

**A FAITHFUL PARISH CLERGYMAN: THE
HISTORY OF DR ROWLAND TAYLOR,
HADLEY**

THE town of Hadley was one of the first that received the Word of God in all England. The Gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number of that parish became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of St Paul's Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's Word, that the whole town seemed rather a University of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people; and (what most is to be commended) they were for the more part faithful followers of God's Word in their living.

In this town was Dr Rowland Taylor, who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: but, contrarily, he forsook the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas

THE FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE

Cranmer, with whom he before was in household, and made his parsonal abode in Hadley, among the people committed to his charge; where he, as a good shepherd, dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of holy Scriptures. This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the Word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but, as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinful and evil doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell them plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or evil will; ready to do good to all men; readily forgiving his enemies; and never sought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider; insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well

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nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

He was a good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy King of blessed memory, Edward the Sixth. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, to live with Christ, and reign in everlasting joy and felicity, the papists violently overthrew the true doctrine of the Gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman Bishop as supreme head of the universal Church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's Word were disproved and justly condemned.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, called Foster, conspired with one John Clerk, to bring in the Pope and his idol-worship again into Hadley Church. For as yet Dr Taylor had kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Averth, parson of Aldham, a popish idolater, to come to Hadley, and there to begin again the popish mass. To this purpose they builded up with

DRAWN SWORDS AND BUCKLERS

all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their mass again about Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down: wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down. On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Dr Taylor, who, according to his custom, sat at his book studying the Word of God, heard the bells ringing, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office: and, coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he, entering in, and coming into the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Dr Taylor, 'Who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?' With that started up Foster, and with an ireful and furious countenance said to Dr Taylor, 'Thou traitor! what dost thou here, to let and perturb the Queen's proceedings?' Dr Taylor answered, 'I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God, my Lord Christ, hath appointed to feed this flock: wherefore I have good

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authority to be here ; and I command thee, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume here to poison Christ's flock.'

Then said Foster, 'Wilt thou, traitorly heretic, make a commotion, and resist violently the Queen's proceedings?'

Dr Taylor answered, 'I make no commotion ; but it is you papists, that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's Word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's Word, the Queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England.'

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the church ; and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw him thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, 'I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury, that this popish idolater doth to the blood of Christ.' Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors ; for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter to Dr Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and appear before him.

BEARDING THE BISHOP

When Dr Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry and grieved in mind; which then foreseeing to what end the matter would come, came to him and earnestly counselled him to flee.

Then said Dr Taylor, 'Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries's hand, but rather imprisonment and cruel death: yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doings.'

Then said his friends, 'Master doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldham, with others that came hither to bring again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should flee into another: we think, in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers, and godly pastors.'

'Oh,' quoth Dr Taylor, 'what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with God's grace) to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God shall hereafter raise up teachers of His people, which shall, with much more diligence and fruit, teach them, than I have done. For God

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will not forsake His church, though now for a time He trieth and correcteth us. As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now ; nor shall I ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me ; and I doubt not but God will give me strength and His holy Spirit.'

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they, with weeping eyes, commended him unto God.

Dr Taylor, being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the Bishop ; and proffered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him. But in no wise would Dr Taylor consent thereunto ; but said, 'O John ! shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger. Remember the good shepherd Christ, Which not alone fed His flock, but also died for His flock. Him must I follow, and with God's grace, will do.'

Shortly after Dr Taylor presented himself to the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor of England. Now, when Gardiner saw Dr Taylor, he, according to his custom, reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches ; all which Dr Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him : 'My lord,' quoth he, 'I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man ; and am

NOT AFRAID OF LORDLY LOOKS

come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me.'

Then said the bishop, 'Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?'

'Yes,' quoth Dr Taylor, 'I know who you are. You are Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and His word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ and answer to your oath made first unto King Henry the Eighth of famous memory, and afterward unto King Edward the Sixth his son?'

The bishop answered, 'Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and, I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the catholic Church of Rome; and so I would thou shouldest do.'

Dr Taylor answered, 'Should I forsake the Church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the Pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and His Word, and thrust out of the Church such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn

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unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.'

'I tell thee,' quoth the Bishop of Winchester, 'it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father, the Pope, hath discharged me of it.'

Then said Dr Taylor, 'But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, Who doubtless will require it at your hands, from Whose obedience no man can assoil you, neither the Pope nor any of his.'

'I see,' quoth the Bishop, 'thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.'

'My lord,' quoth Dr Taylor, "leave your railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know, that 'he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of a council; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire.'

Then said the bishop, 'Thou hast resisted the Queen's proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson of Aldham (a very virtuous and devout priest) to say mass in Hadley.'

Dr Taylor answered, 'My lord, I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass.'

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, 'Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament: and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.'

Dr Taylor answered, 'Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I

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reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do; and confess, that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of His death and passion. Christ gave Himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, Whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in Him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in His own person Himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer Him, nor need we any more propitiatory sacrifice.'

Then called the bishop his men, and said, 'Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept.'

Then kneeled Dr Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, 'Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praised for good King Edward.'

Dr Taylor lay prisoner almost two years. He spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, writing, preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

On the 22nd of January 1555, Dr Taylor, and Master Bradford and Master Saunders, were again called to appear before the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishops of Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham; and there were charged again with heresy and schism: and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman Bishop, and abjure their errors; or else

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they would, according to the laws, proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr Taylor and his fellows heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish Antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for His Word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them.

Dr Taylor was committed to the Clink, and when the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he said, 'God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood.' So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night; and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When Dr Taylor had lain in the said Compter a seven-night or thereabouts prisoner, the 4th of February, A.D. 1555, Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummery. He called for Dr Taylor to be brought unto him; and at his coming, the bishop said, 'Master doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother, holy church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon.'

Whereunto Master Taylor answered, 'I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to Antichrist.'

FRIGHTENING THE BISHOP

'Well,' quoth the bishop, 'I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures.'

'No,' quoth Dr Taylor, 'I will not.'

'Wilt thou not?' said the bishop. 'I shall make thee ere I go.'

Quoth Dr Taylor, 'You shall not, by the grace of God.'

Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him; so he willed another to put them upon his back. And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, 'How say you, my lord? am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?'

So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head.

At the last, when he should have given Dr Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said: 'My lord! strike him not, for he will sure strike again.' 'Yea, by St Peter will I,' quoth Dr Taylor. 'The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel.' So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr Taylor said, 'Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us!' And when he came up to his chamber he told Master Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber), that he had

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made the Bishop of London afraid : 'for,' saith he laughingly, 'his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again ; and, by my troth,' said he, rubbing his hands, 'I made him believe I would do so indeed.'

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas and John Hull, his servant, resorted unto him, and were, by the gentleness of the keepers, permitted to sup with him. At their coming-in, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany. After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for His grace, that had given him strength to abide by His holy word. With tears they prayed together, and kissed one the other. Unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, and in the end of that he wrote his testament :

'I say to my wife, and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me : blessed be the name of the Lord ! I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found Him more faithful and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in Him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits : believe, love, fear and obey Him : pray to Him, for He hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home.

I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach ; that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my

A TOUCHING SCENE

doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you any other Gospel than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher!

Departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour.'

On the morrow the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two o'clock in the morning, and brought forth Dr Taylor; and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night in St Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old), the other named Mary, Dr Taylor's own daughter.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came against St Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, 'O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away.' Then cried his wife, 'Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?'—for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not well see the other. Dr Taylor answered, 'Dear wife, I am here;' and staid. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, 'Stay a little, masters, I pray you; and let him speak to his wife:' and so they staid.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms: and he, his wife, and Elizabeth

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kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, 'Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children.' And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, 'God bless thee, and make thee His servant:' and kissing Elizabeth, he said, 'God bless thee; I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and His Word.' Then said his wife, 'God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley.'

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolsack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Dr Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive: and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

JOYFUL AND MERRY

At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr Taylor's son. When Dr Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, 'Come hither, my son Thomas.' And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, 'Good people, this is mine own son.' Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, 'Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had.' And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

And so they came to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Dr Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man: which practice they used also with others. They feared lest, if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's Word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes

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also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die.

At Chelmsford met them the sheriff of Suffolk, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him; and said, 'Good master doctor! we are right sorry for you. God hath given you great learning and wisdom; wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years. Ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and me thinketh it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your opinions. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon; which, no doubt, ye shall obtain.'

Dr Taylor staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he said, 'Master sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will: I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation.'

With that word they all rejoiced. 'Yea, good master doctor,' quoth the sheriff, 'God's blessing on your heart! hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What!

