 'The Just,' and, 'the safeguard of the people.'

When many therefore of their chief men did believe, there was a tumult made of the Jews, Scribes and Pharisees, saying; There is danger, lest all the people should look for this Jesus, as the Christ. Therefore they gathered themselves together, and said to James, 'We beseech thee restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus, as though he were Christ; we pray thee persuade all them which come unto the feast of the passover to think rightly of Jesus; for we all give heed to thee, and all the people do testify of thee that thou art just, and that thou dost not accept the person of any man. persuade the people that they be not deceived about Jesus, for all the people and we ourselves are ready to obey thee. Therefore stand upon the pinnacle of the temple, that thou mayest be seen above, and that thy words may be heard of all the people; for all the tribes with many Gentiles are come together for the passover.'

And thus the forenamed Scribes and Pharisees did set James upon the battlements of the temple, and they cried unto him, and said, 'Thou just man, whom we all ought to obey, this people is going

astray after Jesus which is crucified.'

A TRUE WITNESS FOR CHRIST

And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why do you ask me of Jesus the Son of Man? He sitteth on the right hand of the Most High, and shall come in the clouds of heaven.'

Whereupon many were persuaded and glorified God, upon this witness of James, and said, 'Hosannah to the Son of David.'

Then the Scribes and the Pharisees said among themselves, 'We have done evil, that we have caused such a testimony of Jesus; let us go up, and throw him down, that others, being moved with fear, may deny that faith.' And they cried out, saying, 'Oh, oh, this just man also is seduced.' Therefore they went up to throw down the just man. Yet he was not killed by the fall, but, turning, fell upon his knees, saying, 'O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And they said among themselves, 'Let us stone the just man, James;' and they took him to smite him with stones. But while they were smiting him with stones, a priest, said to them, 'Leave off, what do ye? The just man prayeth for you.' And one of those who were present, a fuller, took an instrument, wherewith they did use to beat and purge cloth, and smote the just man on his head; and so he finished his testimony. And they buried him in the same place. He was a true witness for Christ to the Jews and the Gentiles.

Now let us comprehend the persecutions raised by the Romans against the Christians in the primitive age of the Church, during the space of three hundred years. Wherein marvellous it is to see and read the numbers incredible of Christian innocents that were tormented and slain. Whose kinds of

punishments, although they were divers, yet the manner of constancy in all these martyrs was one. And yet, notwithstanding the sharpness of these so many and sundry torments, and also the like cruelness of the tormentors, such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in His saints, that, as Jerome saith, There is no day in the whole year unto which the number of five thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of January.'

The first of these ten persecutions was stirred up by Nero about the year of our Lord threescore and four. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was very fierce against the Christians, 'insomuch that (as Eusebius recordeth) a man might then see cities full of men's bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reverence of that sex, in the open streets.' Many there were of the Christians in those days, who, seeing the filthy abominations and intolerable cruelty of Nero, thought that he was

antichrist.

In this persecution, among many other saints, the blessed apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified, as some do write, at Rome; albeit some others, and not without cause, do doubt thereof. Hegesippus saith that Nero sought matter against Peter to put him to death; which, when the people perceived, they entreated Peter with much ado that he would fly the city. Peter, through their importunity at length persuaded, prepared himself to avoid. But, coming to the gate, he saw the Lord Christ come to meet him, to Whom he, worshipping,

THE EXECUTION OF PAUL

said, 'Lord, whither dost Thou go?' To whom He answered and said, 'I am come again to be crucified.' By this, Peter, perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned back into the city. Jerome saith that 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 form and manner as the Lord was.

Paul, the apostle, who before was called Saul, after his great travail and unspeakable labours in promoting the Gospel of Christ, suffered also in this first persecution under Nero. Abdias, declareth that unto his execution Nero sent two of his esquires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They, coming to Paul instructing the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe; who told them that shortly after they should believe and be baptised at his sepulchre. This done, the soldiers came and led him out of the city to the place of execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his neck to the sword.

The first persecution ceased under Vespasian who gave some rest to the poor Christians. After whose reign was moved, not long after, the second persecution, by the emperor Domitian, brother of Titus. He, first beginning mildly and modestly, afterward did so far outrage in pride intolerable, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as god, and that images of gold and silver in his honour should be set up in the capitol.

In this persecution, John, the apostle and evangelist, was exiled by the said Domitian into

Patmos. After the death of Domitian, he being slain and his acts repealed by the senate, John was released, and came to Ephesus in the year fourscore and seventeen; where he continued until the time of Trajan, and there governed the churches in Asia, where also he wrote his Gospel; and so lived till the year after the passion of our Lord, threescore and eight, which was the year of his age about one hundred.

Clement of Alexandria addeth a certain history of the holy apostle, not unworthy to be remembered of such as delight in things honest and profitable. The words be these: When John was returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, he was requested to resort to the places bordering near unto him. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain city, and had comforted the brethren, he beheld a young man robust in body, of a beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind. Looking earnestly at the newly-appointed bishop, John said: 'I most solemnly commend this man to thee, in presence here of Christ and of the Church.'

When the bishop had received of him this charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein, again the second time John spake unto him, and charged him as before. This done, John returned to Ephesus. The bishop, receiving the young man committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length baptized him; and after that, he gradually relaxed his care and oversight of him, trusting that he had given him the best safeguard possible in putting the Lord's seal upon him.

The young man thus having his liberty more, it

ST JOHN REBUKES THE BISHOP

chanced that certain of his old companions and acquaintances, being idle, dissolute, and hardened in wickedness, did join in company with him, who first invited him to sumptuous and riotous banquets; then enticed him to go forth with them in the night to rob and steal; after that he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein, by custom of time, and by little and little, he, becoming more expert, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken horse, leaving the right way and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all misorder and outrage. And thus, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome doctrine of salvation which he had learned before, he entered so far in the way of perdition, that he cared not how much further he proceeded in the same. And so, associating unto him a band of companions and fellow thieves, he took upon himself to be as head and captain among them, in committing all kind of murder and felony.

It chanced that John was sent for to those quarters again, and came. Meeting the bishop afore specified, he requireth of him the pledge, which, in the presence of Christ and of the congregation then present, he left in his hands to keep. The bishop, something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant them of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received (and yet durst not mistrust John, nor contrary his words), could not tell what to answer. Then John, perceiving his perplexity, and uttering his meaning more plainly: 'The young man,' saith he, 'and the soul of our brother committed to your custody, I do

require.' Then the bishop, with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping, said, 'He is dead.' To whom John said, 'How, and by what death?' The other said, 'He is dead to God, for he became an evil and abandoned man, and at length a robber. And now he doth frequent the mountain instead of the Church, with a company of villains and thieves, like unto himself.'

Here the apostle rent his garments, and, with a great lamentation, said, 'A fine keeper of his brother's soul I left here! get me a horse, and let me have a guide with me: 'which being done, his horse and man procured, he hasted from the Church. and coming to the place, was taken of thieves that lay on the watch. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, 'I came hither for the purpose: lead me,' said he, 'to your captain.' So he being brought, the captain all armed fiercely began to look upon him; and eftsoons coming to the knowledge of him, was stricken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, 'My son, why dost thou fly 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 make 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 a maze, stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly; and, coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him

WHY THEY WERE PERSECUTED



with weeping (as well as he could), being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered.

Then the apostle, after that he had promised that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissing his murderous right hand (which for shame he durst not show before) as now purged through repentance, and brought him back to the Church. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, he left him restored to the Church again; a great example of sincere penitence and proof of regeneration, and a trophy of the future resurrection.

The causes why the Roman emperors did so persecute the Christians were chiefly these-fear

and hatred.

First, fear, for that the emperors and senate, of blind ignorance, not knowing the manner of Christ's kingdom, feared and misdoubted lest the same would subvert their empery; and therefore sought they all means possible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the name and memory

of the Christians.

Secondly, hatred, partly for that this world, of its own natural condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly again, for that the Christians being of a contrary nature and religion, serving only the true living God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan working in their idols: and therefore Satan, the prince of this world,

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stirred up the Roman princes and blind idolaters to bear the more hatred and spite against them. Whatsoever mishappened to the city or provinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, wars, wonders, unseasonableness of weather, or what other evils soever, it was imputed to the Christians.

The tyrants and organs of Satan were not contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no less horrible than divers. Whatsoever the cruelness of man's invention could devise for the punishment of man's body, was practised against the Christians—stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings, stonings, plates of iron laid unto them burning hot, deep dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, 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 there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred.

And yet, notwithstanding all these continual persecutions and horrible punishments, the Church daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apostles and of men apostolical, and watered plenteously with the blood of saints.

In the third persecution Pliny the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to Trajan, certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy persecution. 'The whole account they gave of their crime



IGNATIUS HELPS TO PUT ON HIS OWN CHAINS.

LONGING FOR MARTYRDOM

or error (whichever it is to be called) amounted only to this,—viz. that they were accustomed on a stated day to meet before day-light, and to repeat together a set form of prayer to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by an obligation—not indeed to commit wickedness; but, on the contrary,—never to commit theft, robbery or adultery, never to falsify their word, never to defraud any man: after which it was their custom to separate, and reassemble to partake in common of a harmless meal.'

In this persecution, suffered the blessed martyr, Ignatius, who is had in famous reverence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the bishopric of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some do say, that he, being sent from Syria to Rome, because he professed Christ, was given to the wild beasts to be devoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being under the most strict custody of his keepers, he strengthened and confirmed the churches through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the Word of God. Accordingly, having come to Smyrna, he wrote to the church at Rome, exhorting them not to use means for his deliverance from martyrdom, lest they should deprive him of that which he most longed and hoped for. 'Now I begin to be a disciple. I care for nothing, of visible or invisible things, so that I may but win Christ. Let fire and the cross, let the companies of wild beasts, let breaking of bones and tearing of limbs, let the grinding of the whole body, and all the malice of the devil, come upon me; be it so, only may I win Christ Jesus!' And even when he was sentenced to be thrown to the beasts, such was

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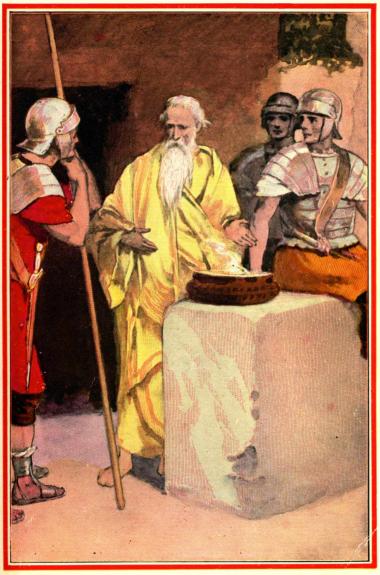
the burning desire that he had to suffer, that he spake, what time he heard the lions roaring, saying, 'I am the wheat of Christ: I am going to be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.'

After the decease of the quiet and mild prince Antoninus Pius followed his son Marcus Aurelius, about the year of our Lord 161, a man of nature more stern and severe; and, although in study of philosophy and in civil government no less commendable, yet, toward the Christians sharp and fierce;

by whom was moved the fourth persecution.

In the time of the same Marcus a great number of them which truly professed Christ suffered most cruel torments and punishments, among whom was Polycarp, the worthy bishop of Smyrna. Of whose end and martyrdom I thought it here not inexpedient to commit to history so much as Eusebius declareth to be taken out of a certain letter or epistle, written by them of his (Polycarp's) own church to

all the brethren throughout the world. Three days before he was apprehended, as he was praying at night, he fell asleep, and saw in a dream the pillow take fire under his head, and presently consumed. Waking thereupon, he forthwith related the vision to those about him, and prophesied that he should be burnt alive for Christ's sake. When the persons who were in search of him were close at hand, he was induced, for the love of the brethren, to retire to another village, to which, notwithstanding, the pursuers soon followed him; and having caught a couple of boys dwelling thereabout, they whipped one of them till he directed them to Polycarp's retreat. The pursuers



POLYCARP ORDERED A TABLE TO BE LAID FOR THEM, AND EXHORTED THEM TO EAT HEARTILY.

THE BOLDNESS OF POLYCARP

having arrived late in the day, found him gone to bed in the top room of the house, whence he might have escaped into another house, if he would; but this he refused to do, saying, 'The will of the Lord be done.'

Hearing that they were come, he came down, and spoke to them with a cheerful and pleasant countenance: so that they were wonder-struck, who, having never known the man before, now beheld his venerable age and the gravity and composure of his manner, and wondered why they should be so earnest for the apprehension of so old a man. He immediately ordered a table to be laid for them, and exhorted them to eat heartily, and begged them to allow him one hour to pray without molestation; which being granted, he rose and began to pray, and was so full of the grace of God, that they who were present and heard his prayers were astonished, and many now felt sorry that so venerable and godly a man should be put to death.

When he had finished his prayers, wherein he made mention of all whom he had ever been connected with, small and great, noble and vulgar, and of the whole catholic Church throughout the world, the hour being come for their departure, they set him on an ass and brought him to the city. There met him the irenarch Herod, and his father Nicetes, who taking him up into their chariot, began to exhort him, saying, 'What harm is it to say "Lord Cæsar," and to sacrifice, and save yourself?' At first he was silent: but being pressed to speak, he said, 'I will not do as you advise me.' When they saw that he was not to be persuaded, they gave him rough language, and pushed him

service the Jews (with their usual malice) were

particularly forward to help.

When they would have fastened him to the stake, he said, 'Leave me as I am; for he who giveth me strength to sustain the fire, will enable me also, without your securing me with nails, to remain without flinching in the pile.' Upon which they bound him without nailing him. So he said thus:—'O Father, I bless thee that thou hast counted me worthy to receive my portion among the

number of martyrs.'

As soon as he had uttered the word 'Amen,' the officers lighted the fire. The flame, forming the appearance of an arch, as the sail of a vessel filled with wind, surrounded, as with a wall, the body of the martyr; which was in the midst, not as burning flesh, but as gold and silver refining in the furnace. We received also in our nostrils such a fragrance as proceeds from frankincense or some other precious perfume. At length the wicked people, observing that his body could not be consumed with the fire, ordered the confector to approach, and to plunge his sword into his body. Upon this such a quantity of blood gushed out, that the fire was extinguished. But the envious. malignant, and spiteful enemy of the just studied to prevent us from obtaining his poor body. For some persons suggested to Nicetes, to go to the proconsul, and entreat him not to deliver the body to the Christians, 'lest,' said they, 'leaving the crucified one, they should begin to worship him.' And they said these things upon the suggestions and arguments of the Jews, who also watched us when we were going to take the body from the

A NOBLE WOMAN

pile. The centurion, perceiving the malevolence of the Jews, placed the body in the midst of the fire and burned it. Then we gathered up his bones more precious than gold and jewels—and deposited

them in a proper place.

In the same persecution suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, two cities in France; giving a glorious testimony, and to all Christian men a spectacle or example of singular fortitude in Christ our Saviour. Their history is set forth by their own churches, where

they did suffer :-

The whole fury of the multitude, the governor, and the soldiers, was spent on Sanctus of Vienne, the deacon, and on Maturus, a late convert indeed, but a magnanimous wrestler in spiritual things; and on Attalus of Pergamos, a man who had ever been a pillar and support of our church; and lastly on Blandina, through whom Christ showed that those things that appear unsightly and contemptible among men are most honourable in the presence of God, on account of love to His name exhibited in real energy, and not in boasting and pompous pretences. For-while we all feared, and among the rest while her mistress according to the flesh, who herself was one of the noble army of martyrs, dreaded that she would not be able to witness a good confession, because of the weakness of her body; Blandina was endued with so much fortitude, that those who successively tortured her from morning to night were quite worn out with fatigue, owned themselves conquered and exhausted of their whole apparatus of tortures, and were amazed to see her still breathing whilst her body

was torn and laid open. The blessed woman recovered fresh vigour in the act of confession; and it was an evident annihilation of all her pains, to say—'I am a Christian, and no evil is committed

among us.'

Sanctus, having sustained in a manner more than human the most barbarous indignities, while the impious hoped to extort from him something injurious to the Gospel, through the duration and intenseness of his sufferings, resisted with so much firmness, that he would neither tell his own name, nor that of his nation or state, nor whether he was a freeman or a slave; but to every interrogatory he answered, 'I am a Christian.' This, he repeatedly owned, was to him both name, and country, and family, and everything.

The faithful, while they were dragged along, proceeded with cheerful steps; their countenances shone with much grace and glory; their bonds were as the most beautiful ornaments; and they themselves looked as brides adorned with their richest array, breathing the fragrance of Christ. They were put to death in various ways: or, in other words, they wove a chaplet of various odours

and flowers, and presented it to the Father.

Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina, and Attalus, were led to the wild beasts into the amphitheatre to be the common spectacle of Gentile inhumanity. They were exposed to all the barbarities which the mad populace with shouts demanded, and above all to the hot iron chair, in which their bodies were roasted and emitted a disgusting smell. These after remaining alive a long time, expired at length.

Blandina, suspended from a stake, was exposed

CLOTHED WITH CHRIST

as food to the wild beasts; she was seen suspended in the form of a cross and employed in vehement supplication. The sight inspired her fellow-combatants with much alacrity, while they beheld with their bodily eyes, in the person of their sister, the figure of Him Who was crucified for them. None of the beasts at that time touched her: she was taken down from the stake and thrown again into prison. Weak and contemptible as she might be deemed, yet when clothed with Christ, the mighty and invincible champion, she became victorious over the enemy in a variety of encounters, and was

crowned with immortality.

Attalus also was vehemently demanded by the multitude, for he was a person of great reputation among us. He advanced in all the cheerfulness and serenity of a good conscience;—an experienced Christian, and ever ready and active in bearing testimony to the truth. He was led round the amphitheatre, and a tablet carried before him, inscribed 'This is Attalus the Christian.' The rage of the people would have had him dispatched immediately; but the governor, understanding that he was a Roman, ordered him back to prison: and concerning him and others, who could plead the same privilege of Roman citizenship, he wrote to the emperor and waited for his instructions. Cæsar sent orders that the confessors of Christ should be put to death. Roman citizens had the privilege of dying by decollation; the rest were exposed to wild beasts.

Now it was that our Redeemer was magnified in those who had apostatized. They were interrogated separate from the rest, as persons soon to be dis-

missed, and made a confession to the surprise of the Gentiles, and were added to the list of martyrs.

The blessed Blandina, last of all, as a generous mother having exhorted her children, and sent them before her victorious to the king, reviewing the whole series of their sufferings, hastened to undergo the same herself, rejoicing and triumphing in her exit, as if invited to a marriage supper, not as one going to be exposed to wild beasts. After she had endured stripes, the tearing of the beasts, and the iron chair, she was enclosed in a net, and thrown to a bull; and having been tossed some time by the animal, and proving quite superior to her pains, through the influence of hope, and the realising view of the objects of her faith and her fellowship with Christ, she at length breathed out her soul.

Now let us enter the story of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ, St Lawrence, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in Christian hearts, as is the flourishing laurel-This thirsty hart, longing after the water of life, desirous to pass unto it through the strait door of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepherd Sixtus, Bishop of Rome, led as a harmless lamb, of harmful tyrants, to his death, cried out with open mouth and heart invincible, saying, 'O dear father! whither goest thou, without the company of thy dear son? What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved me unnatural? Now try, sweet father, whether thou hast chosen a faithful minister or not? Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood?' These words with tears Saint Lawrence uttered, not because his master should suffer, but

THE CHURCH'S TRUE TREASURE

because he might not be suffered to taste of death's

cup which he thirsted after.

Then Sixtus to his son shaped this answer: 'I forsake thee not, O my son, I give thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death: but lusty and young art thou, and more lustily, yea more gloriously, shalt thou triumph over this tyrant. Thy time approacheth; cease to weep and lament; three days after thou shalt follow me. Why cravest thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I

bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance.'

Let us draw near to the fire of martyred Lawrence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The merciless tyrant, understanding him to be not only a minister of the sacraments, but a distributor also of the Church riches, promised to himself a double prey, by the apprehension of one soul. First, with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the treasure of poor Christians; then with the fiery fork of tyranny, so to toss and turmoil them, that they should wax weary of their profession. With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolf demanded where this Lawrence had bestowed the substance of the church: who, craving three day's respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the meantime, he 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 valiant Lawrence, stretching out his arms over the poor, said: 'These are the precious treasure of the church; these are the

treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath His mansion-place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom He hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, "I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourless and ye lodged me." And again; "Look, what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me." What greater riches can Christ our Master possess, than the poor people, in whom He loveth to be seen?"

O, what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrant's heart! Now he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a boar foamed, his teeth like a hellhound grinned. Now, not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion, he

might be called.

Kindle the fire (he cried)—of wood make no spare. Hath this villain deluded the emperor? Away with him, away with him: whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brain him with clubs. Jesteth the traitor with the emperor? Pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of iron: on the fire with it; bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire-hot, on with him: roast him, broil him, toss him, turn him: on pain of our high displeasure do every man his office, O ye tormentors.'