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should ye cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour.' Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry. At the last, 'Good master doctor,' quoth the sheriff, 'what meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been deceived yourself, and think ye shall deceive many a one in Hadley?'

'Would ye know my meaning plainly?' quoth he.

'Yea,' quoth the sheriff, 'good master doctor, tell it us plainly.'

Then said Dr Taylor, 'I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcase must be burnt to ashes: and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it.'

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean disappointed.

At Lavenham, there came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr Taylor very sore to reduce him

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to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, 'which,' said they, 'we have here for you.' They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric, if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain.

Coming within two miles of Hadley, Dr Taylor desired to light off his horse: which done, he leaped, and fet a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. 'Why, master doctor,' quoth the sheriff, 'how do you now?' He answered: 'Well, God be praised, good master sheriff, never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house.—But, master sheriff,' said he, 'shall we not go through Hadley?' 'Yes,' said the sheriff, 'you shall go through Hadley.' Then said he, 'O Lord! I thank Thee, I shall yet once or I die see my flock, whom Thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved and truly taught. Lord! bless them, and keep them steadfast in Thy Word and truth.'

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who, when he saw Dr Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, 'O dear Father and good shepherd, Dr Taylor? God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children.'

The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, 'Ah, Lord! there goeth our

GIVING TO THE POOR

good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Lord strengthen him, and comfort him.'

And Dr Taylor evermore said to the people, 'I have preached to you God's Word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood.'

Coming against the almshouses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money which remained of that which had been given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore, the money that now remained he put in a glove and gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And, coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked: 'Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive?' It was answered, 'Yea, they are there within.' Then threw he glove and all in at the window.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and study.

At the last, coming to Aldham-common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, 'What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?' It was answered, 'It is Aldham-common, the place where you must

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suffer: and the people are come to look upon you.' Then said he, 'Thanked be God, I am even at home;' and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

When the people saw his reverend face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying 'God save thee, good Dr Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee.' Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in nowise permit him.

Dr Taylor thereupon sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, called him and said, 'Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them.' Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away: which done, he said with a loud voice, 'Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy Word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood.' With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who had used Dr Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head. Then he kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him: but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses: notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. He went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him and so stood

THE MALICE OF ENEMIES

with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up faggots: but he refused to do it, and said, 'I am lame, sir; and not able to lift a faggot.' The sheriff threatened to send him to prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

Then appointed he Mulleine, Soyce, Warwick, and Robert King, to set up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did. Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr Taylor, 'O friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?'

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr Taylor was saying the psalm 'Miserere,' in English, struck him on the lips: 'Ye knave,' said he, 'speak Latin: I will make thee.'

At the last they set to fire; and Dr Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, 'Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into Thy hands.' So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the corpse fell into the fire.

THE MARTYRS OF SCOTLAND

LIKE as there was no place, either of Germany, Italy, or France, wherein there were not some branches sprung out of that most fruitful root of Luther; so likewise was not this isle of Britain without his fruit and branches. Amongst whom was Patrick Hamilton, a Scotsman born of high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, of excellent towardness, twenty-three years of age, called abbot of Ferne. Coming out of his country with three companions to seek godly learning, he went to the University of Marburg in Germany, which University was then newly erected by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. Using conference with learned men, especially with Frances Lambert, he so profited in knowledge and judgment that, through the incitation of the said Lambert, he was the first in all that University who publicly did set up conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning faith and works. Which young man, if he had chosen to lead his life after the manner of other courtiers, in all kind of licentious riotousness, should peradventure have found praise without peril or punishment; but, forsomuch as he joined godliness with his stock, and virtue with his age, he could by no means escape the hands of the wicked. For there is nothing safe or sure in this world but wickedness and sin.

Whoever saw the cardinals or bishops rage with their cruel inquisitions against riot, ambition, unlaw-

PATRICK HAMILTON

ful gaming, drunkenness, and rapines? But if any man were truly addict to the desire and study of godliness, confessing Christ to be his only patron and advocate, excluding the merits of saints, acknowledging free justification by faith in Christ, denying purgatory (for these articles Hamilton was burned), they spare neither age nor kindred, neither is there any so great power in the world, that may withstand their majesty or authority.

How great an ornament might so noble, learned, and excellent a young man have been unto that realm, being endued with so great godliness, and such a singular wit and disposition, if the Scots had not envied their own commodity!

This learned Patrick, increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to revolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit of understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three whom he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay. Not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, he valiantly taught and preached the truth, was accused of heresy, and, stoutly sustaining the quarrel of God's Gospel against the high priest and Archbishop of St Andrew's, named James Beaton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests on the 1st of March, A.D. 1527. Being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, he came very early in the morning before he was looked for; and there mightily disputing against

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them, when he could not by the Scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppressed. And so the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all hot haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned.

And thus was this noble Hamilton, the blessed servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the Church of Christ; for the grave testimony of his blood left the truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many than ever could after be plucked away: insomuch that divers afterwards, standing in his quarrel, sustained the like martyrdom.

Within a few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forest, a young man born in Linlithgow, who, a little before, had received the orders of Benet and Collet (as they term them), affirmed that Master Patrick Hamilton died a martyr. For this he was apprehended, and put in prison by James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, who, shortly after, caused a certain friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession. When Henry Forest had declared his conscience, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man and not heretical, and wrongfully to be put to death, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known. Hereupon it followed that, his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, Henry Forest was concluded to be a heretic, equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamilton, and given to the secular judges, to suffer death.

When the day came for his death, and that he should first be degraded, he was brought before the

‘FIE ON FALSE FRIARS!’

clergy in a green place, being between the castle of St Andrew and another place called Monymaill. As soon as he entered in at the door, and saw the faces of the clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, ‘Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession! After this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God’s Word, and deceivers of men!’ After his degradation, he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of His Gospel, at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Forfar might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the doctrine which they term heresy.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forest, or thereabout, James Hamilton, of Linlithgow; his sister Katherine Hamilton, the spouse of the captain of Dunbar; also another honest woman of Leith; David Straton, of the house of Lauriston; and Master Norman Gurley were called to the abbey church of Holyrood House in Edinburgh, by James Hay, Bishop of Ross, commissioner to James Beaton, Archbishop, in presence of King James the Fifth, who was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamilton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his brother; to whom the King gave counsel to depart, and not to appear: for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the bishops had persuaded the King, that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain unto *him*. And so Hamilton fled, and was condemned as a heretic, and all his goods and lands confiscated.

Katherine Hamilton, his sister, appeared upon the

THE MARTYRS OF SCOTLAND

scaffold, and being accused of a horrible heresy, to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same; and after a long reasoning between her and Master John Spens, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner, 'Work here, work there; what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of works can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour.' The King, hearing these words, turned him about and laughed, called her unto him, and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt.

Master Norman Gurley was accused for that he said there was no such thing as purgatory, and that the Pope was not a bishop but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. Also David Straton, for that he said, there was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world. And because, when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesgrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he did cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea; therefore he accused him, as one that should have said, that no tithes should be paid. These two, because, after great solicitation made by the King, they refused to abjure and recant, were condemned by the Bishop of Ross as heretics, and were burned upon the green side, between Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be struck with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.

Not long after the burning of David Straton and Master Gurley, a canon of St Colm's Inche, and vicar of Dolor, called Dean Thomas Forret, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the Epistle or Gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty

THE CRIME OF PREACHING!

in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a black friar or a grey friar: and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the Bishop of Dunkeld (in whose diocese he remained) as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The Bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the friars' instigation, called the said Dean Thomas, and said to him, 'My joy, Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself.' To whom Thomas said, 'I thank your lordship heartily.' Then the Bishop began his counsel after this manner:

Bishop: 'My joy, Dean Thomas! I am informed that you preach the Epistle or Gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow nor the uppermost cloth from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy, Dean Thomas, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do; or else it is too much to preach every Sunday: for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good Epistle, or any good Gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy Church, to preach that, and let the rest be.'

The Martyr: 'My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree

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right well, and there is no discord among us. And whereas your lordship saith, It is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.'

Bishop: 'Nay, nay, Dean Thomas, let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.'

Martyr: 'Whereas your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle, or a good Gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and the Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil Gospel: but, if your lordship will show me the good epistle, and the good Gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil Gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil.'

Bishop: Then spake my lord stoutly and said, 'I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuese and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent it, when you may not mend it.'

Martyr: 'I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon.'

And so my lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a summons was directed from the Cardinal of St Andrews and the Bishop of Dunkeld, upon the said Dean Thomas Forret, and others; who, at the day of their appearance, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, because (as was alleged) they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies; and, especially, because many of them were at the marriage of a priest, who was

A FEAR-STRICKEN FRIAR

vicar of Tulibothy beside Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal. And so they were all together burned upon the Castle Hill at Edinburgh.

There was a certain Act of Parliament made in the government of the Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue; secluding nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading lacked not its own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations; amongst whom were certain persons in St John's-town.

At this time there was a sermon made by friar Spence, in St John's-town, otherwise called Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. This blasphemous doctrine a burghess of the said town, called Robert Lamb, could not abide, but accused him, in open audience, of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him, in God's name, to utter the truth. This the friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so, that the friar could have no audience.

At this time, A.D. 1543, the enemies of the truth procured John Charterhouse, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the said city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the said governor's authority, and a papist, called Master Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that

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they might bring the more easily their wicked and ungodly enterprise to an end.

On St Paul's day came to St John's-town, the Governor, the cardinal, the Earl of Argyle, with certain other of the nobility. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresy (as they term it), yet these persons only were apprehended: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, and Helen Stirke his wife, and were cast that night in the Spay Tower.

Upon the morrow, when they were brought forth to judgment, were laid to their charge, the violating of the Act of Parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture against the tenor of the said Act. Robert Lamb was accused, in special, for interrupting the friar in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, who understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence, for consenting to the same.

The said Robert also, with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused for hanging up the image of St Francis in a cord, nailing of rams' horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on Allhallow-even.

James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, and a flesher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet, because he often used that suspected company of the rest, was accused.

THE CRUEL PRIESTS

The woman Helen Stirke was accused, for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as He did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ: thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour, to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but that only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate: which words were counted most execrable in the face of the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth stair the three-crowned diadem of Peter carved of tree, which the cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinal's hat. After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated: which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the town for the life of these persons to the Governor, who of himself was willing that they might have been delivered: but he was so subject to the appetite of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to assist his enemies and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

The martyrs were carried by a great band of

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armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town except they had their men of war) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people. Every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the Kingdom of Heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet, following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and, parting from him with a kiss, said, 'Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the Kingdom of Heaven.' The woman, after that, was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a child sucking on her breast, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the enemies. So, after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking bairn was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death.

With most tender affection consider, gentle reader, the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wishart, made by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Ponder the furious rage and tragical cruelty of the malignant Church, in persecuting this blessed man of God; and, on the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to

GEORGE WISHART

them without all fear, not having respect to their boastful menacings and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop of tongue answering, not changing his visage.

I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, certified in writing by a certain scholar of his, named Emery Tylney, whose words here follow:

About the year of our Lord 1543, there was, in the University of Cambridge, one Master George Wishart, commonly called Master George of Benet's College, a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and well travelled; having on him for his clothing a frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands.

He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvass sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself. He loved me tenderly, and

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I him. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! for he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry.

If I should declare his love to me and all men; his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words, than just cause to commend him.

To the said Master George, being in captivity in the Castle of St Andrews, the Dean of the same town was sent by the commandment of the cardinal and by his wicked counsel, and there summoned the said Master George, that he should, upon the morning following, appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, more seeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true Word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the Abbey Church, incontinently they sent for Master George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the Castle, accompanied with a hundred men,

THE POPE'S THUNDER

addressed in manner aforesaid. Like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered in at the Abbey Church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, the sub-prior of the Abbey, called Dane John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there assembled.

And when he ended his sermon, they caused Master George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation. And right against him stood up one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lander, laden full of cursings written in paper: the which he took out—a roll, long and full of threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and hitting him so spitefully with the Pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding Master George stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When that this fed sow had read all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, 'What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runnagate! traitor! thief! which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?' Master George, hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner:

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‘It is just and reasonable, that your discretions should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and, in the mean time, I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.’

Suddenly with a high voice cried the accuser, the fed sow, ‘Thou heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief! it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the Church.’

Then all the congregation of the prelates, with their complices, said: ‘If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and in the holy Scripture so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.’

Master George, seeing their malicious intent, appealed from the lord cardinal to the Lord Governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lander, with hoggish voice answered, ‘Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of St Andrews, Bishop of Mirepois, Commendator of Aberbroshok, *legatus natus, legatus à latere?*’ And so, reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have loden a ship, much sooner an ass, ‘Is not he,’ quoth John Lander, ‘an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom other desirest thou to be thy judge?’

To whom this humble man answered, saying: ‘I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the

MAKING THE FIRE READY

Word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships mine auditors, because I am here my Lord Governor's prisoner.'

Hereupon the prideful and scornful people mocked him. And without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Master George, had not certain men counselled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

They caused the common people to void away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man to speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his tormentors to pass again with the meek lamb into the Castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the Castle, there came friar Scot and his mate, saying, 'Sir, ye must make your confession unto us.' He answered and said, 'I will make no confession unto you.'

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, the lord cardinal dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the Castle against that part, and commanded all his gunners to stand beside their guns, unto such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers to the place of their wicked execution. As he came forth of the Castle gate, there met him certain beggars, asking of his alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, 'I want

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my hands, wherewith I should give you alms ; but the merciful Lord, of His benignity and abundance of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities, both unto your bodies and souls.' Then afterwards met him two friars, saying, 'Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son.' To whom he answered meekly, 'Cease, tempt me not, my brethren!' After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again, and thrice he said these words, 'O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me. Father of heaven! I commend my spirit into Thy holy hands.' When he had made this prayer, he turned to the people, and said: 'For the Word's sake and true evangel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire, for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. I know surely that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night.'

The hangman, that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, 'Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death.' To whom he answered, 'Come hither to me.' When that he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, 'Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office.' And then he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and burned to powder. When that the people beheld the great tor-

WISHART REVENGED

menting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

It was not long after the martyrdom of this blessed man of God, Master George Wishart, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody Archbishop and Cardinal of Scotland, A.D. 1546, the first day of March, that the said David Beaton, by the just revenge of God's mighty judgment, was slain within his own Castle of St Andrews, by the hands of one Leslie and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, 'Alas! alas! slay me not! I am a priest!' And so, like a butcher he lived, and like a butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a carrion was buried in a dunghill.

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, who, to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his predecessor, in augmenting the number of the holy martyrs of God, called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whose story here followeth.

There was set, upon a scaffold made hard to the chancelary wall of the Black-friars' Church in Edinburgh, on seats made thereupon, the Lord Governor. Behind the seats stood the whole senate. In the pulpit was placed Master John Lander, parson of Marbotle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood.

Was brought in Adam Wallace, a simple poor

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man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cumnock, servant to the Bishop of St Andrews, and set in the midst of the scaffold. He was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what was his name. He answered, 'Adam Wallace.' Then asked he where he was born? 'Within two miles of Fayle,' said he, 'in Kyle.' Then said the accuser, 'I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great incumbrance this day by your vain speaking.' 'And I must speak,' said he, 'as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body.' 'Would God,' said the accuser, 'ye had never spoken; for you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined in this country before.'

Wallace answered that he said nothing but agreeing to the Holy Word as he understood; and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, even to the death. 'If you condemn me for holding by God's Word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ.'

Then they condemned him and delivered him to the Provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle Hill, who made him to be put in the uppermost house in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to Hugh Terry, an ignorant minister of Satan and of the bishops, to keep the key of the said house. The said Terry sent to the poor man two grey friars to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophister, called Arbuthnot, with the

CONSOLATION OR PSALMS

which English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures; who answered, he had no commission to enter into disputation with him: and so left him.

Then was sent to him a worldly wise man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the Dean of Restalrig, who gave him Christian consolation, and exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration. But Wallace would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy Scripture, and so passed that night in singing, and lauding God, to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without book, to his consolation: for they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him wherever he went.

After Hugh Terry knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took the same from him, endeavouring to pervert him from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour: but God suffered him not to be moved therewith.

All the next morning abode this poor man in irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day; which day came the Dean of Restalrig to him again, and reasoned with him; who answered as before, that he would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same. Then after came in Hugh Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar devils to come forth of him ere even. To whom he answered, 'You

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should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations ; which, I thank Him, He hath made me able to do : therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace.' Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, 'Is your fire making ready?' who told him, it was. He answered, 'As it pleaseth God; I am ready soon or late, as it shall please Him.'

At his forthcoming, the Provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him. Coming from the town to the Castle Hill, the common people said, 'God have mercy upon him.' 'And on you too,' said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, 'Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake ; for the disciple is not greater than his Master.' The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance.