The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done. After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not say on his fiery bed of iron, but

HARBOURING A CHRISTIAN

on his soft bed of down. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Lawrence, so miraculously God tempered His element the fire; not a bed of consuming pain, but a pallet of nourishing rest was

it unto Lawrence.

Alban was the first martyr that ever in England suffered death for the name of Christ. At what time Dioclesian and Maximian the emperors had directed out their letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians, Alban, being then an infidel, received into his house a certain clerk, flying from the persecutors' hands, whom when Alban beheld continually, both day and night, to persevere in watching and prayer, suddenly by the great mercy of God he began to imitate the example of his faith and virtuous life; whereupon, by little and little, he being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leaving the blindness of his idolatry, became at length a perfect Christian.

And when the aforenamed clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked prince, that this good man and confessor of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harboured in Alban's house, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the soldiers to make more diligent inquisition of the matter. As soon as they came to the house of Alban he, putting on the apparel wherewith his guest and master was apparelled, offered himself in the stead of the other to the soldiers; who, binding him, brought him

forthwith to the judge.

It fortuned that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought unto the judge, they found the same judge at the altars offering sacrifice unto

devils, who, as soon as he saw Alban, was straightways in a great rage, for that he would presume of his own voluntary will to offer himself to peril, and give himself a prisoner to the soldiers, for safeguard of his guest whom he harboured; wherefore he commanded him to be brought before the images of the devils whom he worshipped, saying: 'For that thou hadst rather hide and convey away a rebel, than deliver him to the officers, that (as a contemner of our gods) he might suffer punishment of his blasphemy; what punishment he should have had. thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worshipping.' But blessed Alban, who of his own accord had betrayed to the persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not at all the menaces of the prince; but being armed with the spiritual armour. openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment.

Then said the judge, 'Of what stock or kindred art thou come?' Alban answered, 'What is that to you, of what stock I come? If you desire to hear the verity of my religion, I do you to wit, that I am a Christian, and apply myself altogether to that calling.' Then said the judge, 'I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay.' Then said he, 'My parents named me Alban, and I worship the true and living God, Who created all the world.' Then said the judge, fraught with fury, 'If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of prolonged life, do sacrifice (and that out of hand) to the mighty gods.' Alban replieth, 'These sacrifices which ye offer unto devils, can neither help them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the



THE WOLVES AND THE FLOCK

desires and prayers of their suppliants.' The judge, when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessor of God, endeavouring to overcome with stripes the constancy of his heart against which he had prevailed nothing with words. And he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay rather joyfully, for the Lord's sake. Then when the judge saw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be seduced from the Christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

Now from England to return unto other countries

where persecution did more vehemently rage.

Pitiless Galerius with his grand prefect Asclepiades invaded the city of Antioch, intending by force of arms to drive all Christians to renounce utterly their pure religion. The Christians were at that time congregated together, to whom one Romanus hastily ran, declaring that the wolves were at hand which would devour the Christian flock; 'But fear not,' said he, 'neither let this imminent peril disturb you, my brethren.' Brought was it to pass, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens, were all of one will and mind, most ready to shed their blood in defence of their Christian profession.

Word was brought unto the prefect, that the band of armed soldiers was not able to wrest the staff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that Romanus so mightily did encourage them, that they stuck not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the

name of their Christ. 'Seek out that rebel,' quoth the prefect, 'and bring him to me, that he may answer for the whole sect.' Apprehended he was, and, bound as a sheep appointed to the slaughterhouse, was presented to the emperor, who, with wrathful countenance beholding him, said: 'What! art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the gods I swear thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the pains whereunto thou hast encouraged the hearts of thy fellows.'

Romanus answered, 'Thy sentence, O prefect, I joyfully embrace; I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruel means as thou mayest invent: and whereas thy soldiers were repelled from the Christian congregation, that so happened, because it lay not in idolaters and worshippers of devils, to enter into the holy house of

God, and to pollute the place of true prayer.'

Then Asclepiades, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themselves more pitiful at heart than the prefect, said, 'Not so, sir, this man is of noble parentage; unlawful it is to put a nobleman to so unnoble a death.' 'Scourge him then with whips,' quoth the prefect, 'with knaps of lead at the ends.' Instead of tears, sighs, and groans, Romanus sang psalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility's sake. 'Not the blood of my progenitors,' said he, 'but Christian profession maketh me noble. The wholesome words of the martyr were as oil to the fire of the prefect's fury. The more the martyr spake, the madder was he, insomuch that he com-

GAPING WOUNDS THAT PREACHED

manded the martyr's sides to be lanced with knives,

until the bones appeared white again.

The second time Romanus preached the living God, the Lord Jesus Christ His well-beloved Son, and eternal life through faith in His blood, Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronunciation at leastwise might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eyelids torn with their nails, his cheeks scotched with knives; the skin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh; finally, his seemly face was wholly defaced. The meek martyr said, 'I thank thee, O prefect, that thou hast opened unto me many mouths, whereby I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. Look; how many wounds I have, so many mouths I have lauding and praising God.'

The prefect astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threateneth cruel fire, he revileth the noble martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying, 'Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterday's God; the gods of the

Gentiles are of most antiquity.'

Here again Romanus, taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternity of Christ, of His human nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said, 'Give me a child, O prefect, but seven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt hear what he will say.' His request was granted.

A little boy was called out of the multitude, and

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set before him. 'Tell me, my babe,' quoth the martyr, 'whether thou think it reason that we should worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father,

or else that we worship many gods?'

Unto whom the babe answered, 'That certainly (whatsoever it be) which men affirm to be God, must needs be one; and that which pertains to that one, is unique: and inasmuch as Christ is unique, of necessity Christ must be the true God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot believe.'

The prefect hereat clean amazed, said, 'Thou young villain and traitor, where, and of whom

learnedst thou this lesson?"

'Of my mother,' quoth the child, 'with whose milk I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ.' The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The prefect commanded the child to be hoisted up and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act, could not temper themselves from tears: the joyful and glad mother alone stood by with dry cheeks. Yea, she rebuked her sweet babe for craving a draught of cold water: she charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethlehem once drank of, forgetting their mothers' milk and paps; she willed him to remember little Isaac, who, beholding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon, he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender neck to the dint of his father's sword. Whilst this council was in giving, the butcherly tormentor plucked the skin from the crown of his head, hair and all. The mother cried, 'Suffer, my child! anon thou shalt pass to Him that will adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory.' The mother counselleth, the child is

A HEROIC MOTHER

counselled; the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged, and receiveth the stripes with smiling countenance.

The prefect perceiving the child invincible, and himself vanquished, committeth the blessed babe to the stinking prison, commanding the torments of Romanus to be renewed and increased, as chief author of this evil.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new stripes, the punishments to be renewed and received again upon his old sores. No longer could the tyrant forbear, but needs he must draw nearer to the sentence of death. 'Is it painful to thee,' saith he, 'to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow in rebellion, shall be consumed into ashes.' Romanus and the babe were led to execution. When they were come to the place, the tormentors required the child of the mother, for she had taken it up in her arms; and she, only kissing it, delivered the babe. 'Farewell,' she said, 'my sweet child; and when thou hast entered the kingdom of Christ, there in thy blest estate remember thy mother.' And as the hangman applied his sword to the babe's neck, she sang on this manner:

All laud and praise with heart and voice,
O Lord, we yield to thee:
To whom the death of this thy saint,
We know most dear to be.

The innocent's head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made,

whereinto Romanus was cast, whereupon a great storm arose and quenched the fire. The prefect at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, straitly commanded him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled.

THE STORY OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

In the beginning of the tenth persecution, Dioclesian, being made emperor, took to him Maximian. These two, governing as emperors together, chose out two other Cæsars under them, to wit, Galerius and Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great.

Thus then Dioclesian, reigning with Maximian, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious persecution against the Christians, whose reign after the same continued not long. For it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrant's mouth, that within two years after, he caused both him and Maximian to give over their imperial function, and so remain not as emperors any more, but as private persons.

They being now dispossessed, the imperial dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius, which two divided the whole monarchy between them: so that Galerius should govern the east countries, and Constantius the west parts. But Constantius, as a modest prince, refused Italy and Africa, contenting himself with France, Spain, and Britain, refusing the other kingdoms for the troublesome and difficult government of the same.

Galerius chose to him Maximian and Severus, as Cæsars. Likewise Constantius took Constantine

his son Cæsar under him.

THE STORY OF CONSTANTINE

In the meantime, while Galerius with his two Cæsars were in Asia, the Roman soldiers set up for their emperor Maxentius, the son of Maximian who had before deposed himself. Against whom Galerius the emperor of the East sent his son Severus, which Severus in the same voyage was slain of Maxentius; in whose place then Galerius took Licinius.

And these were the emperors and Cæsars, who, succeeding after Dioclesian and Maximian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Dioclesian and Maximian before began, during near the space of seven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord 313; save only that Constantius, with his son Constantine, was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the Christians.

Which Constantius was a prince, very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good unto those that had any private authority under him. And as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure for himself when he made friends rich, even so it is said that Constantius would oftentimes say that it were better that his subjects had the public wealth than he to have it hoarded in his own treasure-house. Also he was by nature sufficed with a little, insomuch that he used to eat and drink in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation); and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. In consequence of which virtues ensued great peace and tranquillity in all his provinces.

To these virtues he added a yet more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection

TESTING THE COURTIERS

towards the Word of God. By which Word being guided, he neither levied any wars contrary to piety and Christian religion, neither aided he any others that did the same, neither destroyed he the churches, but commanded that the Christians should be preserved and defended, and kept safe from all contumelious injuries. And when in the other jurisdictions of the empire the churches were molested with persecution, he alone gave license unto the Christians to live after their accustomed manner.

Constantius minding at a certain time to try what sincere and good Christians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and servants, feigning himself to choose out such as would do sacrifice to devils, and that those only should dwell there and keep their offices; and that those who would refuse to do the same, should be thrust out and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themselves into companies: the emperor marked who were the constantest and godliest from the rest. And when some said they would willingly do sacrifice, others openly and boldly refused to do the same; then the emperor sharply rebuked those who were so ready to do sacrifice, and judged them as false traitors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court, who were such traitors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended those who refused to do sacrifice, and confessed God; affirming that they only were worthy to be about a prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they should be the trusty counsellors and defenders both of his person and kingdom; saying

THE STORY OF CONSTANTINE

thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to have them in more estimation than the substance he had in his treasury.

Constantius died in the third year of the persecution, in the year of our Lord 306, and was buried at York. After whom succeeded Constantine, as a second Moses sent and set up of God, to deliver His people out of their so miserable captivity

into liberty most joyful.

He, Constantine, was the good and virtuous child of a good and virtuous father; born in Britain. His mother was named Helena, daughter of king Coilus. He was a most bountiful and gracious prince, having a desire to nourish learning and good arts, and did oftentimes use to read, write, and study himself. He had marvellous good success and prosperous achieving of all things he took in hand, which then was (and truly) supposed to proceed of this, for that he was so great a favourer of the Christian faith. Which faith when he had once embraced, he did ever after most devoutly and religiously reverence.

As touching his natural disposition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good philosopher, and in disputation sharp and ingenious. He was accustomed to say that an emperor ought to refuse no labour for the utility of the common-weal. An empire was given by the determinate purpose of God; and he to whom it was given, should so employ his diligence, as that he might be thought worthy of

the same at the hands of the Giver.

I showed before how Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was set up at Rome by the prætorian

MAGIC AND MALICE

soldiers to be emperor. Whereunto the senate, although they were not consenting, yet, for fear, they were not resisting. Maximian his father, who had before deprived himself, hearing of this, took heart again to resume his dignity, and laboured to persuade Dioclesian to do the same: but when he could not move him thereunto, he repaireth to Rome, thinking to wrest the empire out of his son's hands. But when the soldiers would not suffer that, of a crafty purpose he flieth to Constantine in France, under pretence to complain of Maxentius his son, but in very deed to kill Constantine. That conspiracy being detected by Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, whom Constantine had married, Constantine through the grace of God was preserved, and Maximian retired back: in his flight he was apprehended, and put to death.

Maxentius all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedness intolerable, much like to another Pharaoh or Nero; for he slew the most part of his noblemen, and took from them their goods. And sometimes in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his soldiers. Also he left no mischievous nor

lascivious act unattempted.

He was also much addicted to the art magical, which to execute he was more fit than for the imperial dignity. Often he would invocate devils in a secret manner, and by the answers of them he sought to repel the wars which he knew Constantine prepared against him. And to the end he might the better perpetrate his mischievous and wicked attempts, he feigned himself in the beginning of his reign to be a favourer of the Christians; and

THE STORY OF CONSTANTINE

thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting the Christians. He himself abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the last to show himself an open persecutor of them.

The citizens and senators of Rome being much grieved and oppressed by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness of Maxentius sent their complaints with letters unto Constantine, with much suit and most hearty petitions, desiring him to help and release their country and city of Rome; who, hearing and understanding their miserable and pitiful state, and grieved therewith not a little, first sendeth by letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to restrain his corrupt doings and great cruelty. But when no letters nor exhortations would prevail, at length, pitying the woful case of the Romans, he gathered together his army in Britain and France, therewith to repress the violent rage of that tyrant.

Thus Constantine, sufficiently appointed with strength of men but especially with strength of God, entered his journey coming towards Italy, which was about the last year of the persecution, 313 A.D. Maxentius, understanding of the coming of Constantine, and trusting more to his devilish art of magic than to the good-will of his subjects, which he little deserved, durst not show himself out of the city, nor encounter him in the open field, but with privy garrisons laid wait for him by the way in sundry straits, as he should come; with whom Constantine had divers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them and put them

to flight.

THE SIGN OF THE CROSS

Notwithstanding, Constantine yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto Rome) for the magical charms and sorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquished before Severus, sent by Galerius against him. Wherefore, being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have against the operations of his charming, Constantine, in his journey drawing toward the city, and casting up his eyes many times to heaven, in the south part, about the going down of the sun, saw a great brightness in heaven, appearing in the similitude of a cross, giving this inscription, In hoc vince, that is, 'In this overcome.'

Eusebius Pamphilus doth witness that he had heard the said Constantine himself oftentimes report, and also to swear this to be true and certain, which he did see with his own eyes in heaven, and also his soldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonied, and consulting with his men upon the meaning thereof, behold, in the night season in his sleep, Christ appeared to him with the sign of the same cross which he had seen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his wars before him, and so should he have the victory.

Wherein is to be noted, good reader, that this sign of the cross, and these letters added withal In hoc vince, was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the cross, as though the cross itself had any such power or strength in it, to obtain victory; but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is, to be an

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admonition to him to seek and inspire to the knowledge and faith of Him Who was crucified upon the cross, for the salvation of him and of all the world, and so to set forth the glory of His name.

The day following this vision, Constantine caused a cross after the same figuration to be made of gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his standard; and so with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from heaven, he speedeth himself toward his enemy. Against whom Maxentius, being constrained perforce 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 called 'Pons Milvius,' caused another deceitful bridge to be made of boats and wherries, being joined together and covered over with boards and planks, in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith

to take Constantine as in a trap.

But herein came to pass, that which in the seventh Psalm is written. 'He made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made; his mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate:' which here in this Maxentius was rightly verified; for after the two hosts did meet, he, being not able to sustain the force of Constantine fighting under the cross of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigence, that, in retiring back upon the same bridge which he did lay for Constantine (for haste, thinking to get the city), he was overturned by the fall of his horse into the bottom of the flood; and there with the weight of his armour he was drowned: and his

A THOUSAND YEARS OF PEACE

host drowned in the Red Sea. Pharaoh not unaptly seemeth to bear a prophetical figuration of this Maxentius.

For as the children of Israel were in long thraldom and persecution in Egypt till the drowning of their last persecutor; so was this Maxentius the last persecutor in the Roman monarchy of the Christians; whom this Constantine, fighting under the cross of Christ did vanquish, setting the Christians at liberty; who before had been persecuted now three hundred years in Rome.

In histories we read of many victories and great conquests gotten, yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any victory so wholesome, so commodious, so opportune to mankind as this was; which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the posterity of so many

generations.

Constantine so established the peace of the Church, that for the space of a thousand years we read of no set persecution against the Christians,

unto the time of John Wickliff.

So happy, so glorious was this victory of Constantine, surnamed the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof, the citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the city of Rome, where he was most honourably received, and celebrated the space of seven days together; having, moreover, in the market-place, his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the cross, with this inscription: 'With this wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our city from the yoke of the tyrant.'

THE STORY OF CONSTANTINE

Constantine, with his fellow Licinius eftsoons set forth their general proclamation not constraining any man to any religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoin with them, whosoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken, and highly allowed of the Romans and all wise men.

I doubt not, good reader, but thou dost right well consider with thyself the marvellous working of God's mighty power; to see so many emperors confederate together against the Lord and Christ His anointed, who, having the subjection of the whole world under their dominion, did bend their whole might and devices to extirpate the name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein, if the power of man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented which was not attempted? If laws, edicts, proclamations, written not only in tables, but engraven in brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet, notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord, note how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his Church doth stand.

JOHN WICKLIFF, THE MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION

ALTHOUGH it be manifest that there were divers before Wickliff's time, who have wrestled and laboured in the same cause and quarrel that our countryman Wicliff hath done, whom the Holy Ghost hath from time to time raised and stirred up in the Church of God, something to work against the bishop of Rome, to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friars, and to vanquish and overthrow the great errors which daily did grow and prevail in the world, yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as they are not many in number, neither very famous or notable, we will begin with the story of John Wickliff; at whose time this furious fire of persecution seemed to take his first original and beginning. Through God's providence stepped forth into the arena the valiant champion of the truth, John Wickliff, our countryman, whom the Lord raised up here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poison of the Pope's doctrine and false religion.

Wickliff, being the public reader of divinity in the University of Oxford, was, for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great clerk, a deep schoolman, and no less expert in all kinds of philosophy; the which doth not only appear by his own most famous and learned writings, but also by the confession of Walden, his most cruel and bitter enemy, who in a certain epistle written unto Pope Martin V. saith, 'that he was wonderfully astonished

JOHN WICKLIFF

at his most strong arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons.'

It appeareth that this Wickcliff flourished about A.D. 1371, Edward III. reigning in England. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and the lamentable ignorance and darkness of God's truth had overshadowed the whole earth, this man stepped forth like a valiant champion, unto whom that may justly be applied which is spoken of one Simon, the son of Onias: 'Even as the morning star being 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 days the whole state of religion was depraved and corrupted: the name only of Christ remained amongst Christians, but His true and lively doctrine was as far unknown to the most part as His name was common to all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, our impotency and weakness, the Holy Ghost, the greatness and strength of sin, true works, grace and free justification by faith, the liberty of a Christian man, there was almost no mention.

The world, forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual Word, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions; in these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed; insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the temples or churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their

DROWNED IN HUMAN TRADITIONS

whole life, but only heaping up of certain shadowy ceremonies upon ceremonies; neither was there any

end of this their heaping.

The Church did fall into all kind of extreme tyranny; whereas the poverty and simplicity of Christ were changed into cruelty and abomination of life. With how many bonds and snares of ceremonies were the consciences of men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, ensnared and snarled! The Christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the nose, with mere decrees and constitutions of men, even whither it pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christ's will did direct them. The simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the holy Scripture, thought it quite enough for them to know only those things which were delivered them by their pastors; and they, on the other part, taught in a manner nothing else but such things as came forth of the court of Rome; whereof the most part tended to the profit of their order, more than to the glory of Christ.

What time there seemed to be no spark of pure doctrine remaining, this aforesaid Wickliff, by God's providence, sprang up, through whom the Lord would first waken and raise up again the world, which was drowned and whelmed in the deep

streams of human traditions.

This Wickliff, perceiving the true doctrine of Christ's Gospel to be adulterated and defiled with so many filthy inventions and dark errors of bishops and monks, after long debating and deliberating with himself (with many secret sighs, and bewailing in his mind the general ignorance of the whole world), could no longer abide the same, and at the

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JOHN WICKLIFF

last determined with himself to help and to remedy such things as he saw to be wide, and out of the

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This holy man took great pains, protesting, as they said, openly in the schools, that it was his principal purpose to call back the Church from her idolatry, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But this boil or sore could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world: for, first of all, the whole glut of monks and begging friars was set in a rage and madness, who, even as hornets with their sharp stings, did assail this good man on every side; fighting, as is said, for their altars, paunches, and After them the priests and bishops, and then after them the archbishop, being then Simon Sudbury, took the matter in hand; who, for the same cause, deprived him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford. At the last, when their power seemed not sufficient to withstand the truth which was then breaking out, they ran unto the lightnings and thunderbolts of the bishop of Rome, as it had been unto the last refuge of most force and strength. Notwithstanding, the said Wickliff, being somewhat friended and supported by the king, bore out the malice of the friars and of the archbishop; John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's son, and Lord Henry Percy, being his special maintainers.