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of Walter Mill is not to be passed over with silence ; out of whose ashes sprang thousands, who chose rather to die, than to be any longer overtrodden by the tyranny of the cruel, ignorant, and brutal bishops, abbots, monks, and friars.

In the year of our Lord, 1558, this Walter Mill (who in his youth had been a papist), after he had been in Almain, and had heard the doctrine of the Gospel, returned into Scotland ; and, setting aside all papistry, married a wife ; which thing made him unto the bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresy : and, after long watching, he

MAKING THE CHURCH RING

was taken by two popish priests, and brought to St Andrews and imprisoned in the castle thereof. The papists threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent they might cause him to forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a monk's portion, for all the days of his life, in the Abbey of Dunfermline, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy; but he, continuing in the truth even unto the end, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

The said Walter Mill was brought to the metropolitan church of St Andrews, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused. Seeing him so weak and feeble of person, partly by age and travail, and partly by evil entreatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him, for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church to ring again with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians who were present were no less rejoiced, than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. Being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Andrew Oliphant, one of the archbishop's priests, commanded him to arise, saying on this manner, 'sir Walter Mill, arise, and answer to the articles; for you hold my lord here over-long.' To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, 'Ye call me sir Walter, call me Walter, and not *sir* Walter; I have been over-long one of the Pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say.'

THE MARTYRS OF SCOTLAND

Oliphant: 'Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments.'

Mill: 'Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you.'

Oliphant: 'Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest, that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.'

Mill: 'A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring the bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the Lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them:—so do ye.'

Oliphant: 'Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.'

Mill: 'As for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then He ended all sacrifice.'

Oliphant: 'Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.'

Mill: 'Yea man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship.'

Oliphant: 'Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions?'

Mill: 'I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff: I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.'

Then Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge,

THE WORK OF THE SPIRIT

and punished as a heretic ; which was, to be burned. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the provost of the town, called Patrick Lermond, refused to be his temporal judge ; to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just : also the bishop's chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him ; but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion, to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Somervale, enterprising the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardiness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people, that his cause was just, and he innocently put down.

When all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake. And he said, ' Nay ! wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death, thou shalt see me pass up gladly : for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself.' Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, ' I will go to the altar of God ; ' and desired that he might have space to speak to the people, which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, saying, that he had spoken over

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much; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops their masters, to the devil, saying, that they should lament that day; and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said on this wise:

‘Dear friends! the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God), but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament unto us: for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God, that He hath called me of His mercy, among the rest of His servants, to seal up His truth with my life: which, as I have received it of Him, so willingly I offer it to His glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of Antichrist; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and His mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation.’

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; for they, perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were inflamed. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, ‘Lord, have mercy on

A JUST JUDGMENT

me! Pray, people, while there is time!' and so he departed.

After this, by the just judgment of God, in the same place where Walter Mill was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which surpassed both in number and costliness, were burned in the time of reformation.

THE LIFE, ACTS, AND DOINGS OF MASTER HUGH LATIMER, THE FAMOUS PREACHER AND WORTHY MARTYR OF CHRIST AND HIS GOSPEL

THIS old practised soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer, was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurkesson in the county of Leicester, a husbandman, of a good and wealthy estimation; where also he was born and brought up until he was the age of four years, or thereabout: at which time his parents, having him as then left for their only son, with six daughters, seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years, he was sent to the University of Cambridge; where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confesseth, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he had thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; he thought that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar; with divers such superstitious fantasies. In this blind zeal he was a very enemy

THE NET OF GOD'S WORD

to the professors of Christ's Gospel; as his oration made, when he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity, against Philip Melancthon and his works, did plainly declare.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that where he thought by that his oration to have utterly defaced the professors of the Gospel and true Church of Christ, he was himself by a member of the same prettily caught in the blessed net of God's Word. For Master Thomas Bilney, being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of Antichrist's kingdom, and seeing Master Latimer to have a zeal in his ways, although without knowledge, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might best win this zealous, yet ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. He came to Master Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which thing he willingly granted; with the hearing whereof he was, by the good Spirit of God, so touched, that he forsook his former studying of the school-doctors and other such fooleries, and became a true scholar of the true divinity. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now an earnest seeker after Him, changing his old manner of calumnying into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Master Bilney and others.

After his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and became a public preacher, and a private instructor, to the rest of his brethren

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within the University, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his children to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that Master Latimer made about Christenmas 1529, to envy against him, for that Master Latimer in the said sermons, alluding to the common usage of the season, gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always occupy their time. For the chief, as their triumphing card, he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary beautifying of God's holy Word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in English, that the common people might thereby learn their duties, as well to God as to their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of Latimer, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in him that preached, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

On the Sunday before Christenmas day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled,

HEART RELIGION

he entereth into the pulpit, exhorting and inviting all men to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of the heart and verity, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening show of man's traditions, of pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the Pope's supremacy; so that all these either be needless, where the other is present, or else be of small estimation, in comparison.

It would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men at arms.

First came out the prior of the Black Friars, called Buckenham, declaring that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example, the ploughman, when he heareth this in the Gospel, 'No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God,' might peradventure, hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he heareth that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the Gospel, 'If thine eye offend thee,

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pluck it out, and cast it from thee,' may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars.

Master Latimer, hearing this friarly sermon of Dr Buckenham, cometh again to the church, to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the University as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham with his black-friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Then Master Latimer so refuted the friar; so answered to his objections; so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least this requiring, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that neither the ploughman durst look back, nor the baker should leave his bread unleavened. 'Every speech,' saith he, 'hath its metaphors and like figurative significations, so common to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls, and in houses.' As for example (saith he, looking toward the friar), when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation, lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them.

THE RAILING FRIARS

In fine, friar Buckenham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against Master Latimer.

Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a grey friar and a doctor, an outlandishman called Dr Venetus, who likewise, in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against Master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the people not to believe him. To whom Master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, 'Thou shalt not kill,' etc. 'But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment: and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca (or any other like words of rebuking, as *brainless*), shall be in danger of council: and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.' He declared to the audience, that the true servants and preachers of God in this world commonly are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of God's Word, which count them here as madmen, fools, brainless, and drunken: so did they, said he, in the Scripture call them which most purely preached and set forth the glory of God's Word. He so confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but also clean out of the University.

Whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole University, preaching and barking against him. Then came at last Dr West, Bishop of Ely, who preaching against Master Latimer at Barnwell Abbey, forbade him, within the churches of that

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University, to preach any more. Notwithstanding that—so the Lord provided—Dr Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Master Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines.

Thus Master Latimer, notwithstanding the malice of the adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the space of three years together with such favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the Bishop himself, coming in and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him. Master Latimer, with Master Bilney, used much to company together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretics'-hill. The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that University, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry.

Master Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two and a certain woman then prisoner in the Castle or Tower of Cambridge. It so chanced, that after Master Latimer had been acquainted with Master Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower in Cambridge, and among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH

a child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption; which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial: but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced, with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and Master Latimer, by earnest inquisition of conscience, thought the woman not guilty. Then, immediately after, was he called to preach before King Henry the Eighth at Windsor, where, after his sermon, the King's majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time Master Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened his whole matter to the King, and begged her pardon; which the King most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward.

By the means of Dr Buts, the King's physician, a singular good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, Master Latimer was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the King's supremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the said Dr Buts' chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last, being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the King at the suit of the Lord Cromwell and Dr Buts, he was glad thereof, and, contrary to the mind of Dr Buts, he would needs depart, and be resident at the same.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum, the name of which town was called West-Kington, where this good preacher did

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exercise himself to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there, in like sort, he could not escape without enemies. He was cited to appear before William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, Bishop of London, Jan. 29, A.D. 1531. He was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home, being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching. At length, much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him to preach and do his duty, he writeth to the archbishop, excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, expostulating with them for detaining him from his duty-doing, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against the certain vain abuses crept into religion.

The story he showeth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, Oct. 9, A.D. 1550: 'I was once,' saith he, 'in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed: for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now, at this time, the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the

ESCAPING THE SNARE

fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end.

'There was amongst the bishops that examined me one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end. Then, amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should made answer, "I pray you, Master Latimer," said one, "speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off." I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it.'

The question to him there and then objected was this: 'Whether he thought in his conscience that he hath been suspected of heresy.' This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger; but God, which alway giveth in need what to answer, helped him. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not express.