The opinions for which Wickcliff was deprived, were these: That the Pope hath no more power to excommunicate any man, than hath another. That if it be given by any person to the Pope to excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another priest, as in his. He affirmed,

CITED BY THE ARCHBISHOP

moreover, that neither the king, nor any temporal lord, could give any perpetuity to the Church, or to any ecclesiastical person; for that when such ecclesiastical persons do sin habitually, the temporal powers may meritoriously take away from them what before hath been bestowed upon them. And that he proved to have been practised before here in England by William Rufus; 'which thing' (said he) 'if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? If he did it unlawfully, then doth the Church err, and doth unlawfully in praying for him.'

Beside these opinions he began something nearly to touch the matter of the sacrament, proving that in the said sacrament the accidents of bread remained not without the subject, or substance, and that the simple and plain truth doth appear in the Scriptures, whereunto all human traditions, whatsoever they be, must be referred. The truth, as the poet speaketh very truly, had gotten John Wickliff great displeasure and hatred at many men's hands; especially of the monks and richest sort of priests.

Albeit, through the favour and supportation of the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Henry Percy, he persisted against their wolfish violence and cruelty: till at last, about A.D. 1377, the bishops, still urging and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudbury, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him not to stir any more in those sorts of matters, had obtained, by process and order of citation, to

have him brought before them.

The Duke, having intelligence that Wickliff should come before the bishops, fearing that he, being but one, was too weak against such a

multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of friars, four bachelors of divinity, out of every order one, to join them with Wickliff also, for more surety. When the day was come, assigned to the said Wickliff to appear, which day was Thursday, the nineteenth of February, he went, accompanied with the four friars aforesaid, and with them also the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, Lord Marshal of England; the said Lord Percy going before them to make room and way where Wickliff should come.

Thus Wickliff, through the providence of God, being sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the bishops sat; whom, by the way, they animated and exhorted not to fear or shrink a whit at the company of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned, said they, in respect of him, neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harm.

With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wickliff, in heart encouraged, approached to the church of St Paul in London, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the lords, for all the puissance of the High Marshal, with great difficulty could get way through; insomuch that the Bishop of London, whose name was William Courtney, seeing the stir that the Lord Marshal kept in the church among the people, speaking to the Lord Percy, said that if he had known before what masteries he would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from coming there; at

THE PRIDE OF THE PRELACY

which words of the bishop the duke, disdaining not a little, answered that he would keep such mastery

there, though he said 'nay.'

At last, after much wrestling, they pierced through and came to Our Lady's Chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting together with the archbishops and other bishops; before whom Wickliff, according to the manner, stood, to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the Lord Percy, bidding him to sit down, saying that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the Bishop of London, cast eftsoons into a fumish chafe by those words, said he should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he, who was cited there to appear to answer before his ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but that he should stand. Upon these words a fire began to kindle between them; insomuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurry.

Then the duke, taking the Lord Percy's part, with hasty words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop again, nothing inferior in reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought, but also did so far excel in this railing art of scolding, that the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpass the bishop in brawling and railing, and, therefore, he fell to plain threatening; menacing the bishop, that he would bring down the pride, not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England. 'Thou,' said he, 'bearest thyself so brag

JOHN WICKLIFF

upon thy parents, who shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves'; for his parents were the Earl and Countess of Devonshire. To whom the bishop answered, that his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man

else, but only in God.

Then the duke softly whispering in the ear of him next by him, said that he would rather pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of the church, than he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon, being set in a rage, they cried out, saying that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuously to be abused. But rather they would lose their lives, than that he should so be drawn out by the hair. Thus that council, being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine o'clock.

After King Edward III. succeeded his son's son, Richard II., who was no great disfavourer of the way and doctrine of Wickliff. But the bishops now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of the realm depended upon the Duke of Lancaster, and seeing the said duke, with the Lord Percy, the Lord Marshal, give over their offices, and remain in their private houses without intermeddling, thought now the time to serve them to have some vantage against John Wickliff; who hitherto, under the protection of the aforesaid duke and Lord Marshal, had some rest and quiet. Notwithstanding being by the bishops forbid to deal in doctrine any more, he continued yet with his fellows going barefoot and in long frieze gowns,

THE SHINING OF GOSPEL LIGHT

preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whose sermons these articles were collected.

Articles collected out of Wickliff's sermons.

The holy eucharist, after the consecration, is not

the very body of Christ.

The Church of Rome is not the head of all churches more than any other church is; nor that Peter had any more power given of Christ than any other apostle had.

The Pope of Rome hath no more in the keys of the Church than hath any other within the

order of priesthood.

The Gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every Christian man here, without any other rule.

- All other rules, under whose observances divers religious persons be governed, do add no more perfection to the Gospel, than doth the white colour to the wall.
- Neither the Pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.

Wickliff, albeit he was commanded by the bishops and prelates to keep silence, yet could not so be suppressed, but that through the vehemency of the truth he burst out afterwards much more fiercely. For he, having obtained the goodwill and favour of certain noblemen, attempted again to stir up his doctrine amongst the common people. Then began the Pharisees to swarm together striving against the light of the Gospel, which began to shine abroad; neither was the Pope

JOHN WICKLIFF

himself behind with his part, for he never ceased with his bulls and letters to stir up them who otherwise, of their own accord, were but too

furious and mad.

Accordingly, in the year of our Lord 1377, being the first year of King Richard II., Pope Gregory sendeth his bull directed unto the University of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a Pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliff to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine. Which bull, the proctors and masters of the University, joining together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves whether to receive it with honour, or to refuse and reject it with shame.

The copy of this wild bull, sent to them from

the Pope, was this: -

'It hath been intimated to us by many trustworthy persons that one John Wickliff, rector of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, professor of divinity, hath gone to such a pitch of detestable folly, that he feareth not to teach, and publicly preach, or rather to vomit out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, certain erroneous and false propositions and conclusions, savouring even of heretical pravity, tending to weaken and overthrow the status of the whole Church, and even the secular government. These opinions he is circulating in the realm of England, so glorious for power and abundance of wealth, but still more so for the shining purity of its faith, and wont to produce men illustrious for their clear and sound knowledge of the Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, conspicuous for devotion,

THE POPE'S DENUNCIATION

and bold defenders of the catholic faith; and some of Christ's flock he hath been defiling therewith, and misleading from the straight path of the sincere faith into the pit of perdition. Wherefore, being unwilling to connive at so deadly a pest, we strictly charge that by our authority you seize or cause to be seized the said John, and send him under trusty keeping to our venerable brethren the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, or either of them.'

I find, moreover, two other letters of the Pope concerning the same matter, the one directing that in case Wickliff could not be found, he should be warned by public citation to appear before the Pope at Rome within three months; the other exhorting the bishops that the King and the nobles of England should be admonished not to give any credit to

the said John Wickliff, or to his doctrine.

The letters, being received from the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops took no little heart; for, being encouraged by them, and pricked forward by their own fierceness and cruelty, it is to be marvelled at, with what boldness and stomach they did openly profess, before their provincial council, that all fear or favour set apart, no person, neither high nor low, should let them, neither would they be seduced by the entreaty of any man, neither by any threatenings or rewards, but that they would follow straight and upright justice and equity, yea, albeit that danger of life should follow thereupon. But these so fierce brags and stout promise, with the subtle practices of these bishops, who thought themselves so sure before, the Lord, against Whom no determination of man's

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counsel can prevail, by a small occasion did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come, a certain personage of the prince's court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewis Clifford, entering in among the bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any definite sentence against John Wickliff. With which words all they were so amazed, and their combs so cut, that they became mute and speechless. And thus, by the wondrous work of God's providence, John Wickliff escaped the second time out of the bishops' hands.

This good man ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring as he had begun; unto whom also, as it happened by the providence of God, this was a great help and stay, for that in the same year the aforesaid Pope Gregory XI. who was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. Whose death was not a little happy to Wickliff; for immediately after his decease there fell a great dissension between the Romish and the French Popes, and others succeeding them, one striving against another, that the schism thereof endured the space of thirty-nine years, until the time of the Council of Constance (A.D. 1417).

About the same time also, about three years after, there fell a cruel dissension in England, between the common people and the nobility, the which did not a little disturb and trouble the commonwealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, was taken by the rustical and rude people, and was beheaded; in whose place succeeded William Courtney, who was no less diligent in rooting out heretics. Notwithstanding, Wickliff's sect

A TERRIBLE EARTHQUAKE

daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Berton, Chancellor of Oxford, about A.D. 1381, had the whole rule of that University: who, calling together eight monastical doctors and four others, and putting the common seal of the University unto certain writings, set forth an edict, declaring that no man, under a grievous penalty, should be so hardy hereafter to associate themselves with any of Wickliff's abettors or favourers; and unto Wickliff himself he threatened the greater excommunication and farther imprisonment, and to all his fautors, unless that they after three-days' admonition or warning, canonical and peremptory (as they call it), did repent and amend. The which thing when Wickliff understood, forsaking the Pope and all the clergy, he thought to appeal unto the King's majesty; but the Duke of Lancaster coming between forbade him, saying that he ought rather to submit himself unto the censure and judgment of his ordinary. Whereby Wickliff being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, was forced once again to make confession of his doctrine.

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of God's divine admonition or warning; for when the archbishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of babbling friars and religious persons, were gathered together to consult touching John Wickliff's books, when they were gathered together at the Black-Friars in London to begin their business upon St Dunstan's day, after dinner, about two of the clock, the very hour and instant that they should go forward, a wonderful and terrible earthquake fell

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throughout all England: whereupon divers of the suffragans, being affrighted by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chief captain of that army, more rash and bold than wise) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpose, did confirm and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with fear, stoutly to go forward in their attempted enterprise; who then discoursing Wickliff's articles, not according unto the sacred canons of the holy Scripture, but unto their own private affections and men's traditions, gave sentence that some of them were simply and plainly heretical, others were erroneous, others irreligious, some seditious and not consonant to the Church of Rome.

Besides the earthquake aforesaid, there happened another strange and wonderful chance, sent by God, and no less to be marked than the other, if it be true, that was reported by John Huss's enemies. These enemies of his, amongst other principal points of his accusation, laid this to his charge at the Council of Constance; that he should say openly unto the people as touching Wickliff, that at what time a great number of religious men and doctors were gathered together in a certain church to dispute against Wickliff, suddenly, the door of the church was broken open with lightning, in such sort, that his enemies hardly escaped without hurt. This thing, albeit that it were objected against Huss by his adversaries, yet, forsomuch as he did not deny the same, neither, if he so said, it seemeth that he

HIS EVANGELISTS DENOUNCED

would speak it without some ground or reason, I have not thought it good to leave clean out of

memory.

Of like credit is this also, which is reported of Wickliff, that when he was lying very sick at London, certain friars came unto him to counsel him; and when they had babbled much unto him touching the catholic church, the acknowledging of his errors, and the bishop of Rome, Wickliff, being moved with the foolishness and absurdity of their talk, with a stout stomach, setting himself upright in his bed, repeated this saying out of the Psalms [cxviii. 17], "I shall not die, but I shall live, and declare the works of the Lord."

The Mandate of the Archbishop of Canterbury directed to the Bishop of London, against John Wickliff and his Adherents.

It is come to our hearing, that although, by the canonical sanctions, no man, being forbidden or not sent, ought to usurp to himself the office of preaching, publicly or privily, without the authority of the apostolic see or of the bishop of the place; vet notwithstanding, certain, being sons of perdition under the veil of great sanctity, are brought into such a doating mind, that they take upon them authority to preach, and are not afraid to affirm, and teach, and generally, commonly, and publicly to preach, as well in the churches as in the streets, and also in many other profane places of our said province, certain propositions and conclusions, heretical, erroneous, and false, condemned by the Church of God, and repugnant to the determinations of holy church; who also infect therewith very many good Christians,

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causing them lamentably to err from the catholic faith, without which there is no salvation.

We therefore admonish and warn that no man henceforth, of what estate or condition soever, do hold, teach, preach, or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them; nor that he hear or hearken to any one preaching the said heresies or errors, or any of them; nor that he favour or adhere to him, either publicly or privily; but that immediately he shun and avoid him, as he would avoid a serpent putting forth pestiferous poison; under pain of the greater curse.

And furthermore, we command our fellowbrethren, that of such presumptions they carefully and diligently inquire, and do proceed effectually

against the same.

The chancellor the same time in Oxford was Master Robert Rygge; who, as it seemeth, favouring Wickliff's part, as much as he could or durst, many times dissembled and cloked certain matters, and oftentimes (as opportunity would serve) holpe forward the cause of the Gospel, which was then in great danger. When the time was come, that there must needs be sermons made unto the people, he committed the whole doings thereof to such as he knew to be greatest favourers of John Wickliff. The two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish; who then, as far as they durst, favoured the cause of John Wickliff. Insomuch that the same time and year, which was A.D. 1382, when certain public sermons should be appointed customably at the feast of the Ascension and of Corpus Christi to be preached in the cloister of St Frideswide (now

A BOLD PREACHER

called Christ's Church), before the people, by the chancellor aforesaid and the proctors, the doings hereof the chancellor and proctors had committed to

Philip Reppyngdon and Nicholas Hereford.

Hereford, beginning, was noted to defend John Wickliff openly, to be a faithful, good, and innocent man; for the which no small ado with outcries was among the friars. This Hereford, after he had long favoured and maintained Wickliff's part, grew in suspicion amongst the enemies of the truth; for as soon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to utter any thing which tended to the defence of Wickliff, by-and-by the Carmelites and all the orders of religion were on his top, and laid not a few heresies unto his charge, the which they had strained here and there out of his sermons, through the industry of one Peter Stokes, a Carmelite, a kind of people prone to mischief, uproars, debate, and dissension, as though they were born for that purpose. Much like thing do divers writers write of the nature of certain spiders; that whatsoever pleasant juice is in herbs, they suck it out, and convert it into poison. But these cowled merchants in this behalf do pass all the spiders, for whatsoever is worst and most pestilent in a man, that do they hunt out for, and with their teeth even, as it were, gnaw it out; and of the opinions which be good, and agreeable with verity, they do make schisms and heresies.

After this, the feast of Corpus Christi drew near, upon which day it was looked for that Reppyngdon should preach, who in the schools had shown forth and uttered that which he had long hidden and dissembled, protesting openly that in all moral

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matters he would defend Wickliff; but as touching the sacrament, he would as yet hold his peace, until such time as the Lord should illuminate the hearts and minds of the clergy. When the friars understood that this man should preach shortly, these Babylonians, fearing lest that he would scarce civilly or gently rub the galls of their religion, convented with the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the same day, a little before Philip should preach, Wickliff's conclusions, which were privately condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole University; the doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes, friar, standard-bearer and chief champion against Wickliff.

The chancellor having received the archbishop's letters and perceived the malicious enterprise of the Carmelite, was wonderfully moved against him, and falling out with him and his like (not without cause) for troubling the state of the University, said that neither the bishop nor the archbishop had any power over that University, nor should not have, in the determination of any heresies. And afterward taking deliberation, calling together the proctors, with other regents and non-regents, he did openly affirm that he would by no means help the Carmelite in his doings.

These things thus done, Reppyngdon at the hour appointed proceeded to his sermon; in the which, he was reported to have uttered 'that in all moral matters he would defend Master Wickliff as a true catholic doctor. Moreover, that the Duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection'; besides many things

A NOTABLE SERMON

more, which touched the praise and defence of Wickliff.

When the sermon was done, Reppyngdon entered into St Frideswide's Church, accompanied with many of his friends, who, as the enemies surmised, were privily weaponed under their garments. Friar Stokes, the Carmelite, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept himself within the sanctuary of the church, not daring to put out his head. The chancellor and Reppyngdon, friendly saluting one another in the church-porch, sent away the people, and so departed every man home to his own house. There was not a little joy throughout the whole University for that sermon.

John Wickliff returning again within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the end of the year 1384, upon Silvester's day. It appeareth that he was well aged before he departed, 'and that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please

him being young.'

This Wickliff, albeit in his life-time he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none so cruel to him, as the clergy itself. Yet, notwithstanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the meaner sort, but also of the nobility, amongst whom these men are to be numbered, John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Stury, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, and John Montague, who plucked down all the images in his church. Besides all these, there was the Earl of Salisbury, who, for contempt in him

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A LEADER OF THE LOLLARDS: THE TROUBLE AND PERSECUTION OF THE MOST VALIANT AND WORTHY MARTYR OF CHRIST, SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, KNIGHT, LORD COBHAM.

AFTER that the true servant of Jesus Christ, John Wickliff, a man of very excellent life and learning, had, for the space of more than twenty-six years, most valiantly battled with the great Antichrist of Europe, or Pope of Rome, and his diversely disguised host of anointed hypocrites, to restore the Church to the pure estate that Christ left her in at His ascension, he departed hence most Christianly in the hands of God, the year of our Lord 1384, and was buried in his own parish church at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire.

No small number of godly disciples left that good man behind him, to defend the lowliness of the Gospel against the exceeding pride, ambition, simony, avarice, hypocrisy, sacrilege, tyranny, idolatrous worshippings, and other filthy fruits, of those stiffnecked pharisees; against whom Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury (as fierce as ever was Pharaoh, Antiochus, Herod, or Caiaphas) collected, in Paul's church at London, a universal synod of all the papistical clergy of England, in the year of our Lord 1413 (as he had done divers others before), to withstand their most godly enterprise.

The principal cause of the assembling thereof,

'A MOST PERNICIOUS HERETIC'

was to repress the growing and spreading of the Gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy Lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer of those whom the bishop named Lollards; especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach: holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keys and church of Rome, repugnant to the received determination of the Romish Church. It was concluded among them, that, without any further delay, process should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernicious heretic.

Some of that fellowship who were of more crafty experience than the others, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto beforehand: considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the King, their counsel was to know first the King's mind. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop. Thomas Arundel, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straitways unto the King then remaining at Kennington, and there laid forth most grievous complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish: being a man right godly. The King gently heard those blood-thirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stock and knighthood, they should yet favourably deal with him; and that they would, if it were

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possible, without all rigour or extreme handling, reduce him again to the Church's unity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, he himself would seriously commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the King sent for the said Lord Cobham, and as soon as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his mother the Holy Church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himself culpable.

Unto whom the Christian knight made this answer: 'You, most worthy prince,' saith he, 'I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you 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, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto, as I have done ever, 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 had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him,

but left him so utterly.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto the King for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him, according to their devilish decrees, which they called 'The Laws of Holy Church.' But forasmuch as the Lord

THE FURY OF ANTICHRIST

Cobham did not appear at the day appointed, the archbishop condemned him of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired spies, and other glozing glaverers, that the said Lord Cobham had laughed him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the Church's power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for of all these was he then accused), in his moody madness, without just proof, did he openly excommunicate him.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight, Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of Antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himself compassed on every side with deadly dangers, took paper and pen in hand, and wrote a confession of his faith, both signing and sealing it with his own hand: wherein he answered to the four chief articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the King, trusting to find mercy and favour at his hand.

The King would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he, in the King's presence, that a hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, who 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 his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness, he protested before all that were present that he would refuse no manner of correction that

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should, after the laws of God, be ministered unto him; but that he would at all times, with all meek-

ness, obey it.

Notwithstanding all this the King suffered him to be summoned personally in his own privy chamber. Then said the Lord Cobham to the King, that he had appealed from the archbishop to the Pope of Rome, and therefore he ought, he said, in no case to be his judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he showed it with all reverence to the King; wherewith the King was then much more displeased than afore, and said angrily to him, that he should not pursue his appeal; but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then, would he or nild he, the archbishop should be his judge.

Thus was there nothing allowed that the good Lord Cobham had lawfully required; but, forasmuch as he would not be sworn in all things to submit himself to the Church, and so take what penance the archbishop would enjoin him, he was arrested at the King's commandment, and led forth to the Tower

of London.

When the day of examination was come, which was the 23rd day of September, the Saturday after the feast of St Matthew, Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop, sat in Caiaphas' room, in the chapter-house of Paul's, with Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook, Bishop of Winchester. Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, brought before him the said Lord Cobham, and there left him for the time; unto whom the archbishop said these words: 'Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy

IMAGES AND PILGRIMAGES

of this our province, ye were detected of certain heresies, and, by sufficient witnesses, found culpable: whereupon ye were, by form of spiritual law, cited, and would in no case appear. Upon your rebellious contumacy ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding we neither yet showed ourselves unready to have given you absolution (nor yet do to this hour), would ye have meekly asked it.'

Unto whom the Lord Cobham said that he desired no absolution; but he would gladly, before him and his brethren, make rehearsal of that faith which he held and intended always to stand to. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing concerning the articles whereof he was accused, and read it

before them.

'As for images, I understand that they be not of belief, but that they were ordained since the belief of Christ was given by sufferance of the Church, to represent and bring to mind the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and martyrdom and good living of other saints: and that whoso it be, that doth the worship to dead images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust in help of them, as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that, the greatest sin of idol worship.

'Also I suppose this fully, that every man in this earth is a pilgrim toward bliss, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know, ne keep the holy commandments of God in his living here (albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world, and he die so), 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, as men now use, to Canterbury, or to Rome, or to any other place.'

Then counselled the archbishop with the other two bishops and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done; commanding him, for the time, to stand aside. In conclusion, by their assent and information, he said thus unto him: 'Come hither, Sir John: ye must declare us your mind more plainly. As thus, whether ye hold, affirm, and believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm, and believe, that, as concerning the sacrament of penance (where a competent number of priests are), every Christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sins to a priest ordained by the church, or not?'

This was the answer of the good Lord Cobham: that none otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his articles, than was expressly in

his writing there contained.

Then said the archbishop again unto him: 'Sir John, beware what ye do; for if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you, the law of holy church is that we may openly proclaim you a heretic.'

Unto whom he gave this answer: 'Do as ye shall think best.' Wherewith the bishops and prelates

were amazed and wonderfully disquieted.

At last the archbishop again declared unto him, what the Holy Church of Rome, following the saying of St Augustine, St Jerome, St Ambrose,

A LAMB AMONG WOLVES

and of the holy doctors, had determined in these matters: no manner of mention once made of Christ! 'which determination,' saith he, 'ought all Christian

men both to believe and to follow.'

Then said the Lord Cobham unto him, that he would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever holy Church of Christ's institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or to do: but that the Pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of that church, had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with His word thoroughly; that, would he not (he said) at that time affirm. With this the Archbishop bade him to take good advisement till the Monday next following (which was the twenty-fifth day of September), and then justly to answer, specially unto this point: Whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar after the words of consecration, or not?

The Lord Cobham perceived that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, and therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his only Spirit to assist him in his next answer. When the said twenty-fifth day of September was come Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the chapterhouse of Paul's to the Dominic friars within Ludgate at London. And as he was there set, with a great sort more of priests, monks, canons, friars, parishclerks, bell-ringers, and pardoners, Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, brought the good Lord Cobham, leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves.

A LEADER OF THE LOLLARDS

Examination of the Lord Cobham.

Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of the blessed sacrament, clearly determined by the Church of Rome, our mother, and by the holy doctors.'

Then he said unto him: 'I know none holier than is Christ and His apostles. And as for that determination, I wot it is none of theirs; for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them.'

Then said one of the lawyers: 'What is your

belief concerning Holy Church.'

The Lord Cobham answered: 'My belief is, that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe thoroughly, for I know it is God's pleasure that I should so do; but in your lordly laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Christ's Holy Church, as your open deeds do show; but ye are very Antichrists, obstinately set against His holy law and will. The laws that ye have made are nothing to His glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousness. And as for your superiority, were ye of Christ, ye should be meek ministers, and no proud superiors.'

Then said Doctor Walden unto him: 'Swift judges always are the learned scholars of Wickliff!'

Unto him the Lord Cobham thus answered: 'As for that virtuous man Wickliff, I shall say here, before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwise, I trust, been with me: so much

SCRIPTURES, THE STANDARD

grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions.'

Then said Dr Walden yet again unto him: 'It were not well with me (so many virtuous men living, and so many learned men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous), if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the devil preach!'

The Lord Cobham said: 'Your fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and His doctrine to the devil; and you, as their children, have still the selfsame judgment concerning His faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretics, and that must your doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it.' Then said he to them all: 'To judge you as you be, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all God's law, that ye should thus sit in judgment on any Christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the Scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, who sat thus upon Christ, and upon His apostles after His ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christ's members as ye do; and neither of Peter nor John.'

Then said some of the lawyers: 'Yes, for sooth,

Sir, for Christ judged Judas.'

The Lord Cobham said, 'No! Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth and so did hang himself: but indeed Christ said: "Woe unto him, for that covetous act of his," as He doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venom of Judas was shed into the Church, ye

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never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of God's law.'

Then the archbishop asked him, What he meant

by that venom?

The Lord Cobham said: 'Your possessions and lordships. For then 1 cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles mention, Woe, woe, woe, this day is venom shed into the Church of God. Before that time all the bishops of Rome were martyrs, in a manner: and since that time we read of very few. But indeed since that same 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 this, 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.'

Then a doctor of law, called Master John Kemp, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the bill which they had before sent him into the Tower by the archbishop's council, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him. 'My Lord Cobham,' saith this doctor, 'we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The first of them is this':—and then he read upon the bill: "The faith and determination of Holy Church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this; That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine is turned into Christ's blood. And so there remaineth, in the sacrament of the

¹ When Constantine endowed the Church.

ROME'S ERRORS REFUTED

altar, from thenceforth no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken": Sir, believe you not this?'

The Lord Cobham said: 'This is not my belief; but my faith is, as I said to you before, that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's very

body in form of bread.'

Then read the doctor again: 'The second point is this: Holy Church hath determined that every Christian man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven of a priest ordained by the Church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?'

The Lord Cobham answered and said: 'A diseased or sore wounded man hath need to have a sure wise chirurgeon and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessary were it, therefore, to be first shriven unto God, who only knoweth our diseases, and can help us.'

Then read the doctor again: 'The third point is this: Christ ordained St Peter the apostle to be His vicar here in earth, whose see is the Church of Rome, and He granted that the same power which He gave unto Peter should succeed unto all Peter's successors, whom we now call popes of Rome: by whose special power, in churches particular, be ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees besides, to whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of Holy Church. Sir, believe ye not this?'

To this he answered and said: 'He that followeth Peter most nigh in pure living, is next unto him in succession; but your lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him, neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of Silvester, who, for the more part, were martyrs.'

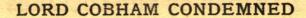
With that, one of the other doctors asked him:

'Then what do ye say of the Pope?'

The Lord Cobham answered: 'He and you together make whole the great Antichrist, of whom he is the great head; you bishops, priests, prelates, and monks, are the body; and the begging friars are the tail.'

Then read the doctor again: 'The fourth point is this: 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, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the Church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this?'

Whereunto the Lord Cobham 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 fair from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of scathe, or else to bury them fair in the ground, as ye do other aged people, who are God's images. It is a wonderful thing that saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, who all their life-time hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your shrines and idols, your feigned absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chief pleasures of all Christian realms.'



Then said the archbishop unto him: 'Sir John, ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of Holy Church, or else throw yourself (no remedy) into most deep danger. We require you to have no other manner of opinion in these matters, than the universal faith and belief of the Holy Church of Rome is. And so, like an obedient child, return again to the unity of your mother.'

The Lord Cobham said expressly before them all: 'I will no otherwise believe in these points than what I have told you here before. Do with

me what you will.'

And with that the archbishop stood up and read a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity vailing their bonnets: 'Forasmuch as we have found Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith and religion of the holy and universal Church of Rome; and that he, as the child of iniquity and darkness, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor; his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacy, we commit him to the secular jurisdiction. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many else besides as shall hereafter, in favour of his error, either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or any other way maintain him, as very fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellors, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretics.

'And we give straight commandment that ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of

A LEADER OF THE LOLLARDS

excommunication concerning both this heretic and his fautors, to be published throughout all dioceses, in cities, towns, and villages, by your curates and parish priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. Let the curate everywhere go into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound his process, in the mother-tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceived of all men: and that upon the fear of this declaration also the people may fall from their evil opinions conceived now of late by seditious preachers.'

After the archbishop had read the bill of his condemnation before the whole multitude, the Lord Cobham said with a most cheerful countenance: 'Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure, that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan unto the soul of Job. He that created that, will of His infinite mercy and promise save it.

have, therein, no manner of doubt.'

He fell down upon his knees, and before them all prayed for his enemies, holding up both his hands and his eyes towards heaven, and saying, 'Lord God Eternal! I beseech Thee, of Thy great mercy sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be Thy

blessed will.'

After this, the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobility and commons; for that they had so cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them, wherefore they drew their heads together, and consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that

WICKLIFF'S OPINIONS SPREAD

they had done before. They caused it to be blown abroad by their fee'd servants, friends, and babbling Sir Johns, that the said Lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly submitted himself in all things unto Holy Church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him

so great a man, and by them subdued.

When the clergy perceived that policy would not help, but made more and more against them, then sought they out another false practice: they went unto the King with a most grievous complaint, that in every quarter of the realm, by reason of Wickliff's opinions, and the said Lord Cobham, were wonderful contentions, rumours, tumults, uproars, confederations, dissensions, divisions, differences, discords, harms, slanders, schisms, sects, seditions, perturbations, perils, unlawful assemblies, variances, strifes, fightings, rebellious rufflings, and daily insurrections. The Church, they said, was hated. The diocesans were not obeyed. The ordinaries were not regarded. The spiritual officers, as suffragans, archdeacons, chancellors, doctors, commissaries, officials, deans, lawyers, scribes, and somners, were everywhere despised. The laws and liberties of Holy Church were trodden under foot. The Christian faith was ruinously decayed. God's service was laughed to scorn. The spiritual jurisdiction, authority, honour, power, policy, laws, rites, ceremonies, curses, keys, censures, and canonical sanctions of the Church, were had in

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utter contempt, so that all, in a manner, was come

to naught.

And the cause of this was, that the heretics and lollards of Wickliff's opinion were suffered to preach abroad so boldly, to gather conventicles unto them, to keep schools in men's houses, to make books, compile treatises, and write ballads, to teach privately in angles and corners, as in woods, fields, meadows, pastures, groves, and in caves of the

ground.

This would be, said they, a destruction to the commonwealth, a subversion to the land, and an utter decay of the King's estate royal, if remedy were not sought in time. And this was their policy, to couple the King's authority with what they had done in their former council, of craft, and so to make it, thereby, the stronger. For they perceived themselves very far too weak else, to follow against their enemies, what they had so largely enterprised. Upon this complaint, the King immediately called a parliament at Leicester. It might not, in those days, be holden at Westminster, for the great fayour that the Lord Cobham had, both in London and about the city.

Thus were Christ's people betrayed every way, and their lives bought and sold. For, in the said parliament, the King made this most blasphemous and cruel act, to be a law for ever: that whatsoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother-tongue (which was then called Wickliff's learning), they should forfeit land, cattle, body, life, and goods, from their heirs for ever, and so be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land. Besides

AN ESCAPE FROM THE TOWER

this, it was enacted, that never a sanctuary, nor privileged ground within the realm, should hold them, though they were still permitted both to thieves and murderers. And if, in any case they would not give over, or were, after their pardon, relapsed, they should suffer death in two manner of kinds: that is; they should first be hanged for treason against the King, and then be burned for heresy against God.

Then had the bishops, priests, monks, and friars a world somewhat to their minds. Many were taken in divers quarters, and suffered most cruel death. And many fled out of the land into Germany, Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and into the welds of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; working

there many marvels.

Sentence of death being given, the Lord Cobham was sent away, Sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower, where, after he had remained a certain space, in the night season (it is not known by what means), he escaped out, and fled into Wales. A great sum of money was proclaimed by the King, to him that could take the said Sir John Oldcastle, either quick or dead: who confederated with the Lord Powis (who was at that time a great governor in Wales), feeding him with lordly gifts and promises. About the end of four years, the Lord Powis, whether for greediness of the money, or for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of ways how to play the part of Judas, and outwardly pretending him great amity and favour, at length obtained his bloody purpose, and most cowardly and wretchedly took him, and brought the Lord Cobham bound, up

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to London; which was about the year of our Lord 1417, and about the month of December; at which there was a parliament assembled in London. It was adjudged, that he should be taken as a traitor to the King and the realm; that he should be carried to the Tower, and from thence drawn through London, unto the new gallows in St Giles without Temple-Bar, and there to be hanged, and burned

hanging.

Upon the day appointed, the Lord Cobham was brought out of the Tower with his arms bound behind him, having a very cheerful countenance. Then was he laid upon a hurdle, as though he had been a most heinous traitor to the crown, and so drawn forth into St Giles's field. As he was come to the place of execution, and was taken from the hurdle, he fell down devoutly upon his knees, desiring Almighty God to forgive his enemies. Then stood he up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them in most godly manner to follow the laws of God written in the Scriptures, and to beware of such teachers as they see contrary to Christ in their conversation and living. Then was he hanged up by the middle in chains of iron, and so consumed alive in the fire, praising the name of God so long as his life lasted; the people, there present, showing great dolour. And this was done A.D. 1418.

How the priests that time fared, blasphemed, and accursed, requiring the people not to pray for him, but to judge him damned in hell, for that he departed not in the obedience of their Pope, it were too long

to write.

Thus resteth this valiant Christian knight, Sir

A VALIANT CHRISTIAN KNIGHT

John Oldcastle, under the altar of God, which is Jesus Christ, among that godly company, who, in the kingdom of patience, suffered great tribulation with the death of their bodies, for His faithful word and testimony.

THE HISTORY OF MASTER JOHN HUSS

By the occasion of Queen Anne, who was a Bohemian, and married to King Richard II., the Bohemians coming to the knowledge of Wickliff's books here in England, began first to taste and savour Christ's Gospel, till at length, by the preaching of John Huss, they increased more and more in knowledge, insomuch that Pope Alexander V. hearing thereof, began to stir coals, and directeth his bull to the Archbishop of Prague, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain that doctrine; citing also John Huss to appear before him. To whom the said John answering, declared that mandate or bull of the Pope utterly to repugn against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of His apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the Gospel, in binding the Word of God not to have free course; and, therefore, from this mandate of the Pope he appealed to the same Pope better advised. But, while he was prosecuting his appeal, Pope Alexander died.

After Alexander succeeded Pope John XXIII., who also, playing his part like a Pope, sought by all means possible to keep under the Bohemians, first beginning to work his malice upon the aforesaid John Huss, their preacher who, at the same time preaching at Prague in the temple of Bethlehem, because he seemed rather willing to teach the

SUMMONED TO ROME

Gospel of Christ than the traditions of bishops,

was accused for a heretic.

The Pope committed the whole matter to Cardinal de Columna; who, when he had heard the accusation, appointed a day to John Huss, that he should appear in the court of Rome: which thing done, Wenceslaus, King of the Romans and of Bohemia, at the request specially of his wife Sophia and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, as also at the earnest suit and desire of the town and University of Prague, sent his ambassadors to Rome, to desire the Pope to quit and clearly deliver John Huss from that citation and judgment; and that if the Pope did suspect the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or false doctrine, he should send his ambassadors, who might correct and amend same, and that all this should be done at the sole cost and charges of the King of Bohemia: and to promise in his name, that he would assist the Pope's legates with all his power and authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine.

In the mean season, also, John Huss, before his day appointed, sent his lawful and meet procurators unto the court of Rome, and with most firm and strong reasons did prove his innocency; whereupon he so trusted, that he thought he should have easily obtained, that he should not have been compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appear the day appointed. But, when the Cardinal de Columna, unto whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed, would not admit any defence or excuse, John Huss's procurators appealed unto the Pope: yet, notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so

MASTER JOHN HUSS

much prevail with Cardinal de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Huss as an obstinate heretic, because he came not at his day

appointed to Rome.

Notwithstanding, forsomuch as his proctors had appealed unto the Pope, they had other judges appointed unto them, as the Cardinals of Aquileia and of Venice, with certain others; which judges, after they had deferred the matter by the space of a year and a half, returned to the sentence and judgment of Cardinal de Columna, and, confirming the same, commanded John Huss's procurators, that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer: whereupon, when his procurators would not cease their instant suit, certain of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished; the others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia.

The Bohemians little cared for all this; but, as they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the Pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ to be preached, saying, that by their indulgences, and other practices of the court of Rome, they sought their own profit, and not that of Jesus Christ; that they plucked from the sheep of Christ the wool and milk, and did not feed them, either with the Word of God, or with good examples; teaching, moreover, and affirming, that the commandments of the Pope and prelates are not to be obeyed but so far as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of His apostles. They derided also and scorned the Pope's jurisdiction, because of the schism that was then in the church,

GENTLE WORDS, FAIR PROMISES

when there were three Popes together, one striving

against another for the papacy.

It happened by the occasion of Ladislaus, King of Naples, who was ravaging the Pope's towns and territories, that Pope John, raising up war against the said Ladislaus, gave full remission of sins to all those who would war on his side to defend the Church. When the bull of the Pope's indulgence was come to Prague, and there published, the King Wenceslaus, who then favoured that Pope, gave commandment that no man should attempt any thing

against the said Pope's indulgences.

But Huss, with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began to speak against them, of which company were three certain artificers, who, hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speak against them, and called the Pope Antichrist. Wherefore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward: but the people, joining themselves together in arms, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates, with gentle words and fair promises, satisfied the people, so that every man returning home to his own house, the tumult was assuaged: but the artisans, whose names were John, Martin, and Stascon, being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded. The martyrdom of these three being known to the people, they took the bodies, and with great solemnity brought them unto the church of Bethlehem: at whose funeral divers priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise; 'These be the saints, who, for the testament of God, gave their bodies.' And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlehem, John Huss

MASTER JOHN HUSS

preaching at the funeral, much commending them

for their constancy.

Thus this city of Prague was divided. The prelates, with the greatest part of the clergy and most of the barons who had any thing to lose, did hold with the Pope. On the contrary part, the commons, with part of the clergy and students of the University, went with John Huss. Wenceslaus the King, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the doctors and prelates and council of his barons, thought best to remove John Huss out of the city. And further to cease this dissension risen in the Church, he committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergy. They, consulting together, did set forth a decree, confirmed by the sentence of the King, containing eighteen articles for the maintenance of the Pope and of the see of Rome, against the doctrine of Wickliff and John Huss.

John Huss, thus departing out of Prague, went to his country, where he, being protected by the lord of the soil, continued preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people; neither yet was he so expelled out of Prague, but that sometimes he resorted to his church at Bethlehem, and there

preached unto the people.

Moreover, against the said decree of the doctors John Huss answered with contrary articles as followeth.

The Objections of John Huss against the Decree of the Doctors.

False it is that they say the Pope and his cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of

THE CLAIMS OF ROME DENIED

Peter and of the apostles, neither that any other successors of Peter and of the apostles can be found upon the earth besides them: whereas all bishops and priests be successors of Peter and of the apostles.

Not the Pope, but Christ only, is the head; and not the cardinals, but all Christ's faithful people, be

the body of the Catholic Church.

If the Pope be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member even, of the Holy Church of God, but of the devil and of his synagogue.

Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the Pope and of the cardinals, but so far forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament.

The Church of Rome is not that place where the Lord did appoint the principal see of His whole Church: for Christ, Who was the head priest of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other Popes did sit, some at Bologna, some at Perugia, some at Avignon.

The prelates are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures who affirm and say, that we must obey the Pope in all things. For why? it is known that many Popes have been heretics, and one Pope was also a

woman.

They fondly and childishly argue that the processes made against Master John Huss ought to be obeyed, because, forsooth, the whole body of the clergy of Prague have received them. By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the devil, because our first parents, Adam and Eve, obeyed him.

MASTER JOHN HUSS

Unto these objections of John Huss the catholic doctors did answer in a long tedious process, the scope whereof principally tended to defend the principality of the Pope, and to maintain obedience to him above all other potentates in the world. Like as Christ is King of all Kings, and yet Charles may be King of France; so say they, Christ may be the universal head, and yet the Pope may be head under Him of the whole Church. While Christ walked here on earth in His bodily presence, He was Pope Himself and chief bishop, and so head of the Church here militant on earth. But because after He departed out of the world His body, which is the Church militant upon the earth, should not be headless, therefore He left Peter and his successors to His Church for a head in His place, unto the consummation of the world.

Thus then Master John Huss, being driven out of Prague, and, moreover, being so excommunicated, that no mass must be said where he was present, the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests, accusing them as being simoniacs, covetous, proud; sparing not to lay open their vices, to their great ignominy and shame, and much craving reformation

to be had of the clergy.

The King, seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickedness of the clergy, under pretence of reforming the Church, began to require greater exactions upon such priests and men of the clergy as were known to be wicked livers. Whereupon they that favoured John Huss, complained of all, whomsoever they knew to be of the catholic faction, or enemies to John Huss; by

STIRRING UP PERSECUTION

reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear, insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out, with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means Master Huss began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his church at Bethlehem, and none to control him: by the same means the people received some comfort, and the King much gain.

Thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Huss, were enwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of laymen, as of the evangelical clergy; nay, the women also and children were against them because

of the interdict against John Huss.

The more the Pope's clergy were pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Huss, although he was no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings. And to help the matter forward, the Pope writeth letters to Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, who was brother to Sigismund, the emperor, for the suppressing of John Huss and of his doctrine. 'We hear that in divers places under your dominion, there be certain who do follow and preach 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. Wherefore we do exhort your worship effectuously to show forth your regal power, both for the glory of God and defence of the catholic faith, as it becometh a catholic prince; whereby this heresy may be rooted out.'