King Henry the Eighth with much favour embraced Master Latimer, and with his power delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, through the procurement partly

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of Dr Buts, partly of good Cromwell, he advanced him to the dignity of Bishop of Worcester, who so continued a few years, instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit, as might be. As for example, when it could not be avoided but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, he so instructed them of his diocese that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, charging the ministers in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following:

Words spoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.

Remember your promise in baptism;
Christ His mercy and blood-shedding:
By Whose most holy sprinkling,
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

PREACHING BEFORE THE KING

What to say in giving Holy Bread.

Of Christ's body this is a token,
Which on the cross for your sins was broken.
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.

It is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the Gospel.

As before, both in the University and at his benefice, he was tost and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons, so in his bishopric also, he was not clear and void of some that sought his trouble. One especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him to the King for his sermons. The story, because he himself showeth in a sermon of his before King Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these:

'In the King's days that dead is, many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. One accuseth me that I had preached seditious doctrine. The King turned to me, and said, "What say you to that, sir?"

'Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him. "Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me to preach before a King? Would you have me for to preach nothing as concerning a King in the King's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me, what I shall preach?" Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and

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he would make no answer to none of them all: he had nothing to say.

‘Then I turned me to the King, and submitted myself to his grace, and said, “I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued, to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace’s pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience.”

‘And I thank Almighty God (Which hath always been my remedy), that my sayings were well accepted of the King. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night.’

Thus he continued in this laborious function of a bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles. Then, being distressed through the straitness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign his pastorship. At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light. Howbeit, troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, he was sore bruised and almost slain with the fall of a tree. Then, coming up to London for remedy, he was molested of the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger; and at

MARVELLOUS DILIGENCE

length was cast into the Tower, where he remained prisoner, till the time that blessed King Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again.

Beginning afresh to set forth his plough he laboured in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent as well in divers places of this realm, as before the King at the court. In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful Word of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the King and his whole court, to the edification of many. In this his painful travail he occupied himself all King Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice. Though a sore bruised man by the fall of a tree, and above sixty-seven years of age, he took little ease and care of sparing himself. Every morning, winter and summer, about two of the clock, he was at his book most diligently.

Master Latimer ever affirmed that the preaching of the Gospel would cost him his life, to the which he cheerfully prepared himself. After the death of King Edward, not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down into the country, to call him up, of whose coming, although Master Latimer lacked no forewarning, yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. When the pursuivant marvelled, he said unto him—'My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to

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London at this present, called to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as He hath made me worthy to preach His Word before two excellent princes, so will He able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally.'

When the pursuivant had delivered his letters he departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him; by whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Thus Master Latimer coming up to London, through Smithfield (where merrily he said that Smithfield had long groaned for him), was brought before the council, where he patiently bore all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists. He was cast into the Tower, where he, being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly papists, which thought then their kingdom would never fall; he showed himself not only patient, but also cheerful in and above all that which they could or would work against him. Yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies.

When the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved with cold, merrily bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look the

A FIRM AND STABLE HEART

better to him, perchance he would deceive him. The lieutenant of the Tower, hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner, and so coming to him, chargeth him with his words. 'Yea, master lieutenant, so I said,' quoth he, 'for you look, I think, that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold.'

Many such like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing of all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Thus Master Latimer, passing a long time in the Tower, from thence was transported to Oxford, with Dr Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Master Ridley, Bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. The said Latimer, with his fellow-prisoners, was condemned, and committed again to prison, and there they continued from the month of April, to the month of October; where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing. Albeit Master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all; yet oftentimes so long he continued kneeling in prayer that he was not able to rise without help. These were three principal matters he prayed for.

First, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of His Word, so also He would give him

MASTER LATIMER

grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

Secondly, that God of His mercy would restore His Gospel to England once again; and these words 'once again, once again,' he did so beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to Him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the Queen's Majesty that now is, at that time the Princess Elizabeth, whom even with tears he desired God to make a comfort to His comfortless realm of England.

The Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

First, concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set the fire to him, and to the learned and godly Bishop, Master Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, 'God is faithful, Which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength.'

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request in restoring His Gospel once again unto this realm these present days can bear record. And what, then shall England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the Word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great

PRAYERS ANSWERED

praise of God, the furtherance of His Gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. When all was so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed; when God's Word was banished, Spaniards received, and no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance His mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries. Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural and imperial crown, the brightness of God's Word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of Antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, and the captivity of sorrowful Christians released.

(A detailed account of the trial, condemnation, and martyrdom of Bishop Latimer and Bishop Ridley, begins on page 295.)

THE STORY OF BISHOP RIDLEY

AMONG many other worthy histories and notable acts of such as have been martyred for the true Gospel of Christ, the tragical story of Dr Ridley I thought good to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory ; beseeching thee (gentle reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the Book of Life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs.

Descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire ; he learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness he was called to be head of Pembroke-hall, and there made doctor of Divinity. Departing from thence, he travelled to Paris ; at his return was made chaplain to King Henry the Eighth and promoted afterwards by him to the Bishopric of Rochester and so from thence translated to the see and Bishopric of London, in King Edward's days.

He so occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his

SWEET FLOWERS OF DOCTRINE

dear parents, that he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in some place or other, except he were letted by weighty affairs. To his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order that his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot.

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

Wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure.

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

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

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts, talking, or playing at the chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would return again to his study; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose.

Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters but especially Acts

KINDNESS ILL-REQUITED

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

Remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs Bonner, mother to Dr Bonner, sometime Bishop of London. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, saying, 'Go for my mother Bonner'; who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the King's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, as divers times they were, 'By your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner.'

But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said Dr Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own sister, and George Shippeside her husband. Whereas the gentleness of Ridley did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner,

BISHOP RIDLEY

but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them, on the other side, Bishop Bonner, being restored again, currishly, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from the brother and sister of Bishop Ridley all the livings they had. And being not therewith satisfied, he sought to work the death of the foresaid Shipside, which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr Heath, the Bishop of Worcester.

About the eighth of September, 1552, Dr Ridley, then Bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hertfordshire, went to visit the Lady Mary,¹ then lying at Hunsdon, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock; about which time the said Lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her grace, and said, that he was come to do this duty to her grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and, for a quarter of an hour, talked with him very pleasantly; said that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father: and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, resorted again to her grace, between whom this communication was. First the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth: 'Madam, I came not only to do my duty, to see your grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday, if it will please you to hear me.'

¹ Afterwards Queen Mary.

THE LADY MARY

At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

Mary: 'My lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it yourself.'

Bishop: 'Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your grace this offer, to preach before you.'

Mary: 'Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer; the door of the parish-church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I, nor any of mine, shall hear you.'

Bishop: 'Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's Word.'

Mary: 'I cannot tell what ye call God's Word: that is not God's Word now, that was God's Word in my father's days.'

Bishop: 'God's Word is all one in all times; but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in others.'

Mary: 'You durst not, for your ears, have avouched that for God's Word in my father's days that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them: I never did, nor ever will do.'

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm and the laws made in the young years of her brother (which, she said, she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then, she affirmed, she would obey them), she asked

BISHOP RIDLEY

the bishop whether he were one of the council. He answered, 'No.' 'You might well enough,' said she, 'as the council goeth now-a-days.'

And so she concluded with these words: 'My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.'

Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly; and suddenly brake out into these words: 'Surely I have done amiss.' 'Why so?' quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. 'For I have drunk,' said he, 'in that place where God's Word offered hath been refused: whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house.' These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads.

What time King Edward, by long sickness, began to appear more feeble and weak, a marriage was concluded between the Lord Guilford, son to the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk's daughter; whose mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, King Henry's second sister, who first was married to the French King, and afterward to Charles, Duke of Suffolk. The King, waxing every day more sick than other, whereas indeed there seemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the King, by his testament, did

LADY JANE GRAY

appoint the aforesaid Lady Jane to be inheritrix unto the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth. The causes laid against Lady Mary were that it was feared she would marry with a stranger, and thereby entangle the crown: also that she would clean alter religion, bring in the Pope, to the utter destruction of the realm.

King Edward, not long after this, departed by the vehemency of his sickness, when he was sixteen years of age; with whom decayed in a manner the whole flourishing estate and honour of the English nation.

This Jane was forthwith published Queen at London, and in other cities where was any great resort. Between this young damsel and King Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was superior unto him. If her fortune had been as good as was her bringing up, joined with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to your Aspasia, and Sempronia (to wit, the mother of the Gracchi), yea, to any other women beside, that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the University-men, which have taken many degrees of the schools.