During all this time of Pope John, there were three Popes reigning together, neither was yet the schism ceased, which had continued the space, already, of thirty-six years; by reason whereof a General Council was holden at Constance in A.D. 1414, being called by Sigismund the Emperor, and Pope John XXXIII. These three Popes were John, whom the Italians set up; Gregory, whom the Frenchmen set up; Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this schismatical ambitious conflict every one defended his Pope, to the great disturbance of Christian nations. This Council endured three years and five months. Many great and profitable things to the glory of God and public profit might have been coucluded, if the rotten flesh of the churchmen could have bidden the salt of the Gospel, and if they had loved the truth.

Pope John was deposed by the decree of the Council, more than three and forty most grievous and heinous crimes being proved against him: as that he had hired Marcilius Parmensis, a physician, to poison Alexander, his predecessor; further, that he was a heretic, a simoniac, a liar, a hypocrite, a murderer, an enchanter, and a dice-player. Finally, what crime

is it that he was not infected withal?

In this Council of Constance nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the Pope's authority is under the Council, and that the Council ought to judge the Pope. And, as touching the communion in both kinds (bread and wine), although the Council did not deny but that it was used by Christ and His apostles, yet notwithstanding, by the same Council it was decreed to the contrary.



THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

Which Council, although it was principally thought to be assembled for quieting of the schism between the three Popes; yet, notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for John Huss. For before the Council began, the Emperor Sigismund sent certain gentlemen, Bohemians, who were of his own household, giving them in charge to bring John Huss, bachelor of divinity, unto the said Council. The meaning and intent thereof was, that John Huss should purge and 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 unto Constance, but also that he should return again into Bohemia, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire.

John Huss, seeing so many fair promises and the assurance which the Emperor had given to him, sent answer, that he would come unto the Council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and especially out of the town of Prague, he did write certain bills and caused them to be fastened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbeys, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the General Council at Constance there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at the present doth hold, and by God's help will defend and keep even unto death; wherefore, if any man have any suspicion of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the Lord Conrad, Archbishop of Prague; or, if he had rather, at the General Council, for there he would

render unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith.

About the ides of October, 1414, John Huss, being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, Wenceslaus of Duba, and John of Clum, departed from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. In all cities as he passed by, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained through all the towns of Germany, not only of his hosts, but of the citizens generally, and oftentimes of the curates; insomuch that the said Huss did confess, in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Bohemia. And if it happened that there were any bruit or noise before of his coming, the streets were always full of people who were desirous to see and gratify him; especially at Nuremberg, where there were many curates who came unto him, desiring him that they might talk with him secretly, unto whom he answered: that he loved much rather to show forth his mind openly before all men than in hugger-mugger, for he would keep nothing close or hidden. So, after dinner, until it was night, he spake before the priests, senators, and divers other citizens, insomuch that they had him in great estimation and reverence.

The twentieth day after that he parted out of the town of Prague, which was the third day of November, he came unto Constance, and lodged at an honest matron's house, being a widow named Faithful, in St Gale's Street.

The morrow after, the noble men, Lord John de Clum, and Lord Henry Latzemboge, went to speak with the Pope, and certified him that John Huss was

THE CHIEF ACCUSERS

come, desiring that he would grant the said John Huss liberty to remain in Constance, without any trouble, or vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the Pope answered—that even if John Huss had killed his brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done unto him during his abode in the city of Constance.

In this meantime, the greatest adversary that John Huss had, named Master Stephen Paletz, who was also a Bohemian born, was come unto Constance. The said Paletz did associate unto him one Michael de Causis, who was the first and bitterest accuser of the said John Huss. Paletz had been familiarly conversant with John Huss from his youth upward; but after that there was a bull brought unto Prague from Pope John XXIII. against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said John Huss withstood it openly, forsomuch as he saw that it was wicked and nought. Paletz, albeit that he had confessed at a certain banquet, in the presence of the said John Huss, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right, yet, notwithstanding, forsomuch as he was bound unto the Pope by means of certain benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the said bull against John Huss.

As for Michael de Causis, the companion of Master Paletz, he was sometime the curate of New Prague: buthe, not being content therewith, and seeking after a further prey, imagined a new device how to attain unto it; for he made a semblance that he had found out a new invention, whereby the mines of gold in Gilowy, which were perished and lost, might be set on work again. By this means he

did so much with the King Wenceslaus, that he did put a great sum of money into his hands, to do that withal which he had promised. This honest man, after he had laboured certain days about it, perceiving that he brought nothing to pass, and that he was utterly in despair of his purpose, conveyed himself privily out of the realm of Bohemia with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself, as a worthy bird

for such a nest, to the court of Rome.

These two jolly roisters, Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, drew out certain articles against the said Huss, saying, that they had gathered them out of his own writings, and especially out of his treatise which he had written of the Church. trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to show the said articles unto the cardinals, bishops and monks, giving them to understand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said John Huss had committed against the holy constitutions, and other ordinances of the Pope and the church; which, if need were, they said they would propound before the Council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals and the priests, that they all, with one mind, thought to cause the good man to be laid hands on.

The twenty-sixth day after the said Huss was come to Constance (during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends), the cardinals, through the instigation of Paletz, and Michael de Causis, sent two bishops, to wit, the Bishops of Augsburg and of Trent, and with them the borough-master of Constance, and a certain knight, to the place where John Huss

THE CUNNING OF THE CARDINALS

lodged, about dinner-time; who should make report unto him that they were sent by the Pope and his cardinals, to advertise him that he should come to render some knowledge of his doctrine before them as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were

ready to hear him.

Unto whom John Huss answered, 'I am not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the Pope and his cardinals, but that I would willingly appear before the whole Council, and there answer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all such things as shall be required of me. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals; and if it happen that they evil entreat or handle me, yet I trust in my Lord Jesus, that He will so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for His glory's sake, than to deny the verity which I have learned by His holy Scriptures.'

Wherefore it came to pass that, the bishops being instant upon him, and not showing any outward semblance that they bare any malice against him in their hearts (albeit they had privily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses), John Huss took his horse which he had at his lodging, and went unto the court of the Pope and the cardinals.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speak to him in this sort: 'We have heard many reports of you, which, if they be true, are in no case to be suffered; for men say, that you have taught great and manifest errors against the doctrine of the true Church; and

that you have sowed your errors abroad through all the realm of Bohemia, by a long space of time; wherefore we have caused you to be called hither before us, that we might know how the matter standeth.'

Unto whom John Huss answered in few words: 'Reverend fathers! you shall understand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I should rather choose to die, than I should be found culpable of one only error, much less of many and great errors. I am ready to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me.' The cardinals answered him that his sayings pleased them very well; and upon that they went away, leaving the said John Huss with Lord John de Clum, under the guard of the armed men, until four of the clock in the afternoon.

After that time the cardinals assembled again in the Pope's court, to take counsel what they should do with John Huss. Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, with divers others of their adherents, made earnest suit that he should not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the judges on their part, they bragged up and down in a manner as they had been mad men, and mocked the said John Huss, saying, 'Now we will hold thee well enough; thou art under our power and jurisdiction, and shalt not depart until such time as thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.'

A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court unto Lord John de Clum, to show him that he might return to his lodging; but as for John Huss, they had otherwise provided for him. When Lord John de Clum heard this news, he was

A SHAMEFUL BREACH OF FAITH

wonderfully displeased, forasmuch as through their crafts, subtleties, and glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares; whereupon he went unto the Pope, declaring unto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made unto him and Lord Henry Latzemboge, and that he would not so lightly break his faith. The Pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandment; and said further to Lord de Clum apart, 'What reason is it that you should impute this deed unto me, seeing that you know well enough that I myself am in the hands of these cardinals and Bishops?'

So the said Lord de Clum returned very pensiveful and sorry; he complained very sore, both privily and openly, of the outrage that the Pope had done; but all profited nothing. After this, the said John Huss was led to the house of the precentor of the church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner by the space of eight days; from thence he was carried unto the Jacobites, hard by the river Rhine,

and was shut up in the prison of the abbey.

After he had been enclosed there a certain time he fell sore sick of an ague, by means of the stench of the place, and became so weak, that they despaired of his life. And for fear lest this good man should die in prison, the Pope sent unto him certain of his physicians to cure him. In the midst of his sickness his accusers made importunate suit to the principals of the Council, that the said John Huss might be condemned, and presented unto the Pope these articles:

He doth err about the sacraments of the Church,

and especially 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, that is to say, the body and blood. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the schools and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced upon the altar, there remaineth still material bread in the sacrament.

He doth err as touching the ministers of the Church, forasmuch as he saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortal sin. Moreover he saith, that other men

beside priests may minister the sacrament.

He doth not allow and admit that the church signifieth the Pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy underneath them.

He saith, that the Church hath no power of the keys, when the Pope, cardinals, and all other of the

priests and clergy are in deadly sin.

He holdeth opinion that every man hath authority to invest and appoint any man to the cure of souls. This is evident by his own doings, forasmuch as many in the kingdom of Bohemia by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himself, were appointed and put into parish churches, which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the apostolic see, neither yet by the ordinary of the city of Prague.

He holdeth opinion, that a man, being once ordained a priest or deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, forasmuch as he himself could never be letted from preaching,

A DISCIPLE OF WICKLIFF

neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the

Archbishop of Prague.

Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the divines of the University of Prague upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Bohemia had concluded that every one of those articles was either heretical, seditious, or erroneous; he alone held the contrary opinion, that none of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous, as afterwards he did dispute, hold, and teach, in the common schools of Prague; whereby it is evidently enough foreseen, that he doth affirm those articles of Wickliff, which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole Church.

Upon this accusation, they appointed three commissioners or judges; the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Bishop of Castel-a-mare, and the Bishop of Lebus; the which prelates heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain babbling priests of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterwards recited the said accusation unto the said Huss in the prison, at such time as his ague was fervent and extremely upon him.

Upon this, John Huss required to have an advocate to answer for him; which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reason that the masters commissioners brought against it was this: that the plain canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of him who is suspected of heresy. The vanity and folly of the witnesses was such, that if they had not been both the accusers and judges themselves, there should have needed no confutation.

Thus John Huss remained in the prison of the convent of the Franciscans, until the Wednesday before Palm Sunday; and in the mean season, to employ his time, he wrote certain books of the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the

supper of our Lord.

The same day Pope John XXIII. changed his apparel, and conveyed himself secretly out of Constance, fearing the judgment by which afterwards he was deprived of his papal dignity by reason of most execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cause that John Huss was transported and carried unto another prison; for the Pope's servants, who had the keeping of John Huss, understanding that their master was fled, delivered up the keys of the prison unto the Emperor Sigismund, and to the cardinals, and followed their master the Pope. Then, by the consent of the Council, the said John Huss was put into the hands of the Bishop of Constance, who sent him to a castle on the other side of the river Rhine, not very far from Constance, where he was shut up in a tower with fetters on his legs, that he could scarce walk in the day-time, and at night he was fastened up to a rack against the wall hard by his bed.

In the mean season, certain noblemen and gentlemen of Poland and Bohemia did all their endeavour to purchase his deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the realm, which was wonderfully defamed and slandered by certain naughty persons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they who were in the town of Constance, who seemed to

A RIGOROUS IMPRISONMENT

bear any favour unto John Huss, were made as mocking stocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the slaves and base people. Wherefore they took counsel and concluded together to present their request in writing unto the whole Council, the four-teenth day of May, A.D. 1415; the tenor here ensueth:—

When Master John Huss was freely of his own accord come unto Constance, under safe-conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Master John Huss, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, and is so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared, lest that, his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

'Wherefore, we do wholly and most earnestly desire and require your reverences that both for the honour of the safe-conduct of our lord the King, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown both of the kingdom of Bohemia, and your own also, you will make a short end about the affairs of Master John Huss.'

The said barons and lords also presented a supplication unto the emperor: 'We most humbly require and desire your princely majesty, that you would interpose your good offices with the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they may effectually hear us in this our just petition.'

But what answer the emperor made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge, that this good

emperor was led even unto this point, through the obstinate mischief of the cardinals and bishops, to break and falsify his promise and faith: and this was their reason whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe-conduct, or by any other means, unto him who

was suspected or judged to be a heretic.

When John Huss was brought forth again before the whole assembly, a strange and shameful matter happened. They had scarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witnesses, but, as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad herd began so to cry out upon him, that he had not leisure to speak one only word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it a bruit of wild beasts, and not of men; much less was it to be judged a congregation of men gathered together, to determine so

grave and weighty matters.

Some did outrage in words against him, and others spitefully mocked him; so that he, seeing himself overwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises, and that it profited nothing to speak, determined finally with himself to hold his peace. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adversaries thought that they had won the battle of him, and cried out all together; 'Now he is dumb, now he is dumb: this is a certain sign and token, that he doth consent and agree unto these his errors.' Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be put off until another time. Through their advice, the prelates

GREAT NUMBER OF ARMED MEN

and others parted from the Council for that present, and appointed to meet there again on the day after

the morrow, to proceed in judgment.

On that day, which was the seventh of June, somewhere about seven of the clock, the sun a little before having been almost wholly eclipsed, this same flock assembled in the cloister of the friars minor, and by their appointment John Huss was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the noble men, Lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum, did follow, to see what the end would be.

Then was read a certain article of accusation, in the which it was alleged, that John Huss had taught, and obstinately defended, certain erroneous articles of Wickliff's. To confirm their article, there was alleged that John Huss did withstand the condemnation of Wickliss's articles, the which had been first made at Rome. And afterward also, when the Archbishop of Prague, with other learned men, held a convocation at Prague for the same matter, he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending of his conscience, and especially for these articles: that Silvester the Pope, and Constantine, did err in bestowing great gifts and rewards upon the Church: also, that the Pope or priest, being in mortal sin, cannot consecrate nor baptize. 'This article,' said Huss, 'I have thus limited, so as I should say, that he doth unworthily consecrate or baptize, for that, when he is in deadly sin, he is an unworthy minister of the sacraments of God.' He did not consent that Wickliff's articles should be condemned, before sufficient reasons were

alleged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation.

'And of the same mind,' saith John Huss, 'are a great many other doctors and masters of the University of Prague; for when Sbinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliff's books to be gathered together in the whole city of Prague, and to be brought unto him, I myself brought also certain books of Wickliff's, which I gave unto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any error or heresy in them, he would note and mark them, and I myself would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he showed me no error nor heresy in them, burned my books, together with those that were brought unto him. He obtained a bull from the Pope that all Wickliff's books, for the manifold errors contained in them (whereof there were none named), should be taken out of all men's The archbishop, using the authority of this bull, thought that he should bring to pass, that the King of Bohemia and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wickliff's books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheless, calling together certain divines, he gave them in commission to sit upon Wickliff's books, and to proceed against them by a definitive sentence in the canon law. These men, by a general sentence, judged all those books worthy to be burned; which when the doctors, masters and scholars of the University heard report of, they, all together, with one consent and accord (none excepted but only they, who before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in judgment), determined to make supplication unto the King to stay the matter. The King, granting their

'I APPEAL UNTO CHRIST'

request, sent by and by certain unto the archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing, as touching Wickliff's books, contrary unto the King's will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the King, the matter was passed over. In the meantime Pope Alexander V. being dead, the archbishop, fearing lest the bull which he had received of the Pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed soldiers, consumed and burned all Wickliff's books. Besides this great injury, the archbishop by means of this bull aforesaid, committed another no less intolerable; for he gave commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the Pope; who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewise unto his successor John XXIII.: before whom when, by the space of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocates to defend my cause, I appealed unto the high judge Christ,'

When John Huss had spoken these words, it was demanded of him, whether he had received absolution of the Pope or no? He answered, 'no.' Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto Christ or no? Whereunto John Huss answered: 'Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more just or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto Christ, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeal, is no

other thing than in a cause of grief or wrong done by an inferior judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher judge's hand. Who is then a higher judge than Christ? Who, I say, can know or judge the matter more justly, or with more equity? when in Him there is found no deceit, neither can He be deceived; or, who can better help the miserable and oppressed than He?' While John Huss, with a devout and sober countenance, was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked by all the whole Council.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation in this manner; that John Huss, to confirm the heresy which he had taught the common people out of Wickliff's books, said that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wickliff's soul was. Whereunto John Huss answered, that a dozen years before any books of divinity of John Wickliff's were in Bohemia, he did see certain works of philosophy of his, which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understood the good and godly life of the said Wickliff, he spake these words.

This done, the said John Huss was committed to the custody of the Archbishop of Riga. But before he was led away, the Cardinal of Cambray, calling him back again in the presence of the emperor, said, 'John Huss, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto Constance, neither the emperor himself, nor the King of Bohemia, could have compelled you to

do it.'

Unto whom John Huss answered: 'Under your license, most reverend father! I did say, that there

THE EMPEROR BREAKS HIS VOW

were in Bohemia a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, who did favour and love me, who also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come unto this town of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither of the King of Bohemia.'

With that the Cardinal of Cambray even for very anger began to change his colour, and despitefully said: 'Do you not see the unshamefastness of the man here?'

And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the Lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Huss had spoken, said, that John Huss had spoken very well; 'for on my part' said he, 'who, in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realm of Bohemia, yet always, if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily by the space of one year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they have done it who are of more force or puissance than I am, and have stronger castles and places than I have?'

After the Lord de Clum had spoken, the Cardinal of Cambray said, 'Let us leave this talk; and I tell you, John Huss! and counsel you, that you submit yourself unto the sentence and mind of the Council, as you did promise in the prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour.'

And the emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying, 'forasmuch as divers have told us, that we may not, or ought not, of right to defend any man who is a heretic, or suspected of heresy;

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therefore, now, we give you counsel that you be not obstinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do submit yourself unto the authority of the holy Council, which thing if you do, we will give order that the Council shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easy penance. Which thing if you, contrariwise, refuse to do, the presidents of the Council shall proceed against you. And, for our part, be ye well assured, that we will sooner make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will suffer any longer that you shall maintain or use this stiffness of opinions, which you have hitherto used.'

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of June, the company assembled at the convent of the Franciscans. Thither was John Huss brought; and in his presence there were read the articles, which, they said, were drawn out of his books. Huss acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of which

sort there were but very few.

The Articles drawn from the books of John Huss, with his Answers to the same.

Peter never was, neither is the head of the holy

universal Church.'

Answer. This article was drawn out of these words of my book: 'All men do agree in this point, that Peter had received of the Rock of the Church (which is Christ), humility, poverty, steadfastness of faith, and consequently blessedness. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when He said, "Upon this Rock I will build My

THE ARROGANCY OF POPES

Church," that He would build every militant Church upon the person of Peter, for Christ should build His church upon the Rock which is Christ Himself, from whence Peter received his steadfastness of faith, forasmuch as Jesus Christ is the only head and foundation of every church, and not Peter.'

'If he that is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true vicar. But, if so be he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of St Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the vicar of Judas

Iscariot.'

Answer. The words of my book are these: 'If he who is called the vicar of St Peter, walk in the ways of Christian virtues aforesaid, we do believe verily that he is the true vicar, and true Bishop of the Church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of Antichrist, contrary both to St Peter, and to our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore St Bernard, in his fourth book, did write in this sort unto Pope Eugene: "Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancy, being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed; what fruit or profit do thy flock or sheep receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of devils than of sheep. St Peter and St Paul did not so; wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not St Peter."' It followeth after, in my book, 'That if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to that which St Peter used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousness, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot, who loved and

chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ.'

'The papal dignity hath his original from the

Emperors of Rome.'

Answer. Mark well what my words are: 'The pre-eminence and institution of the Pope is sprung and come of the emperor's power and authority; for Constantine granted this privilege unto the Bishop of Rome, and others after him confirmed the same: that like as Augustus, for the outward and temporal goods bestowed upon the Church, is counted always the most high King above all others; so the Bishop of Rome should be called the principal father above all other bishops.'

'No man would reasonably affirm (without revelation) either of himself or of any other, that he is

the head of any particular Church.'

Answer. I confess it to be written in my book.

'The Pope's power as vicar is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and address his life according to Jesus Christ, and follow the manners of St Peter.'

Answer. It is thus in my book; 'That it is meet and expedient that he who is ordained vicar, should address and frame himself, in manners and conditions, to the authority of Him who did put him

in place.'

'The cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus.'

Answer. It is thus written in my book.

'A heretic ought not to be committed to the

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HOW TO DEAL WITH HERETICS

secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the ecclesiastical censure.'

Answer. These are my words, 'They might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, especially forasmuch as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judge such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death.' A heretic ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian love and gentleness by the holy Scriptures. But if there were any, who, after gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from their stiffness of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer

corporal or bodily punishment.

As soon as John Huss had spoken those things, the judges read in his book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them who delivered a heretic unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresy: and compared them unto the high priests, Scribes and Pharisees, who said unto Pilate, 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death,' and delivered Christ unto him: and yet notwithstanding, according unto Christ's own witness, they were greater murderers than Pilate. 'For he,' said Christ, 'who hath delivered Me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence.' Then the cardinals and bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Huss, saying: 'Who are they that thou dost compare unto the Pharisees?'

Then he said, 'All those who deliver up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the Scribes and

Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto Pilate.'

'He that is excommunicated by the Pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the Pope and the General Council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation, all the excommunications and curses of the Pope cannot

annoy or hurt him.'

Answer. I did make my complaint in my book, that they had both done me, and such as favoured me, great wrong; and that they refuse to hear me in the Pope's court. For after the death of one Pope, I did appeal to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And, therefore, last of all, I have appealed to the Head of the Church, my Lord Jesus Christ; for He is much more excellent and better than any Pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forasmuch as He cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause; neither can He condemn the innocent.

'The minister of Christ, living according to His law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edify the people, ought to preach; notwithstanding the pretended excommunication of the Pope. And moreover, if the Pope, or any other ruler, do forbid any priest or minister, so disposed, to preach, that

he ought not to obey him.'

Answer. These are my words: 'That albeit the excommunication were either threatened or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of St Peter, and the other apostles, that we ought rather to obey God than man.' Whereupon it followeth, that the minister of Christ, living according unto this law, ought to preach, not-

ANSWERING HIS JUDGES

withstanding any pretended excommunication; for God hath commanded us to preach and testify unto the people. Whereby it is evident, that if the Pope, or any other ruler of the Church, do command any minister disposed to preach, not to preach, they ought not to obey him.'

They objected unto him, that he had said, that such kind of excommunications were rather

blessings.

'Verily,' said John Huss, 'even so I do now say again, that every excommunication, by which a man is unjustly excommunicated, is unto him a blessing before God. No Christian ought to doubt, but that a man sufficiently instructed in learning is more bound to counsel and instruct the ignorant, to teach those who are in doubt, to chastise those who are unruly, and to remit and forgive those that do him injury, than to do any other works of mercy.'

'There is no spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head in the spiritualty, to rule the Church, which should be always conversant with the

militant Church.'

Answer. I do grant it. Christ is the Head of the spiritualty, ruling and governing the militant Church by much more and greater necessity than Cæsar ought to rule the temporalty; forasmuch as Christ Who sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth necessarily rule the militant Church as head.

'Christ would better rule His Church by His true apostles, dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads.'

Answer. It is in my book as here followeth: 'We do verily believe that Christ Jesus is the

head over every Church, ruling the same without lack or default, pouring upon the same a continual motion and sense. The Church, in the time of the apostles, was far better ruled and governed than now is. And what doth hinder, that Christ should not now rule the same better by His true disciples, without such monstrous heads as have been of late?'

When the articles were read over, together with their testimonies, the Cardinal of Cambray calling unto John Huss, said: 'Thou hast heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them there are; and now it is thy part to devise with thyself what thou wilt do. Two ways are set before thee by the Council. First, that thou do meekly submit thyself unto the judgment of the Council, that whatsoever shall be there determined, thou wilt patiently bear, and suffer the same. Which thing if thou wilt do, we will treat and handle thee with as great humanity, love, and gentleness, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we have propounded unto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and license thereunto: but this thou shalt well understand, that here are such manner of men, so clear in understanding and knowledge, and having such firm and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment and peril.'

Unto whom, with a lowly countenance, John Huss answered: Most reverend fathers! I have often said that I came hither of mine own free will, not to the intent obstinately to defend any thing, but that if in

THE REFORMER'S CONSTANCY

any thing I should seem to have conceived a perverse or evil opinion, I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind; whereof, except I shall allege most firm and strong reasons, I will willingly submit myself, as

you require.'

Then said the Cardinal of Cambray: 'Forasmuch, then, as thou dost submit thyself unto the grace of this Council, this is decreed—First, that thou shalt humbly and meekly confess thyself to have erred in these articles which are alleged and brought against thee: Secondly, that thou shalt promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not hold, or teach, any of these articles: And last of all, that thou shalt

openly recant all these articles.'

Upon which sentence, when many others had spoken their minds at length, John Huss said: 'I most humbly desire you all, even for His sake Who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to do the thing which my conscience doth strive against, or which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation: that is, that I should make revocation, by oath, to all the articles which are alleged against me. But if there be any man who can teach me contrariwise unto them, I will willingly perform that which you desire.'

Then said the Cardinal of Florence, 'John Huss, you shall have a form of abjuration, which shall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will easily and soon determine with yourself, whether you will do it or no.'

But John Huss constantly answered as before, insomuch that they said he was obstinate and

stubborn. Thus they were all so grievous and troublesome unto him that he waxed faint and weary, for he had passed all the night before without sleep, through the pain of his teeth.

The Archbishop of Riga, unto whom John Huss was committed, commanded, that he should be carried again safely to prison. Then John de Clum following him, did not a little comfort him. No tongue can express what courage he received by the short talk which he had with him, when, in so great

a broil and grievous hatred, he saw himself forsaken

of all men.

After that John Huss was carried away, the emperor began to exhort the presidents of the Council in this manner following: 'You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Huss, which are not only proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him; of which, every one of them, by my judgment and advice, hath deserved and is worthy of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be punished with fire.'

The day before his condemnation, which was the sixth of July, the Emperor Sigismund sent unto him four bishops, accompanied with Lords Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Clum, that they should learn of him what he did intend to do.

When he was brought out of prison unto them, John de Clum began first to speak unto him, saying, 'Master John Huss, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel you, being a man of understanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know yourself guilty of any of those errors which

CARRIED AGAIN TO PRISON

are laid against you, that you will not be ashamed to alter your mind: if contrariwise, I would not that you should do any thing against your conscience, but rather suffer any punishment, than deny that which you have known to be the truth.'

Unto whom John Huss, turning himself, with lamentable tears said: 'Verily, I do take the Most High God for my witness, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the Council can teach me any better by the holy Scripture, to alter my purpose.'

Then one of the bishops who sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant, that he would prefer his own mind before the judgment of

the whole Council.

To whom John Huss answered: 'If he who is the least in all this Council can convict me of error, I will, with an humble heart and mind, perform whatsoever the Council shall require of me.'

'Mark,' said the bishops, 'how obstinately he

doth persevere in his errors.'

And when they had thus talked, they commanded

the keepers to carry him again to prison.

The next day after, which was Saturday, the sixth day of July, there was a general session holden of the princes and lords, both of the ecclesiastical and temporal estates, in the head church of the city of Constance, the Emperor Sigismund being president in his imperial robes and habit; in the midst whereof there was made a certain high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a desk of wood, on which the vestments pertaining unto priesthood were laid for this cause, that before John Huss should be delivered over unto the civil power, he should be openly spoiled of his priestly ornaments.

When John Huss was brought thither, he fell down

upon his knees and prayed a long time.

The proctor of the Council required that they might proceed unto the definitive sentence. Then a certain bishop, who was appointed one of the judges, repeated those articles which we have before remembered. John Huss went about briefly, with a word or two, to answer unto every one of them; but as often as he was about to speak, the Cardinal of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying, 'Hereafter you shall answer all together, if you will.' Then said John Huss: 'How can I at once answer all these things which are alleged against me, when I cannot remember them all?' Then said the Cardinal of Florence: 'We have heard thee sufficiently.'

But when John Huss, for all that, would not hold his peace, they sent the officers who should force him thereunto. Then began he to entreat, pray, and beseech them, that they would hear him, that such as were present might not credit or believe those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he, kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God, and the Lord Jesus Christ. 'O Lord Jesu Christ! Whose Word is openly condemned here in this Council, unto Thee again I do appeal, 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 with manifest wrongs and injuries, should flee unto Thee.'

When he had spoken these words, one of them, who was appointed judge, read the definitive sentence

against him:

THE SENTENCE OF THE COUNCIL

'Forasmuch as one John Huss, the disciple of John Wickliff, hath taught, preached, and affirmed the articles of Wickliff, which were condemned by the Church of God; especially resisting in his open sermons, and also with his adherents and accomplices in the schools, the condemnation of the said articles of Wickliff, and hath declared him, the said Wickliff, for the favour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergy and people, to be a catholic man, and a true evangelical doctor.

'Wherefore, this most sacred and holy Council of Constance, doth condemn and reprove all those books which the said John Huss wrote; and doth decree, that they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the clergy and people of the city of Constance, and elsewhere; adding, moreover, that all his doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. This sacred Synod doth straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made for such treatises and works; and that such as are found, be consumed with fire.

'Wherefore, this most sacred and holy synod, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth that John Huss was and is a true and manifest heretic, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies, despising the keys of the Church, and ecclesiastical censures. In the which his error, he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened by the space of many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, when he made his appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Most High Judge.

'Whereupon the said synod judgeth him to be condemned as a heretic; and reproveth the said

appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and judgeth the said Huss not only to have seduced the Christian people by his writings and preachings, neither to have been a true preacher of the Gospel of Christ, but also to have been an obstinate and stiffnecked person, such a one as doth not desire to return again to the lap of our holy mother the Church, neither to abjure the errors and heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred Council decreeth that the said John Huss shall be deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignity.'

While these things were thus read, John Huss, albeit he was forbidden to speak, notwithstanding, did often interrupt them; and especially when he was reproved of 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 that they are contrary to the Scriptures?' And oftentimes looking up unto

heaven, he prayed.

When the sentence and judgment were ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he said: 'Lord Jesus Christ! forgive mine enemies, by whom Thou knowest that I am falsely accused, and that they have used false witness and slanders against me; forgive them, I say, for Thy great mercy's sake.' This his prayer, the greater part, and especially the chief of the priests, did deride and mock.

At last the seven bishops who were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood, commanded him to

THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST

put on the garments pertaining unto priesthood. When he came to the putting on of the albe, he called to his remembrance the white vesture which Herod put on Jesus Christ to mock Him withal. So, likewise, in all other things he did comfort himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter his purpose, and provide for his honour and salvation. Then he, being full

of tears, spake unto the people in this sort.

These lords and bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might peradventure easily persuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without Whose great ignominy and grudge of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. 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, through me, it should come to pass that those things, which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I, by this my example, astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, endued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and Gospel of our Lord Jesu Christ and His most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile carcase appointed unto death, than their health and salvation.'

Then one of the bishops took away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying; 'O cursed Judas! why hast thou forsaken the counsel and ways of peace? We take away from thee this chalice of thy salvation.'

But John Huss received this curse in this manner: 'I trust unto God, the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Iesus Christ, for Whose sake I do suffer these things, that He will not take away the chalice of His redemption, but have a steadfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in His kingdom.'

Then followed the other bishops in order, who every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their curse. Whereunto John Huss answered: that he did willingly embrace and hear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

At last they came to the rasing of his shaven crown: but before the bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what instrument it should be done; with a razor, or with a pair of shears. In the mean season, John Huss, turning himself toward the emperor, said: 'I marvel that forasmuch as they be all of like cruel mind, yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty.' At last they agreed to cut off the skin of the crown of his head with a pair of shears.

And when they had done that, they added these words: 'Now hath the Church taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him. Now there resteth nothing else, but that he be delivered over

unto the secular power.'

But before they did that, there yet remained



another knack of reproach; for they caused to be made a certain crown of paper, almost a cubit deep, on which were painted three devils of wonderfully ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, 'Heresiarcha.' Which when he saw, he said: 'My Lord Jesus Christ, for my sake, did wear a crown of thorns; why should not I then, for His sake, again wear this light crown, be it ever so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly.' When it was set upon his head, the bishop said: 'Now we commit thy soul unto the devil.' 'But I,' said John Huss, lifting his eyes up towards the heavens, 'do commend into Thy hands, O Lord Jesu Christ! my spirit which Thou hast redeemed.'

These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the bishops, turning themselves towards the emperor, said: 'This most sacred synod of Constance leaveth now John Huss, who hath no more any office in the Church of God, unto the civil judgment and power.'

Then the emperor commanded Louis, Duke of Bavaria, who stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the cross in his hand, that he should receive John Huss of the bishops, and deliver him unto them who should do the execution; by whom as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doors he saw his books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that passed by he exhorted, not to think that he should die for any error or heresy, but only for the hatred and ill-will of his adversaries, who had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. All the whole city in a manner, being in armour, followed him.

The place appointed for the execution was before the Gottlieben gate, between the gardens and the

gates of the suburbs. When John Huss was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he prayed, and said certain Psalms, and especially the thirty-first and fifty-first Psalms. And they who stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse: 'Into Thy hands, O Lord! I commend my spirit,' which thing when the lay-people beheld who stood next unto him, they said: 'What he hath done before, we know not; but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly.' A certain priest sitting on horseback, in a green gown, drawn about with red silk, said: 'He ought not to be heard, because he is a heretic.' In the meantime, while John Huss prayed, as he bowed his neck backwards to look upward unto heaven, the crown of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the soldiers, taking it up again, said: 'Let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his masters the devils, whom he hath served.'

When, by the commandment of the tormentors, he was risen up from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said: 'Lord Jesu Christ! help me, that with a constant and patient mind, I may suffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching of Thy most Holy Gospel and Word.' Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death unto the people. In the mean season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast unto the stake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas, by chance, he was turned towards the east, certain cried out that he should

REPENTANCE AND REMISSION

not look towards the east, for he was a heretic: so he was turned towards the west. Then was his neck tied with a chain unto the stake, which chain when he beheld, smiling he said, that he would willingly receive the same for Jesus Christ's sake, Who, he knew, was bound with a far worse chain. Under his feet they set two faggots, admixing straw withal, and so from the feet up to the chin, he was enclosed round about with wood.

But before the wood was set on fire, Louis, Duke of Bavaria, and another gentleman with him, who was the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Huss, that he would yet be mindful of his salvation, and renounce his errors. To whom he said: 'What error should I renounce, when I know myself guilty of none? For this was the principal end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men repentance and remission of sins, according to the verity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: 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, departed.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Huss began to sing with a loud voice: 'Jesu Christ! the Son of the living God! have mercy upon me.' And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind drove the flame so upon his face, that it choked him. Yet, notwithstanding, he moved awhile after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lord's Prayer. When all the wood was consumed, the upper part of the 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 small gobbets, that it might the sooner be

MASTER JOHN HUSS

consumed unto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staves and clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp stick, and roasted at a fire apart until it was consumed. Then, with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river Rhine, that the least remnant of that man should not be left upon the earth, whose memory, notwithstanding, cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

This godly servant and martyr of Christ was burned at Constance, the sixth day of the month of

July, A.D. 1415.

THE LIFE AND STORY OF THE TRUE SERVANT AND MARTYR OF GOD, WILLIAM TYNDALE,

We have now to enter into the story of the good martyr of God, William Tyndale; which William Tyndale, as he was a special organ of the Lord appointed, and as God's mattock to shake the inward roots and foundation of the Pope's proud prelacy, so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to entrap him, and falsely to betray him, and maliciously to spill his life, as by the process of his story here following may appear.

William Tyndale, the faithful minister of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the University of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he, lying then in Magdalen hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. His manners and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he, in the University of Oxford, increasing

more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he likewise made his abode a certain space. Being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word, leaving that University, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. As this gentleman kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors, and great beneficed men; who there, together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment, and when they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinions, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts

against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then Master

RAILING IN ALEHOUSES

Welch and his wife, coming home, and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters whereof the priests had talked at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by the Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman (as Tyndale reported), 'Well,' said she, 'there was such a doctor who may dispend a hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?'

Master Tyndale gave her no answer, and after that (because he saw it would not avail), he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which he delivered to his master and lady; after they had well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had: which thing they well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there.

As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places, affirming that his sayings were heresy; and accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst

whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And 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 certain this is (as he himself declared), that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of His Word.

When the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser could be brought forth, notwithstanding that the priests of the country were there present. Thus Master Tyndale, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been chancellor to a bishop, who had been of old, familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and favoured him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom 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.'

Not long after, Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, 'We were better to be without God's laws than the

'I DEFY THE POPE'

Pope's.' Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, 'I defy the Pope, and all his laws;' and added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough, to

know more of the Scripture than he did.

The grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things sorely to his charge, saying that he was a heretic. Being so molested and vexed, he was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place; and so coming to Master Welch, he desired him, of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying: 'Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spiritualty; what displeasure might grow to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry.'

So that in fine, Master Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and eftsoons came up to London, and there preached awhile, as he had

done in the country.

Bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal, then Bishop of London, and especially of the great commendation of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extolleth the said Tonstal for his learning, Tyndale thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. Coming to Sir Henry Guilford, the King's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said Bishop of

London for him; which he also did; and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with him. This he did, and delivered his epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of His Church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight; the answer of whom was this: his house was full; he had more than he could well find: and he advised him to seek in London abroad, where, he said, he could lack no service.

Being refused of the bishop he came to Humphrey Mummuth, alderman of London, and besought him to help him: who the same time took him into his house, where the said Tyndale lived (as Mummuth said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. He was never seen in the house to wear linen about him, all the

space of his being there.

And so remained Master Tyndale in London almost a year, marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly misliked him; insomuch that he understood, not only that there was no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England.

Therefore, having by God's providence, some aid ministered unto him by Humphrey Mummuth, and

JUGGLING WITH SCRIPTURES

certain other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany, where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, refused no travail nor diligence, how, by all means possible, to reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy Word and verity, which the Lord had endued him withal. Whereupon, considering in his mind, and conferring also with John Frith, Tyndale thought with himself no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might read and see the simple plain Word of God. He perceived that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, the enemies of the truth would quench it, either with reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as it were impossible to gather of the text, if the right meaning thereof were seen.

Master Tyndale considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of all mischief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes; for so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their

sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations; wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the meaning of the text, they would so delude the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

For these and such other considerations this good man was stirred up of God to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the profit of the simple people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which came forth in print about A.D. 1529. Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous trans-

lation, as they called it.

It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndale, but showed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, 'My lord! I can do more in this matter, than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold.' The Bishop, thinking he had God 'by the toe,' said, 'Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington! get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn

NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATION

and destroy them all at Paul's Cross.' This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the Bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had

the money.

After this, Tyndale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, 'How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all.' Then answered Packington, 'Surely, I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure:' at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, who was then Chancellor of England, as suspected of certain heresies. Master More asked of him, saying, 'Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee, I will show thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that succour them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?'

'My lord,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly: it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort.' 'Now by my troth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it.'

After that, Master Tyndale took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues most worthy to be read and read again by all good Christians. These books being sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were shut up in darkness.

At his first departing out of the realm he took his journey into Germany, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men; after he had continued there a certain season, he came down into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the

town of Antwerp.

The godly books of Tyndale, and especially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, wrought great and singular profit to the godly; but the ungodly (envying and disdaining that the people should be anything wiser than they, and, fearing lest by the shining beams of truth, their works of darkness should be discerned), began to stir with no small ado.

At what time Tyndale had translated Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; upon the coast of Holland, he suffered

OBJECTIONS TO TRANSLATIONS

shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, his money and his time, and so was compelled to begin all again. He came in another ship to Hamburg, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, A.D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having dispatched his business

at Hamburg, he returned to Antwerp.

When God's will was, that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale, the translator thereof, added to the latter end a certain epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if there had been any such default deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness, for men of knowledge and judgment to have showed their learning therein, and to have redressed what was to be amended. But the clergy, not willing to have that book prosper, cried out upon it, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected. but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal rulers unto their purpose, they said that it would make the people to rebel against the king.

All this Tyndale himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, declareth; showing further

what great pains were taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations, that with less labour, he supposeth, they might have translated a great part of the Bible: showing moreover, that they scanned and examined every title and point in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over his head, they did note it, and numbered

it unto the ignorant people for a heresy.

So great were then the froward devices of the English clergy (who should have been the guides of light unto the people), to drive the people from the knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tyndale saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above King and Emperor.

The bishops and prelates 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 public authority, that the Testament of Tyndale's translation was inhibited—which was about A.D. 1537. And not content herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life; which how they brought to pass, now it remaineth

to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest how that the bishops and Sir Thomas More having 146

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before them such as had been at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tyndale, where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparel he went, what resort he had; all which things when they had diligently

learned then began they to work their feats.

William Tyndale, being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who kept a house of English merchants. Came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had been a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz; and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house of the said Pointz; to whom he showed moreover his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Master Tyndale how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that

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he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips, being in the town three or four days, upon a time desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to show him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the King's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be the mind of Philips, to feel whether the said Pointz might, for lucre of money, help him to his purpose, for he perceived before that Philips was monied, and would that Pointz should think no less. For he had desired Pointz before to help him to divers things; and such things as he named, he required might be of the best, 'for,' said he, 'I have money enough.'

Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, whence he brought with him to Antwerp, the procuror-general, who is the emperor's attorney,

with certain other officers.

Within three or four days, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrois, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking whether Master Tyndale were within. Then went he forth again and set the officers whom he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. About noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; 'for,' said he, 'I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage

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THE WILY SUBTLETIES

between this and Mechlin.' So Master Tyndale took him forty shillings, which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and inexpert. Then said Philips, 'Master Tyndale! you shall be my guest here this day.' 'No,' said Master Tyndale, 'I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome.'

So when it was dinner-time, Master Tyndale went forth with Philips, and at the going forth of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale before, for that he pretended to show great humanity. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, who might see who came in the entry. Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers might see that it was he whom they should take. The officers afterwards told Pointz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity. They brought him to the emperor's attorney, where he dined. Then came the procuror-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things; and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen English miles from Antwerp.