In the meantime, while these things were a-working at London, Mary, who had knowledge of her brother's death, writeth to the lords of the council a letter wherein she claimeth the crown. 'My lords, we require you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, forthwith, upon receipt hereof, do cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places.'

BISHOP RIDLEY

To this letter of the Lady Mary, the lords of the council made answer: 'This is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane is invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late Sovereign Lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England: we must, therefore, as of most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said grace, and to none other.'

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

Mary, in the meanwhile, tossed with much travail up and down, to work the surest way for her best advantage, withdrew herself into Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the Duke's name to be had in much hatred for the service that had been

LADY JANE IN THE TOWER

done there of late under King Edward in subduing the rebels; and there, gathering to her such aid of the commons on every side as she might, kept herself close for a space within Framlingham Castle. To whom first of all resorted the Suffolk men; who, being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the Gospel, promised her their aid so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion, which her brother King Edward had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole realm. Unto this condition she eftsoons agreed. Thus Mary, being guarded with the power of the gospellers, did vanquish the duke, and all those that came against her.

In the mean time, God turned the hearts of the people to her, and against the council. Which after the council perceived, and that certain noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their song, and proclaimed for Queen the Lady Mary.

And so the Duke of Northumberland was left destitute, and forsaken at Cambridge with some of his sons, and a few others, who were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown.

Mary, when she saw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, followed up the 3rd day of August to London, with the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear of more, and yet with flattery peradventure most great of feigned hearts. Her first lodging she took at the Tower, where the aforesaid Lady Jane, with her husband the Lord Guilford were imprisoned; where they remained waiting her pleasure almost five months. Lady

BISHOP RIDLEY

Jane Grey was executed on the 12th February, 1554. But the Duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded.

Mary, besides hearing mass herself in the Tower, every day more and more discomforted the people, declaring herself to bear no good will to the present state of religion. Such whose consciences were joined to truth perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true Christian man.

Divers bishops were removed, and others placed in their rooms; amongst whom was Dr Ridley. In the time of Queen Jane, he had made a sermon at Paul's Cross, so commanded by the council; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the Lady Mary, alleging the inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their Queen; prophesying—as it were before, that which after came to pass—that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them, besides subverting all Christian religion: showing that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that, which, with so great labours, had been confirmed and planted by her brother. Shortly after this sermon, Queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon he, speedily repairing to Framlingham to salute the Queen, had such cold welcome there, that, being despoiled of all his dignities, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

About the 10th of March, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, Bishop also some time of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor.

THE CRUX OF THE MATTER

and from thence to the University of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The articles whereupon they should dispute were these :

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

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

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

Dr Ridley answered without any delay, saying they were all false; and that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were sharp, witty, and very learned. He was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He answered that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend His truth: but he required time and books. They said that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. Then gave they him the articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night.

The Report and Narration of Master Ridley, concerning the misordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow-Prisoners at Oxford.

I never yet, since I was born, saw anything handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the

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disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like to stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators and overseers of others, and which should have given good examples in words and gravity, gave worst example, above all others, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good Christian reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth of verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory.

A great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts (with hissing and clapping of hands), to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off, by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

A RAGING MULTITUDE

At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, afore I could make an end of my first probation, even the doctors themselves cried out, 'He speaketh blasphemies! he speaketh blasphemies!' And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor, being moved, cried out on high, 'Let him read it! let him read it!'): yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, such confusion of voices, crying, 'Blasphemies! blasphemies!' as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like; except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!'

The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short.

After the disputation, the Friday following, which was the 20th of April, the commissioners sat in St Mary's Church, and Dr Weston used particular dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe, or no. And first to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he said he was overcome in disputations. To whom the archbishop answered, that he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would

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have brawled with them; so thick their reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak. Master Ridley and Master Latimer were asked what they would do: they replied, that they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as heretics.

After which, they answered again every one in his turn:

The Archbishop of Canterbury: 'From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty; trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for Whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned.'

Dr Ridley: 'Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come.'

Master Latimer: 'I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death.'

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another; the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr Ridley was carried to the sheriff's house, Master Latimer to the bailiffs.

(A detailed account of the martyrdom of Bishop Ridley will be found in the next chapter.)

THE TRIAL, CONDEMNATION AND MARTYRDOM OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

AND thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of Master Ridley and of Master Latimer, severally set forth. Now we couple them together, as they were together joined in one martyrdom.

Upon the 28th of September (1555), was sent down to Oxford a commission from Cardinal Pole to John White, Bishop of Lincoln, to Dr Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr Holyman, Bishop of Bristol, that they, or two of them, should have full power to judge Master Hugh Latimer, and Master Dr Ridley, for divers erroneous opinions, which they did maintain in open disputations had in Oxford. The which opinions if the named persons would recant, then they, the deputed judges, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the Pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would maintain their erroneous opinions, then the said lords should pronounce them heretics, cut them clean off from the Church, and yield them to receive punishment.

Wherefore, the last of September, the said lords were placed and set in the divinity school at Oxford; and first appeared Master Dr Ridley. After his coming into the school, the cardinal's commission was read. But Dr Ridley, standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoons

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

as he had heard the cardinal named, and the Pope's holiness, put on his cap. 'The usurped supremacy, and abused authority of the Bishop of Rome, I utterly refuse and renounce. I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest my so doing might be a derogation to the verity of God's Word.'

The Bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles to pluck Master Ridley's cap from his head. Master Ridley, bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop in a long oration exhorted Master Ridley to recant, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope.

Then Master Ridley said in this manner: 'As touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the Church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it. For after that Christ had asked His disciples whom men judged Him to be, and they had answered, that some had said He was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then He said, "Whom say ye that I am?" Then Peter said, "I say that Thou art Christ, the Son of God." To whom Christ answered, "I say, thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build My Church;" that is to say, upon this stone—not meaning Peter himself, as though He would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle a foundation of His stable and infallible Church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build My Church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God.'

THE APPEARANCE OF LATIMER

But the bishop, not attending to this answer, proceeded: 'We came not to reason with you, but must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; the which articles you shall hear now; and to-morrow, at eight of the clock in St Mary's Church, we will require and take your answers.'

ARTICLES, JOINTLY AND SEVERALLY MINISTERED TO
DR RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER, BY THE
POPE'S DEPUTY

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; that thou hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. That thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. That thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

After Master Ridley was committed to the mayor, the bishop commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner. Then Master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin),

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

wearing an old thread-bare Bristol frieze-gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop began on this manner: 'What should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which the King and Queen have renounced, and all the realm recanted. It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed: it shall be no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Therefore, Master Latimer, for God's love, remember you are an old man; spare your body, accelerate not your death, and specially remember your soul's health. If you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the Church can be no salvation.' The bishop said that they came not to dispute with Master Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to Master Ridley.

The next day following (which was the first day of October), somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St Mary's Church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, appeared Master Ridley.

Then spake the Bishop of Lincoln: 'We came to take your determinate answers to our articles. If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it.'

GROUNDLED UPON GOD'S WORD

Then Master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written : but the Bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But Master Ridley desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley : 'Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it?'

Lincoln : 'Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published ; but, except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you.'

With that Master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who delivered it to the bishop. After he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, he would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy ; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience.

The Bishop of Gloucester and likewise the Bishop of Lincoln, with many words, desired Master Ridley to turn. But he made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's Word ; and, therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to show his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the Pope. The bishop bade him take

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

his license: but he should speak but forty words, and he would tell them upon his fingers. And eftsoons Master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence.

And forthwith the Bishop of Lincoln did read the sentence of condemnation, degrading Master Ridley from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring him to be no member of the church: and committing him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment. Then Master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor.

Immediately Master Latimer was sent for, whom the Bishop of Lincoln desired to recant, revoke his errors, and turn to the catholic church.

‘No, my lord,’ interrupted Master Latimer, ‘I confess there is a catholic church, but not the church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. It is one thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church: I must use here the counsel of Cyprian, who at what time he was ascited before certain bishops demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the Church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? “Christ,” said he, “hath foreshowed, that he that doth follow Him, must take up His cross. Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble. How think you then, my lords, is it most like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the Church, or that flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death?”’

THE MAYOR'S PRISONERS

After Master Latimer had answered that he neither could nor would deny his Master Christ, and His verity, the Bishop of Lincoln desired Master Latimer to hearken to him: and then Master Latimer, hearkening for some new matter, the bishop read his condemnation; after which, the said three bishops brake up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. But Master Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have license briefly to declare why he refused the Pope's authority. But the Bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither ought to talk with him. Then he committed Master Latimer to the mayor, saying, 'Now he is your prisoner, master mayor.'