Then incontinent, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent, in favour of Tyndale, to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were

directed out of England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant-adventurers, to Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Such of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, in favour of Master Tyndale, to the Lord of Barrois and others; which Lord of Barrois (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels. Pointz did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, there were of their countrymen that were burned in England not long before (as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield); and so Pointz said to him, 'Howbeit,' said he, 'whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied.'

'Well,' said he, 'I have no leisure to write, for

the princess is ready to ride.'

Then said Pointz, 'If it shall please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place'; which was at Maestricht.

'If you so do,' said the lord, 'I will advise myself

by the way what to write.'

So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council, another to the company of the merchant-adventurers, and another also to the Lord Cromwell in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then

A GOOD CHRISTIAN WAR

and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the Lord of Barrois' letters also, and received eftsoons answer into England of the same by letters which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. And he, very desirous to have Master Tyndale out of prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business, and diligently followed with the said letters, which he delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other letters. A month after, the letters being delivered him, he returned, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and tarried for answer for the same.

Philips, being there, followed the suit against Master Tyndale, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and fearing lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, a succourer of Tyndale, and one of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labour and suit, and no man's else, to have Master Tyndale at liberty. Thus Pointz was delivered to the keeping of two serjeants at arms.

Master Tyndale, still remaining in prison, was proffered an advocate and a procuror; the which he refused, saying that he would make answer for himself. He had so preached to them who had him in charge, and such as was there conversant with him in the Castle, that they reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they knew not whom

they might take to be one.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was

condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg. Brought forth to the place of execution, he was tied to the stake, strangled by the hangman, and afterwards consumed with fire, at the town of Filford, A.D. 1536; crying at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, 'Lord! open the King of England's eyes.'

Such was the power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half), he converted, it is said, his keeper, the keeper's daughter,

and others of his household.

As touching his translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be full of heresies, he wrote to John Frith, as followeth, 'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, that I never altered one syllable of God's Word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me.'

THE HISTORY OF DR MARTIN LUTHER

WITH HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE DESCRIBED

MARTIN LUTHER, after he was grown in years, being born at Eisleben in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was sent to the University, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurt. In this University of Erfurt, there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Augustines with whom Luther, being then of the same order, a friar Augustine, had conference upon divers things, especially touching remission of sins; which article the said aged Father opened unto Luther; declaring, that God's express commandment is, that every man should particularly believe his sins to be forgiven him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by St Bernard: '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 not only strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of St Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence, 'We are justified by faith.' And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the discourse of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before, of the schoolmen. And so, by little and

little, reading and comparing the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, with continual invocation of God, and excitation of faith by force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Thus continued he his study at Erfurt the space of

four years in the convent of the Augustines.

About this time one Staupitius, a famous man, who had ministered his help to further the erection of a University in Wittenberg, being anxious to promote the study of divinity in this new University, when he had considered the spirit and towardness of Luther, called him from Erfurt, to place him in Wittenberg, A.D. 1508 and of his age the twentysixth. In the meanwhile Luther intermitted no whit his study in theology. Three years after, he went to Rome, and returning the same year, he was graded doctor at the expense of the Elector Frederic, Duke of Saxony: for he had heard him preach; well understanded the quickness of his spirit; diligently considered the vehemency of his words; and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitius, against his will, enforced upon him; saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his Church by him. And though these words were spoken merrily, yet it came so to pass anon after.

After this, Luther began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and the Psalms: where he showed the difference betwixt the Law and the Gospel; and confounded the error that reigned then in the schools and sermons, viz., that men may merit remission of sins by their own works, and that they be just before God by outward discipline; as the

LIGHT OUT OF DARKNESS

Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Son of God: as John Baptist demonstrated the Lamb of God that took away the sins of the world, even so Luther, shining in the Church as the bright daylight after a long and dark night, expressly showed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift

His life was correspondent to his profession; and it plainly appeared that his words were no lip-labour, but proceeded from the very heart. This admiration of his holy life much allured the hearts of his

auditors.

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 this only doctrine, as most principal of all other, to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, of true comfort to be sought in the cross of Christ. Every man received good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets and apostles, to come forth into light out of darkness.

It happened, moreover, about this time, that many were provoked by Erasmus's learned works to study the Greek and Latin tongues; who, having thus opened to them a more pleasant sort of learning than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical learning. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongues to this end, that having drawn the doctrine of the very fountains,

he might form a more sound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which

was A.D. 1516, Leo X., who had succeeded after Julius II., was Pope of Rome, who, under pretence of war against the Turk, sent his pardons abroad through all Christian dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure; the gatherers and collectors whereof persuaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory; but if it were but one jot less than

ten shillings, it would profit them nothing.

This Pope's merchandise came also to Germany, through the means of a certain Dominic friar named Tetzel, who most impudently caused the Pope's indulgences to be sold about the country. Whereupon Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, and set them openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of All Saints, A.D. 1517.

This beggarly friar, hoping to obtain the Pope's blessing, assembled certain monks and sophistical divines of his convent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And while he would not himself be dumb, he began to thunder against Luther; crying, 'Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with fire.' He burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote of indulgences. This rage and fumish fury of this friar enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain the truth. And thus rose the beginnings of this controversy.

A WISE AND GODLY PRINCE

The good Duke Frederic was one, of all the princes of our time, that loved best quietness and common tranquillity; so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often discovered outwardly the heaviness and sorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himself, that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things: neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately to repugn the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly prince should do, he obeyed God, committing himself to His holy grace and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilian the Emperor, Charles King of Spain, and Pope Julius, had given commandment to the said Duke Frederic, that he should inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture by him alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged sincere. And yet neither did he this, trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious to hear the judgment of others, who were both aged and learned; in the number of whom was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther: protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth.

Erasmus began jestingly and merrily to answer the duke's request, saying, that in Luther were

two great faults; first, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the second, that he would touch the Pope's crown! Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, he said, that Luther did well in detecting errors, that reformation was very necessary in the Church: adding moreover, that the effect of his doctrine was true.

Furthermore, the same Erasmus, in the following year, wrote to the Archbishop of Mentz a certain epistle touching the cause of Luther: 'The world is burdened with men's institutions, and with the tyranny of begging friars. Once it was counted a heresy when a man repugned against the Gospels. Now he that dissenteth from Thomas Aquinas is a heretic: whatsoever doth not like them, whatsoever they understand not, that is heresy. To know Greek is heresy; or to speak more finely than they do, that is heresy.'

The godly and faithful Christians, closed in monasteries, understanding images ought to be eschewed, began to abandon that wretched thraldom

in which they were detained.

Luther held especially in contempt these horned bishops of Rome, who arrogantly and impudently affirmed, that St Peter had not the charge alone to teach the Gospel, but also to govern commonweals, and exercise civil jurisdiction. He exhorted every man to render unto God that appertained unto God, and to Cæsar that belonged unto Cæsar; and said, that all should serve God. After that Tetzel, the aforesaid friar, with his fellow-monks and friarly fellows, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the Pope's indulgences; and that Luther again, in defence of his cause, had set

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SUMMONED TO ROME

up propositions against the open abuses of the same, marvel it was to see how soon these propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of divers both far and near.

Not long after steppeth up one Silvester de Priero, a Dominic friar, who first began to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing dialogue against Luther. Unto whom he answered out of the Scriptures.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the seventh of August, by one Hierome, Bishop of Ascoli, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajetan, Cardinal, the Pope's legate, was then lieger at the city of Augsburg, who before had been sent down in commission, with certain mandates from Pope Leo, unto that city. The University of Wittenberg, understanding of Luther's citation, eftsoons directed letters to the Pope, in Luther's behalf. Also another letter they sent to Carolus Miltitius, the Pope's chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good Frederic ceased not to solicit, that the cause of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Augsburg, in the hearing of the Cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the duke, wrote unto the Pope; from whom he received this answer:-

That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Hierome, Bishop of Ascoli, auditor of the chamber; which bishop diligently had done what was commanded him: but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did not only refuse to come, but also became more bold and stubborn, continuing or rather increasing in his former heresy, as by his writings did appear.

Wherefore he would that the Cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther to appear at the city of Augsburg before him; adjoining withal, the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if need required; so that when the said Luther should appear, he should lay hand upon him, and commit him to safe custody: and after, he should be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the Church again; or else he should be interdicted, with all other his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatsoever state or condition they were, whether they were dukes, marguisses, earls or barons. Against all which persons and degrees, he willed him to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted); interdicting, by the censure of the Church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tenements, and villages, as should minister any harbour to the said Luther, and were not obedient unto the see of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as showed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their sins.

Likewise the Pope directed other letters also at the same time to Duke Frederic, with many grievous

words, complaining against Luther.

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

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther, yielding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's sending (at the charges of the noble prince elector, and also with

WHEN TO OBEY THE POPE

his letters of commendation), where he remained three days before he came to his speech; for so it was provided by his friends, that he should not enter talk with the cardinal, before a sufficient warrant or safe-conduct was obtained of the Emperor Maximilian. This being obtained, eftsoons he entered, offering himself to the speech of the cardinal, and was there received of the cardinal very gently; who, according to the Pope's commandment, propounded unto Martin Luther three things, to wit,

I. That he should repent and revoke his errors.

II. That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.

III. That he should refrain from all things that

might by any means trouble the Church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate answered that he had held and taught that the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons, and that faith is necessary to him that receiveth the sacrament. Furthermore Luther protested that the merits of Christ are not committed unto men: that the Pope's voice is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: that the Pope may err: and that he ought to be reprehended. Moreover he showed, that in the matter of faith, not only the General Council, but also every faithful Christian is above the Pope, if he lean to better authority and reason.

But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; he devised glosses and expositions of his own head. Luther, being rejected

from the speech and sight of the cardinal, after six days' waiting, departed by the advice of his friends, and returned unto Wittenberg; leaving an appellation to the Bishop of Rome from the cardinal, which he caused openly to be affixed before his departure. Cajetan writeth to Duke Frederic a sharp and a biting letter, in which he exhorteth the duke, that as he tendereth his own honour and safety, and regardeth the favour of the high bishop, he will send Luther up to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions.

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

This done, the duke sendeth the letter of the cardinal unto Martin Luther, who answered to the prince: 'I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should sustain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore, seeing there is no place nor country which can keep me from the malice of mine adversaries, I am willing to depart hence,

THE POPIST INDULGENCES

and to forsake my country, whithersoever it shall

please the Lord to lead me.'

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

By the occasion of these letters, the duke began more seriously to consider the cause of Luther, to read his works, and hearken to his sermons: whereby, through God's holy working, he grew to knowledge and strength; perceiving in Luther's quarrel more than he did before. This was about

the beginning of December A.D. 1518.

Pope Leo, in the meantime, had sent forth new indulgences, with a new edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother-church of Rome, prince of all other churches, that Bishops of Rome, who are successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ, have this power and authority given to release and dispense, also to grant indulgences, available both for the living and for the dead lying in the pains of purgatory: and this

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doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful Christian men, under pain of the great curse, and utter separation from all holy Church. This popish decree and indulgence, as a new merchandise or alestake to get money, being set up in all quarters of Christendom for the holy father's advantage, came also to be received in Germany about the month of December. Luther, hearing how they went about in Rome to pronounce against him, provided a certain appellation conceived in due form of law, wherein he appealeth from the Pope to the General Council.

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

In the month of June before, there was a public disputation ordained at Leipsic, which is a city under

THE POPE AND THE SCRIPTURES

the dominion of George Duke of Saxony, uncle to Duke Frederic. This disputation began through the occasion of John Eckius, a friar, and Andreas Carolostadt, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propositions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before touching the Pope's pardons. Against him Carolostadt wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius again, to answer Carolostadt, set forth an apology, which apology Carolostadt confuted by writing. Upon this began the disputation, with safe-conduct granted by Duke George to all and singular persons that would resort to the same. To this disputation came Martin Luther, not thinking to dispute in any matter, but only to hear what there was said and done.

But, having free liberty granted by the duke, Luther was provoked, and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: that they that do attribute the pre-eminency to the Church of Rome, have no foundation but out of the Pope's decrees, which decrees he affirmed to

be contrary to the Holy Scriptures.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion; saying, that they that succeeded in the see and faith of Peter, were always received for the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth. He contended that the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome was founded and grounded upon God's law.

Upon this question the disputation did continue the space of five days; during all which season, Eckius very unhonestly and uncourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his

adversary into the hatred of the auditors, and into danger of the Pope. The reasons of Eckius were these: 'Forasmuch as the Church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it standeth with God's law that other civil regiments should not be destitute of their head, so is it by God's law requisite, that the Pope should be the head of the universal Church of Christ.'

To this Martin Luther answered, that he confesseth and granteth the Church not to be headless, so long as Christ is alive, Who is the only head of the Church; neither doth the Church require any other head beside Him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual

kingdom, not earthly.

Then came Eckius to the place of St Matthew, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build My Church.' To this was answered, that this was a confession of faith, and that Peter there representeth the person of the whole universal Church. Also that Christ in that place meaneth Himself to be the Rock. Likewise they came to the place of St John, 'Feed My sheep;' which words Eckius alleged to be spoken, properly and peculiarly, to Peter alone. Martin answered, that after these words spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ saith unto them, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted.'

After this, Eckius came to the authority of the Council of Constance, alleging this amongst other articles: 'that it standeth upon necessity of our salvation, to believe the Bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the Church;' alleging moreover, that in the same Council it was debated and discussed,

THE THUNDERBOLT OF ROME

that the General Council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did answer discreetly, saying, that of what authority that Council of Constance is to be esteemed, he left to other men's judgments. 'This is most certain,' said he, 'that no Council hath authority to make new articles of faith.'

The next year, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvain, and also of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical; against whom Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo against the said Luther.

Another book also Luther wrote, addressed to the nobility of Germany, in which he impugneth and shaketh the three principal walls of the papists: I. No temporal or profane magistrate hath any power upon the spiritualty, but these have power over the other. II. Where any place of Scripture, being in controversy, is to be decided, no man may expound the Scripture, or be judge thereof, but only the Pope. III. When any Council is brought against them, they say, that no man hath authority to call a Council, but only the Pope. Moreover, in the aforesaid book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: that the pride of the Pope is not to be suffered; what money goeth out of Germany yearly to the Pope, amounting to the sum of three millions of florins; that the emperor is not under the Pope; that priests may have wives; that liberty ought not to be restrained in meats: that wilful poverty and begging ought to be abolished: what misfortunes Sigismund the Emperor sustained, for not keeping

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faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome: that heretics should be convinced not by fire and faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God's Word: and that the first teaching of children ought to begin

with the Gospel.

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

These two requests seemed very strange unto the duke; who, answering the cardinals, said, that he, being long absent from thence about other public affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty; first, in sending Luther to Cajetan the cardinal at the city of Augsburg; and afterwards, at the Pope's commandment, would have sent him away out of his dominion, had not Miltitius, the Pope's own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him still in his own country, fearing lest he might do more harm in other countries, where he was less known. Forasmuch as the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, he desired the said

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BURNING THE POPE'S BULL

legates to be a mean to the Pope's holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error might first be known, before he were made a heretic, or his books burned: which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture, Luther should find no favour at his hands.

Then the cardinals took the books of Luther, and openly burnt them. Luther, hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of students and learned men in Wittenberg, and there, taking the Pope's decrees, and the bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire; which was the 10th of December A.D. 1520.

A little before these things thus passed between the Pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded an assembly of the States of all the Empire to be holden at the city of Worms, the 6th day of January next ensuing; in which assembly, through the means of Duke Frederic, the emperor gave forth, that he would have the cause of Luther brought before him. Upon the 6th of March, the emperor, through the instigation of Duke Frederic, directed his letters unto Luther; signifying, that forasmuch as he had set abroad certain books, he, therefore, by the advice of his peers and princes about him, had ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing; and therefore he granted him license to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly so do, he promised unto him, by public faith and credit, in the

name of the whole Empire, his passport and safeconduct. Wherefore, he willed him eftsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present on the twenty-first day after the receipt thereof.

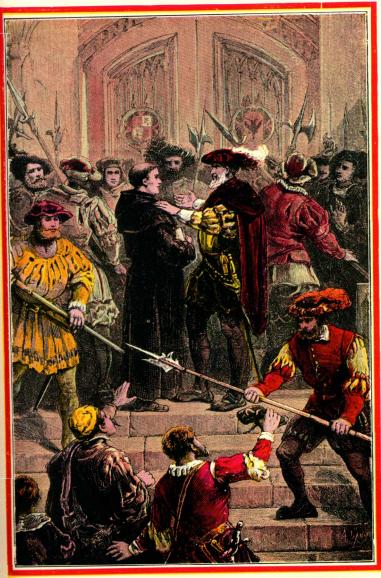
Martin Luther, after he had been first accursed at Rome upon Maunday Thursday by the Pope's censure, shortly after Easter speedeth his journey toward Worms, where the said Luther, appearing before the emperor and all the States of Germany, constantly stuck to the truth, defended himself, and answered his adversaries.

Luther was lodged, well entertained, and visited by many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who

frequented his lodging until night.

He came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well adversaries as others. His friends deliberated together, and many persuaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these beginnings answered not the faith of promise made. Who, when he had heard their whole persuasion and advice, answered in this wise: 'As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, although I knew there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms.'

The next day after his repair, a gentleman named Ulrick, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men-at-arms of the Empire, was commanded by the emperor before dinner to repair to Luther, and to enjoin him at four o'clock in the afternoon to appear before the Imperial Majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the Empire, to understand



LUTHER WAITING FOR AUDIENCE AT THE EARL PALATINE'S PALACE.

BEFORE THE EMPEROR

the cause of his sending for: whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was. And after four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm, the emperor's herald (who conducted Martin Luther from Wittenberg to Worms), came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights-of-the-Rhodes' place, to the Earl Palatine's palace; and, lest the people that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of the empire assembled there, he was first advertised by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius above mentioned, who then was the Bishop of Treves'

general official, with a loud voice, said:

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

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

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

Luther answered: 'I humbly beseech the Imperial

Majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to deliberate; so that I may satisfy the interrogation made unto me, without prejudice of the Word of God, and

peril of mine own soul.'

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced what was their resolution, saying, 'The Emperor's majesty, of his mere clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thine answer, so that to-morrow, at this instant hour, thou shalt repair to exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with lively voice.'

This done, Luther was led to his lodging by the

herald.

The next day, the herald brought him from his lodging to the emperor's court, where he abode till six o'clock, for that the princes were occupied in grave consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the princes were set, and Luther entered, Eckius, the official, spake in this manner: '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 answered modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and Christian constancy. 'Considering your sovereign majesty, and your honours, require a plain answer; this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures (for I believe not the Pope, neither his General Councils, which have erred many times, and have been

TIED BY THE SCRIPTURES'

contrary to themselves), my conscience is so bound and captived in these Scriptures and the Word of God, that I will not, nor may not revoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me!

The princes consulted together upon this answer given by Luther; and when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to repel him thus: 'The Emperor's majesty requireth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as

Christian, or no?'

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

Night now approaching, the lords arose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, divers Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, hallooing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the princes, electors, dukes, and other estates were assembled, the emperor sent to the whole body of the Council a certain letter, as followeth: 'Our predecessors, who truly were Christian princes, were obedient to the Romish Church, which Martin Luther impugneth. And therefore, inasmuch as he is not determined to call back his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate

from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the see of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents by excommunication, and by other means that may be devised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for his safe return to the place whence he came.'

During this time, divers princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with others of the laity and common sort, visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor's court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills set up, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as well conceived the matter, that this was subtilely 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.

John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, said unto Luther in his lodging, by the commandment of the emperor, that since he had been admonished by the Imperial Majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and that notwithstanding, he would not return to unity and concord, it remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should proceed further: and it was the emperor's ordinance, that he should within twenty-one days return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the meanwhile he stirred

A WRIT OF OUTLAWRY

no commotion among the people in his journey, either

in conference, or by preaching.

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

The morrow after, which was April the 26th, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and of the benevolent friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten o'clock he departed from Worms, accompanied with such as

repaired thither with him.

It was not long after this, but the emperor to purchase favour with the Pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his Empire), directeth out a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all them that took his part; commanding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. In the meantime, Duke Frederic conveyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that

behalf. There Luther, being close and out of company, wrote divers epistles, and certain books; among which he dedicated one to his company of Augustine friars, entitled, *De abroganda Missa*: which friars the same time being encouraged by him, began to lay down their private masses. Duke Frederic, fearing lest that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the judgment of the University

of Wittenberg to be asked in the matter.

It was showed to the duke, that he should do well to command the use of the mass to be abrogated through his dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true doctrine should be stayed, neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries, who willingly and wickedly kick against the truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, we ought not to surcease from that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's truth, howsoever the world doth esteem us, or rage against it.