And so continued Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer, in durance till the 16th day of October A.D. 1555.

Upon the 15th day in the morning, Dr Brooks, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr Marshal, with divers other of the heads of the University, came unto Master Irish's house, then Mayor of Oxford, where Dr Ridley was close prisoner. The Bishop of Gloucester told him for what purpose their coming, saying that yet once again the Queen's majesty did offer unto him her gracious mercy, if that he would come home to the faith which he was baptized in. If he would not recant they must needs proceed according to the law.

'My lord,' quoth Dr Ridley, 'as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's Word;

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood.'

'Seeing,' saith the Bishop of Gloucester, 'that you will not receive the Queen's mercy, we must proceed according to our commission to disgrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow.'

Ridley: 'Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.'

Gloucester: 'Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice.'

Ridley: 'Not I, truly.'

Gloucester: 'But you must.'

Ridley: 'I will not.'

Gloucester: 'You must: therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.'

Ridley: 'Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will.'

Gloucester: 'Will you not do it upon you?'

Ridley: 'No, that I will not.'

Gloucester: 'It shall be put upon you by one or other.'

Ridley: 'Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; "the servant is not above his Master." If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and He suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us His servants.'

They put upon Dr Ridley all the trinkets apper-

THE CEREMONY OF DEGRADATION

taining to the mass ; and the same did vehemently inveigh against the Romish Bishop, and all that foolish apparel, insomuch that Bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace. Dr Ridley answered that so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr Brooks ; ' Sir, the law is, he should be gagged ; therefore let him be gagged.' At which words Dr Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and with a sigh said, ' Oh well, well, well !' So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

When they came to that place where Dr Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr Ridley said, ' they shall not come in my hands ; for, if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me.' Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin law, the effect whereof was : ' We do take from you the office of preaching the Gospel.' At which words Dr Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, ' O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness !'

When all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr Ridley

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

said unto Dr Brooks, 'If you have done, give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters.' Brooks answered and said, 'Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the Church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the Church.' Then Master Ridley said, 'Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer the cause to my heavenly Father, Who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please Him.'

Then Master Ridley said, 'I pray you, my lord, be a mean to the Queen's majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the Queen's majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better.' When he came to the place that touched his sister by name, he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak. After that he had left off weeping, he said, 'This is nature that moveth me: but I have now done.' Whereunto Brooks said, 'Indeed, Master Ridley, your request is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the Queen's majesty for them.'

All things being finished, Dr Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be

A MERRY HEART

brought to the place of execution when they were commanded.

The night before he suffered, as he sat at supper at Master Irish's (who was his keeper), he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage; 'for,' said he, 'to-morrow I must be married:' and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, 'Yea, I dare say, with all her heart:' at which word he said he was glad. At this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Master Ridley comforted her, and said, 'O Mrs Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet.'

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to watch all night with him. But he said, 'No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life.'

Upon the north-side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol-college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded, by the Queen's letters, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foin, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, between the mayor and an alderman.

After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, a new long shroud hanging over his hose, down to the feet.

The sight stirred men's hearts to rue, beholding the honour they sometime had, and the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him. Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, 'Oh, be ye there!' 'Yea,' said Master Latimer, 'have after as fast as I can follow.' So at length they both came to the stake. Dr Ridley, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then spying Master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him; and comforted him, saying, 'Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.' With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and

A WICKED SERMON

most effectuously prayed, and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he.

Then Dr Smith began his sermon to them upon this text of St Paul, 'If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby.' Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls.

Dr Ridley said to Master Latimer, 'Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?' Master Latimer said, 'Begin you first, I pray you.' 'I will,' said Master Ridley.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Thame, unto whom Master Ridley said, 'I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words.' And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr Marshal, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, 'Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject: that is, have your life.'

'Not otherwise?' said Master Ridley.

'No,' quoth Dr Marshal.

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

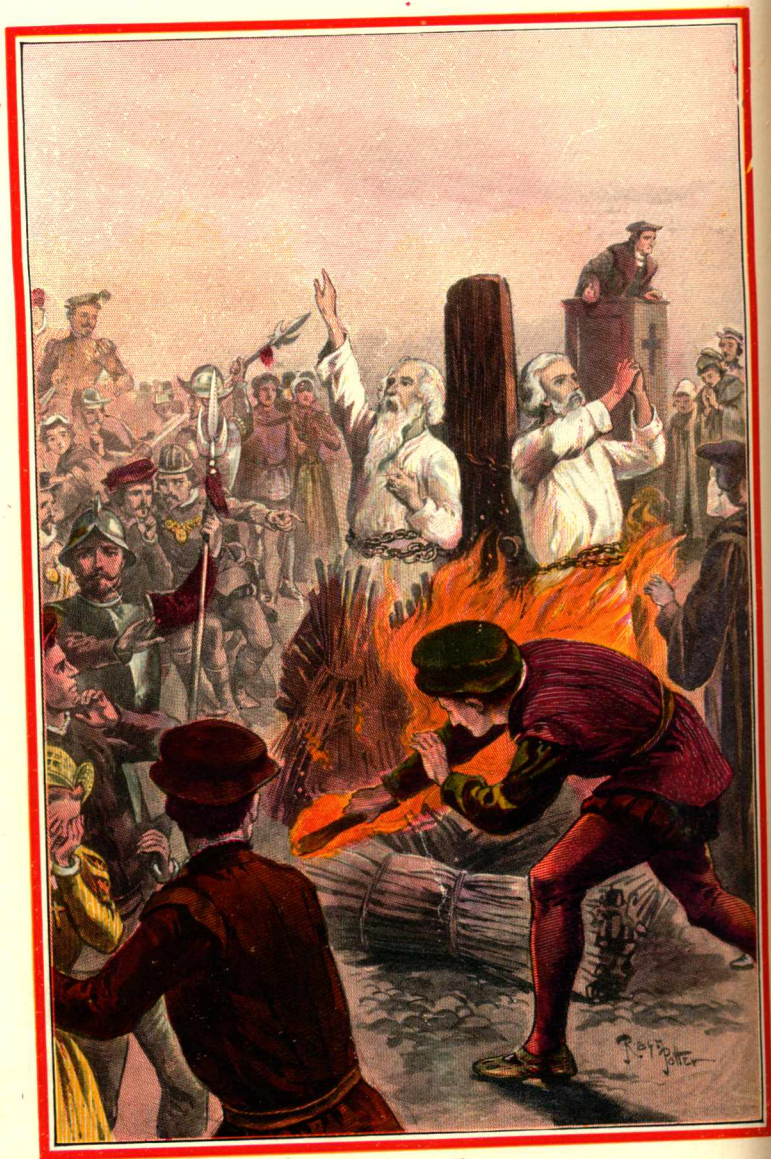
‘Well,’ quoth Master Ridley, ‘so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and His known truth: God’s will be done in me!’

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law, Master Shipside. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took. He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea a new groat; and to divers of my Lord Williams’s gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which was very simple: being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Master Ridley held up his hand and said, ‘O heavenly Father, I give unto Thee most hearty thanks, for that Thou hast called me to be a professor of Thee, even unto death. I beseech Thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies.’

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought



RIDLEY AND LATIMER AT THE STAKE.

‘BE OF GOOD COMFORT’

the same about both Dr Ridley's, and Master Latimer's middles: and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, and looking aside to the smith, said, ‘Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course.’ Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked, what it was. His brother said, ‘Gunpowder.’ ‘Then,’ said he, ‘I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of Him. And have you any,’ said he, ‘for my brother’; meaning Master Latimer. ‘Yea sir, that I have,’ quoth his brother. ‘Then give it unto him,’ said he, ‘betime; lest ye come too late.’ So his brother went, and carried off the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: ‘Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.’

When Dr Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, ‘Lord, Lord, receive my spirit.’ Master Latimer, crying as vehemently on the other side, ‘O Father of heaven, receive my soul!’ received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none.

By reason of the evil making of the fire unto Master Ridley, because the wooden faggots were

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

laid about the gorse, and over-high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when Master Ridley felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance), as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, he heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, 'I cannot burn.' Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legs were consumed he showed that side towards us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God, having in his mouth, 'Lord have mercy upon me,' intermingling his cry, 'Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn.'

In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up Master Ridley wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more.

It moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight; for I think there was none that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that

THE REWARD OF HEAVEN

thought their souls had no need thereof. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with His saints, shall declare.