It happened about the same time that King Henry VIII. wrote against Luther. In which book, first, he reproveth Luther's opinion about the Pope's pardons; secondly, he defendeth the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; thirdly, he laboureth to refell all his

doctrine of the sacraments of the Church.

This book, albeit it carried the King's name in the title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, another that framed the style. But whosoever had the labour of this book, the King had the thanks and the reward; for the Bishop of Rome gave to the said King Henry, and to his successors

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THE POPE'S COMMANDS

for ever, the style and title of Defender of the Faith.

Shortly after this, Pope Leo was stricken with sudden fever, and died shortly, being of the age of forty-seven years: albeit some suspect that he died of poison. Successor to him was Pope Adrian VI., schoolmaster some time to Charles the Emperor. This Adrian was a German born, brought up at Louvain, and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of Popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other Popes have been: and yet, like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from his see, he was a mortal enemy against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the council of Worms was broken up, another assembly of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, A.D. 1522.

Unto this assembly the said Adrian sent his letters, with an instruction unto his legate Cheregatus, to inform him what causes to allege against Luther.

Pope Adrian the Sixth, to the Renowned Princes of Germany, and to the Peers of the Roman Empire.

We hear that Martin Luther, a new raiser-up of old and damnable heresies, first after the fatherly advertisements of the see apostolic; then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded against him, and lastly, after the imperial decree of our well-beloved son Charles, elect Emperor of the Romans, and catholic King of Spain, being divulged through the whole nation of Germany; yet hath neither been by order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more

and more, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the world with new books, fraught full of errors, heresies, contumelies and sedition, and to infect the country of Germany, and other regions about, with this pestilence; and endeavoureth still to corrupt simple souls and manners of men, with the poison of his pestiferous tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his fautors and supporters, not of the vulgar sort only, but also divers personages of the nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the goods of priests contrary to the obedience which they owe to ecclesiastical and temporal persons, and now also at last have grown unto civil

war and dissension among themselves.

Do you not consider, O princes and people of Germany! that these be but prefaces and preambles to those evils and mischiefs which Luther, with the sect of his Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter? Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the Lutherans to be pretended. is now manifest to be but an invention to spoil your goods, which they have long intended? or do you think that these sons of iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of liberty to supplant obedience, and so to open a general license to every man to do what him listeth? They who refuse to render due obedience to priests, to bishops, yea, to the high bishop of all, and who daily before your own faces make their booties of church-goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of laymen's goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave?

QUENCHING THE FIRE OF TRUTH

Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable calamity will at length redound upon you, your goods, your houses, wives, children, dominions, possessions, and these your temples which you hallow and reverence; except you provide some speedy

remedy against the same.

Wherefore we require you, in virtue of that obedience which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St Peter, and to his vicar here on earth, that you confer your helping hands every man to quench this public fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said Martin Luther, and all other fautors of these tumults and errors, to better conformity and trade both of life and faith. And if they who be infected shall refuse to hear your admonitions, yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. When this pestiferous canker cannot with supple and gentle medicines be cured, more sharp salves must be proved, and fiery searings. The putrefied members must be cut off from the body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into hell the schismatical brethren Dathan and Abiram; and him that would not obey the authority of the priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So Peter, prince of the apostles, denounced sudden death to Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto God. So the old and godly emperors commanded Jovinian and Priscillian, as heretics, to be beheaded. So St Jerome wished Vigilant, as a heretic, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our predecessors in the Council of Constance condemn

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to death John Huss and his fellow Jerome, who now appeareth to revive again in Luther. The worthy acts and examples of which forefathers, if you shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful clemency shall eftsoons relieve his Church.

These instructions of the Pope himself against Luther, I thought, Christian reader! to set before thine eyes. They cry, 'Heresy, heresy!' but they prove no heresy. They inflame kings and princes against Luther, and yet they have no just cause wherefore. They charge Luther with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to magistrates and civil laws, as they. They lay to his charge oppression and spoiling of laymen's goods; and who spoileth the laymen's livings so much as the Pope?

Now let us see what the princes answer to these aforesaid suggestions and instructions of Pope Adrian.

The Answer of the Noble and Reverend Princes, and of the States of the sacred Roman Empire.

exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.

They understand that his holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of Luther's sect, whereby innumerable souls committed to his charge are in danger of perdition. The lord lieutenant, and other princes and states do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his holiness. But why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the emperor's edict against Luther, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there hath been causes great and urgent; as first, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the people of Germany have

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PLAIN SPEAKING TO THE POPE

always had this persuasion, and now, by reading Luther's books, are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this nation of Germany by the Court of Rome: and therefore, if they should have proceeded with any rigour in executing the Pope's sentence, and the emperor's edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds this to be done for subverting the verity of the Gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, whereupon great wars and tumults, no doubt, would have ensued. Unless such abuses and grievances shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult and

errors in Germany, that can be hoped.

Whereas the Pope's holiness desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these errors of the Lutherans, what more present or effectual remedy can be had than this, that the Pope's holiness, by the consent of the Emperor's majesty, do summon a free Christian Council in some convenient place of Germany, as at Strasburg, or at Mentz, or at Cologne, or at Metz? and that with as much speed as conveniently may be; in which Council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God, and health of souls, and the public wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint; whatsoever oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding: yea, and it shall be every good man's part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and

to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment,

without all fraud or guile.

And as touching by what ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the meantime, the aforesaid lord lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as Luther, and certain of his fellows, be within the territory and dominion of the noble Duke Frederic, the said lord lieutenant and other states of the empire shall so labour the matter with the aforenamed prince, Duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers, shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space.

That the said lord lieutenant and princes shall labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermons teach or blow into the people's ears such matters, whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error. Also, that they shall move no contention or disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the Council to come.

The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their dioceses shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scripture, who shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers: and if they shall perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort that no man shall justly complain the truth of the Gospel to be impeached. But if the

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THROWING DOWN THE IMAGES

preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then shall they be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place, with

punishment for the same convenient.

Furthermore, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth, no new book shall be printed, neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also order shall be taken amongst all potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or print any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for the same; so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published.

Finally, as concerning priests who contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, the aforesaid princes do consider, that forasmuch as in the civil law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the canonical constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other

condign censures.

Let us return to the story of Luther, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept secret and solitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict. In the meantime, while Luther had thus absented himself out of Wittenberg, Andreas Carolostadt, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in causes of religion, had stirred up the people to throw down images in the temples. Luther reproved the rashness of Carolostadt, declaring that their proceedings

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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 before God, and please him only by faith; and that images serve to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he would maintain images to stand or to be suffered, but that this ought to be done by the magistrate; and not by force, upon every private man's head, without order and authority.

Albeit the Church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to instruct in matters of doctrine; vet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of His passion, and strength of faith are to be opened to our conscience; and where the soul, wrestling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of Martin Luther, among all this other variety of writers, what St Cyprian was wont to say of Tertullian, 'Da magistrum'; 'Give me my master.'

Those who write the lives of saints use to describe and extol their holy life and godly virtues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God; whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther. What a miracle might this seem to be, for one man, and a poor friar, creeping out of a blind cloister, to be set up against the Pope, the universal bishop, and God's mighty vicar on earth; to withstand all his cardinals, yea, and to sustain the malice and hatred of almost the whole world being set against

"MANIFOLD TEMPTATIONS"

him; and to work that against the said Pope, cardinals, and Church of Rome, which no king nor emperor could ever do, yea, durst ever attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compass: which miraculous work of God, I account nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing the

great Goliath.

Wherefore if miracles do make a saint (after the Pope's definition), what lacketh in Martin Luther, to make him a saint? who, standing openly against the Pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having emperors and all the kings of the earth against him; who, teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty years, could, without touch of all his enemies, so quietly in his own country where he was born, die and sleep in peace. In which Martin Luther, first to stand against the Pope, was a great miracle; to prevail against the Pope, a greater; so to die untouched, may seem greatest of all, especially having so many enemies as he had.

As he was mighty in his prayers, so in his sermons God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they who heard him thought every one his own temptation severally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when his friends demanded how that could be; 'Mine own manifold temptations,' said he, 'and experiences are the cause thereof.' For this thou must understand, good reader! that Luther from his tender years was much beaten and exercised with spiritual conflicts. Hieronymus Wellerus, scholar and disciple of the said Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his master thus

report of himself, that he had been assaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, saving only one, which was with covetousness; with this vice he was never, said he, in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.

Martin Luther, living to the year of his age sixty-three, continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melancthon be these, given to

his auditory at Wittenberg, A.D. 1546:-

Wednesday last past, and the 17th of February, Dr Martin Luther sickened of his accustomed malady, to wit, of the oppression of humours in the orifice or opening of the stomach. This sickness took him after supper, with which he vehemently contending, required secess into a by-chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increased; and as Dr Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose his children's schoolmaster, to make a fire in another chamber; into which when he was newly entered, Albert, Earl of Mansfield, with his wife, and divers others at that instant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, on the 18th of February, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer: 'My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God! Thou hast manifested unto me Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have taught Him, I have known Him; I love Him as my life, my health, and my redemption; Whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my soul to Thee.'

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HIS LAST WORDS

After this he said as ensueth, thrice: 'I commend my spirit into Thy hands, Thou hast redeemed me, O God of Truth!' 'God so loved the world, that He gave His only Son, that all those that believe in Him should have life everlasting.' Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God. So praying, his innocent ghost peaceably was separated from the earthly corpse.

God's trace in consess of coincid profession

THE STORY, LIFE, AND MARTYRDOM OF MASTER JOHN HOOPER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER AND GLOUCESTER

JOHN HOOPER, student and graduate in the University of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited through God's secret vocation, was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures: in the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence, joined with earnest prayer, so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true

divinity.

Thus Master Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and showing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit, fell eftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins in Oxford, who began to stir coals against him; whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr Smith, he was compelled to avoid the University; and removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person of the man, found the means to send him in a message to the Bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good

A PERILOUS ADVENTURE

upon him; but in any case requiring him to send

home his servant to him again.

Winchester, after conference with Master Hooper four or five days together, when he perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Master Arundel's request, sent home his servant again; right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudging

stomach against Master Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon Master Hooper, leaving Master Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows), took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending

back the horse again.

Master Hooper, being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England, and was retained of Master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested; whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas. And so escaped he (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany; where he, entering acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, at Basil, and especially at Zurich, of Master Bullinger, being his singular friend. There also he married his wife who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

When God saw good to give us King Edward to

reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto his Gospel, amongst many other English exiles who repaired homeward, Master Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself; but, seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so, coming to Master Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance (as duty required), to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity purposed to take his leave of them. Unto whom Master Bullinger spake on this wise:—

'Master Hooper,' said he, 'although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return, out of long banishment, into your native country again; where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's Church, by you, may fare the better; as we doubt not but it

shall.

'Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this: that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty; but you shall leave here a barren, a sour and an unpleasant country, rude and savage; and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility.

'Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you, being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where

PREACHING EVERY DAY

ye shall come, peradventure, to be a bishop, and where ye shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-willers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us again, then

I pray you let us hear from you.'

Whereunto Master Hooper answered again that neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends, should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, 'and therefore,' said he, 'from time to time I will write unto you, how it goeth with me. But the last news of all, I shall not be able to write: for there' said he (taking Master Bullinger by the hand), 'where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes.'

Master Hooper, coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once, every day; and never failed. The people in great flocks daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus's harp, as the proverb saith; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures

perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Even as he began, so he continued unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and painstaking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health

whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justicer, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time: in house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain severe grace, which might, peradventure, be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular in him: but he knew what he had to do best himself.

This, by the way, I thought to note, for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, who, having in himself a certain grudge of conscience, came to Master Hooper's door for counsel: but, being abashed at his austere look, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands. In my judgment, such as are made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither they show themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor, on the other side, that they appear more lofty and austere, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ.

At length, and that not without the great profit of many, Master Hooper was called to preach before the King's majesty, and soon after made Bishop of Gloucester. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doing, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him. After

that, he was made Bishop of Worcester.

THE GARMENTS OF A BISHOP

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good and lucky beginning of the godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion then begun in the Church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chimere, and under that a white rochet: then, a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the King's majesty, most humbly desiring His Highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; whose petition the King granted immediately.

Notwithstanding, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of the aforesaid ceremonies; saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his

wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

Whilst both parties thus contended more than reason would, occasion was given to the true Christians to lament, to the adversaries to rejoice. This theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition—that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself apparelled as

the other bishops were. Wherefore appointed to preach before the King, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge.

Master Hooper, entering into his diocese, was so careful in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in

teaching and preaching to the people.

The time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. With his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. He spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor. His life, in fine, was such, that to the Church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example; to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon.

Though he bestowed the most part of his care upon the flock of Christ, for the which He spent His blood; yet, nevertheless, there lacked no provision

FEEDING THE POOR FOLK

in him to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad: for everywhere he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly roisting or idleness; no pomp at all; no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I, asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and, when they were served (being before examined by him or his deputies of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and the ten commandments), then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before.

King Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned Queen of England, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for to be at London. And, although the said Master Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards

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him (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get him away, and shift for himself), yet he would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying: Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die

with my sheep.'

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September 1553, he was come to London, he was received very opprobriously. He freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But, in fine, it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward; it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for which he was indebted to the Queen, and not for religion.

The next year, being 1554, the 19th of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the Queen's commissioners. The Lord Chancellor asked whether he was married. 'Yea, my lord,' replied Master Hooper, 'and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me.' The commissioners began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture, as was unseemly for the place. The Bishop of Chichester, Dr Day, called Master Hooper 'hypocrite,' with vehement words, and scornful countenance. Bishop Tonstal called him 'beast:' so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and divers others that stood by.

Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, asked Master Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence in the sacrament. And Master Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing. Then asked Winchester what authority

HARSH TREATMENT IN PRISON

moved him not to believe the corporal presence? He said, the authority of God's Word. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married; and said, that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

The true Report of Master Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own Hand, the 7th of January, 1555.

The 1st of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and, within six days after, I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden, for fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely.

Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but, as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, while I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the Bishop of

Winchester.

After one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass; and thereupon the warden resorted to the Bishop of Winchester, and obtained

to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time; having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie in.

On the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of all the house, and on the other side the town-ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.—During which time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, 'Let him alone; it were a good riddance of him.'

I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric; and, since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came

to the hall-commons.

The said warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered

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AN OFFER OF MERCY!

the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's

enemy and mine.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the Queen owing me by just account four score pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help), but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my cause to God, Whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.

The 22nd of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Master Hooper before the Bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at the said Winchester's house, at St Mary Overy's. The Bishop of Winchester moved Master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward the Sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic Church, and to acknowledge the Pope's holiness to be head of the same Church, according to the determination of the whole parliament; promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the Pope's blessing, and the Queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be showed to him and others, if he would condescend to the Pope's holiness.

Master Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the Pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be head

thereof: wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction. Neither esteemed he the Church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: for the Church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. 'Howbeit,' saith he, 'if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the Queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy; if mercy may be had with safety of conscience and without the displeasure of God.' Answer was made that the Queen would show no mercy to the Pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again.

The 28th of January, Winchester and the commissioners sat in judgment at St Mary Overy's, where Master Hooper appeared before them at afternoon again; and there, after much reasoning and disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside, till Master Rogers (who was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come

home again to the catholic Church.

So Master Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Master Rogers came after with the other, and being out of church door, Master Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Master Rogers drew near, unto whom he said 'Come, brother Rogers! must we two take this matter first in

hand, and begin to fry these faggots?'

'Yea, sir,' said Master Rogers, 'by God's grace.'

THE COSTERMONGERS' CANDLES

'Doubt not,' said Master Hooper, 'but God will give strength.'

So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy

that they had much ado to pass.

Upon the next day, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said Bishop and commissioners. After long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Master Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Master Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner entreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the Bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, Master Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the Bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London-bridge, through the city to Newgate. And by the way some of the sergeants were willed to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him; praising God for his constancy in the true

doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him: and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as

should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner, Bishop of London, and others at his appointment, resorted divers times unto him to assay if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted: for, besides the allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures, and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they also used all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of worldly commodities; not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail: but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immovable.

When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about, by false rumours and reports of recantations, to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. So the bruit being spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the Bishop of London and others,

CONFIRMED IN THE TRUTH

it at last came to Master Hooper's ears: wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give credit unto false rumours. 'The report abroad (as I am credibly informed) is that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now, after sentence of death (being in Newgate, prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the Bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. I have spoken and do speak with them when they come; for I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me; and I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming. I have left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and, I thank God, I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man may be. I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood.

Monday, the 4th of February, his keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that He saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to His glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in a readiness to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the

morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London, and their officers, forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St Dunstan's church in Fleet Street, where six of the Queen's guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who, with the Lord Chandos, Master Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done.

The which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of the day he went to horse, and leaped cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known. And so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the guard learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge; and ever carried him to another inn.

On the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil she could of Master Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears; confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock; and a mile without

would not stand to his doctrine.

AN OLD FRIEND

the town was much people assembled, which cried and lamented his estate, insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses; but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence.

So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the guard, and others. After his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay), that there, being solitary, he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard licensed to speak with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst others that spake with him, Sir Anthony Kingston, Knight, was one; who, seeming in time past his very friend, was then appointed by the Queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Master Kingston, being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer: and as soon as he saw Master Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Master Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said Master Kingston, 'Why, my lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?'

Hooper: 'Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know

you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do

praise God for the same.'

Kingston: 'But I am sorry to see you in this case; for as I understand you be come hither to die. But, alas, consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire

to live; for life hereafter may do good.'

Hooper: 'Indeed it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst vou in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas, consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other; I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of His Word; desiring you, and others, in the meantime, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers.'

Kingston: 'Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child.'

Hooper: I do highly praise God for it: and I pray God you may continually live in His fear.'

After these, and many other words, the one took leave of the other; Master Kingston, with bitter

SPEECH TO THE MAYOR

tears, Master Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure Master Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained license to be brought unto Master Hooper's speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Master Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, 'Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason He best knoweth: but He hath given thee another sight much more precious, for He hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto Him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul!'

The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being then expired, unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Master Hooper's

lodging, and took him by the hand.

Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner: 'Master mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was

here, by the godly King that dead is, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do. I am sent hither (as I am sure you know) by the Queen's commandment to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, master sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends' (meaning the guard), 'at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness, by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thank them), that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the meantime I will be as obedient unto you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done: for I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain); but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the Queen.'

These words used Master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them lamented. Notwithstanding the two sheriffs were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not

A NIGHT OF PRAYER

made earnest intercession for him; who declared, how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved himself in the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common

prison.

So it was determined he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the sergeants, and other officers, did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

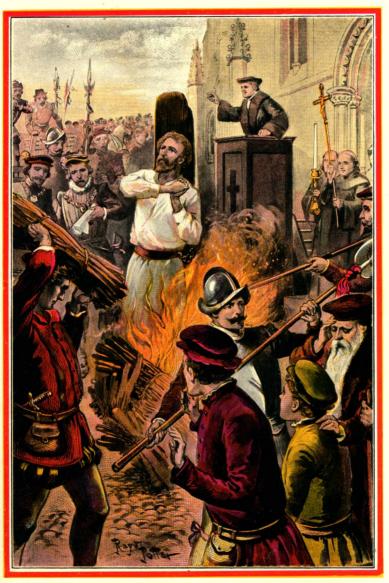
About eight o'clock came Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock Master Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in a readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, glaves, and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise: 'Master sheriffs,' said he, 'I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all.' A multitude of people assembled to the number

of seven thousand, for it was market-day, and many came to see his behaviour towards death.

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal: for the grief of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. He would look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddish a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilingly he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the tree, were replenished with people; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the wolvish blood-suckers and turnelings, the priests of the college.

Then kneeled he down, forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people. After he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least-wise it was feigned to be his pardon) from the Queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, 'If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!

Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his gear, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned.



THE BURNING OF BISHOP HOOPER.

KISSING THE REEDS

But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness; unto whose pleasures, good man, he very obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and petticoat were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard.

So, desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains), he went up to the stake. The hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, but when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two

hoops of iron, he utterly refused them.

Thus being ready, he looked upon all the people, of whom he might be well seen (for he was both tall, and stood also on a high stool), and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. 'O sir!' said the man, 'I am appointed to make the fire.' 'Therein,' said Master Hooper, 'thou dost nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee.'

Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be

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bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to. But because there were put to no fewer green faggots than two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place (it was a lowering and cold morning), it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner nothing but touched

by the fire.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots (for there were no more reeds), and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair, and swell his skin a little. In the time of which fire even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud (but as one without pains), 'O Jesus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!' After the second was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, 'For God's love, good people, let me have more fire!' And all this while his nether parts did burn: for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In the which fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice, 'Lord Jesus, have mercy

AS A CHILD IN HIS BED

upon me; Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus receive my spirit.' And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood, dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast, in knocking, to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side: but he died as quietly as a child in his bed. And he now reigneth, I doubt not, as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundations of the world; for whose constancy all

Christians are bound to praise God.