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE MARTYRS THAT
WITH THEIR LIVES SEALED THEIR TESTIMONY
THERE FOR THE PROTESTANT FAITH

ABOUT the third year of King Henry I. the hospital of St Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded, by means of a minstrel belonging unto the King, named Rayer, and it was afterwards finished by Richard Whittington, alderman and mayor of London. This place of Smithfield was at that day the place where the felons and other transgressors of the King's laws were put to execution.

JOHN BADBY, ARTIFICER

In the year of our Lord 1410, on Saturday, being the first day of March, the examination of one John Badby, tailor, was made in a certain house or hall within the precinct of the preaching friars of London, before Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. Which John Badby did answer, that it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, by words sacramentally spoken.

The archbishop considering that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing, moreover, his countenance stout, and heart confirmed, so that he began to persuade others as it appeared, pronounced the said

THE PRINCE'S INTERVENTION

John Badby an open and public heretic and delivered him to the secular powers.

These things concluded by the bishops in the forenoon, in the afternoon the King's writ was not far behind. John Badby was brought into Smithfield, and there, being put in an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him. And as he was thus standing it happened that the Prince, the King's eldest son, was there present, who, showing some part of the good Samaritan, began to essay how to save his life.

In the mean season the prior of St Bartholomew's in Smithfield brought, with all solemnity, the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and so showed the sacrament to the poor man being at the stake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it, he answered, that he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the fire put unto him. When the innocent soul felt the fire, he cried 'Mercy!' calling belike upon the Lord; with which horrible cry the Prince being moved, commanded them to quench the fire. This commandment being done, he asked him if he would forsake heresy, which thing, if he would do, he should have goods enough; promising also unto him a yearly stipend out of the King's treasury, so much as should suffice for his sustentation.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the Prince's fair words, as also contemning all men's devices, being fully determined rather to suffer any kind of torment, were it never so grievous, than so great idolatry and wickedness, refused the offer. Wherefore the Prince commanded him straight to

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

be put again into the fire. Even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but persevered invincibly to the end.

WILLIAM SWEETING AND JOHN BREWSTER

William Sweeting, and John Brewster were both burned together, the 18th day of October, A.D. 1511.

The chief case alleged against them was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. There were other things besides objected, as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint.

JOHN STILMAN

John Stilman was charged for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images; as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial: and further, for that he had highly commended and praised John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven.

He was delivered unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned, 1518.

THOMAS MAN

Thomas Man was apprehended for the profession of Christ's Gospel. He had spoken against auricular

GOD'S ANGEL

confession, and denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar; he believed that images ought not to be worshipped, and neither believed in the crucifix, nor yet would worship it. For such like matters was he a long time imprisoned, and, at last, through fear of death, was content to abjure and yield himself unto the judgment of the Romish church. Thereupon he was enjoined, not only to make open recantation, but from thenceforth to remain as prisoner within the monastery of Osney beside Oxford, and to bear a faggot before the first cross, at the next general procession within the University. Howbeit not long after, the bishop having need of the poor man's help in his household business, took him out of the monastery, and placed him within his own house. All which notwithstanding, he fled, seeking abroad in other counties for work, thereby to sustain his poor life; he most commonly abode, sometimes in Essex, sometimes in Suffolk; where also he joined himself unto such godly professors of Christ's Gospel, as he there could hear of. But within few years after, he was accused of relapse, apprehended and brought before the Bishop of London. But because he would seem to do all things by order of justice, and nothing against law, he therefore appointed unto the said Thomas Man certain doctors and advocates of the Arches, as his counsellors to plead in his behalf. He was condemned as a heretic, and delivered to the sheriff of London sitting on horseback in Paternoster-row, before the bishop's door (A.D. 1518). The sheriff immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there, the same day in the forenoon, caused him to be 'put into God's angel,' 1518.

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

JOHN FRITH

John Frith, a young man, had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that there was scarcely his equal amongst his companions. He had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he was more commendable. At last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tyndale, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the Gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, marvellously sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but is now named Christ's-church. This ambitious Cardinal gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there were in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. He also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge; among the which was John Frith.

These most picked young men, of grave judgment and sharp wits, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, were therefore accused of heresy, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave under the ground of the same college, where their salt fish was laid; so that, through the filthy stench thereof, they were all infected, and certain of them, being taken out of the prison into their chambers, deceased.

John Frith with others, by the cardinal's letter,

BY LAND AND SEA

who sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford. Albeit this, his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who, at that time being Chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith, being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no not long amongst his friends; so that at last he was taken.

When no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, he was brought before the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who, sitting in St Paul's, ministered certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper and purgatory. When Frith by no means could be persuaded to recant, he was condemned by the Bishop of London to be burned. When the faggots were put unto him, he embraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, 1533.

ANDREW HEWET BURNED WITH JOHN FRITH

Andrew Hewet, born in Feversham, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, went upon a holy-day into Fleet-street, towards St Dunstan's.

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

He met with one William Holt, who was foreman with the King's tailor, and being suspected by the same Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the Gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet-bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Then Holt, thinking he had found good occasion to show forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain officers, who searched the house, and finding the same Andrew, apprehended him.

Andrew Hewet was brought before the Chancellor of the Bishop of London. When it was demanded of him what he thought as touching the sacrament of the last supper; he answered, 'Even as John Frith doth.' Then certain of the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the Bishop of London, said, 'Why, Frith is a heretic, and already judged to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him.' 'Truly,' saith he, 'I am content therewithal.' Whereupon he was sent unto the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire, 1533.

JOHN LAMBERT

This Lambert, being born and brought up in Norfolk, studied in the University of Cambridge. After he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being forced at last by violence of the time, he departed beyond the seas, to Tyndale and Frith. There he remained the space of a year and more, being chaplain to the

THE KING AS JUDGE

English House at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow carried from Antwerp to England; where he was brought to examination before Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Within short space after, the archbishop died; whereby it seemeth that Lambert for that time was delivered. He returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the Stocks, in teaching children both in the Greek and Latin tongue.

After that John Lambert had continued in this vocation, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the youth, it happened (1538) that he was present at a sermon in St Peter's Church at London. He that preached was named Dr Taylor.

When the sermon was done, Lambert went gently unto the preacher to talk with him. All the whole matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But Taylor desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfy Lambert, took counsel with Dr Barnes; which Barnes seemed not greatly to favour this cause.

Upon these originals Lambert's quarrel began of a private talk to be a public matter: for he was sent for by Archbishop Cranmer, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert did appeal from the bishops to the King's majesty.

At last the King himself, all in white, did come as judge of that great controversy. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

lawyers, clothed all in purple. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order; behind whom sat the gentlemen of the King's privy chamber. The manner and form of judgment was terrible enough of itself to abash any innocent; the King's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent into severity, did not a little augment this terror; plainly declaring a mind full of indignation. He beheld Lambert with a stern countenance; and then, turning himself unto his councillors, he called forth Dr Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this present assembly.

When he had made an end of his oration, the King, standing upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: 'Ho! good fellow; what is thy name?'

Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, 'My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert.'

'What,' said the King, 'have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother.'

'O most noble prince!' replied Lambert, 'your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name.'

And after much talk had in this manner, the King commanded him to declare what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, Who had so inclined the heart of the King, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion.

YIELD OR DIE!

Then the King with an angry voice, interrupting his oration: 'I came not hither,' said he, 'to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance. Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?' And with that word the King lifted up his cap.

Lambert: 'I answer, with St Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner.'

The King: 'Answer me neither out of St Augustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no.'

Lambert: 'Then I deny it to be the body of Christ.'

The King: 'Mark well! for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, "This is my body."'

Then the King commanded Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion.

It were too long to repeat the arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous were it so to do, especially forasmuch as they were nothing forcible.

At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the King, minding to break up this disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise: 'What sayest thou now, after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? what sayest thou? thou hast yet free choice.'

Lambert answered, 'I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty.'

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

Then said the King, 'Commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine.'

Lambert: 'I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency.'

Then said the King, 'If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics.' And, turning himself unto Cromwell, he said, 'Cromwell! read the sentence of condemnation against him.'

Of all other who have been burned at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as this blessed martyr. For, after that his legs were burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire were left under him, two that stood on each side of him with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, 'None but Christ, none but Christ'; and so, being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there gave up his life, 1538.

STILE.

In the fellowship of these blessed saints and martyrs of Christ who innocently suffered within the time of King Henry's reign for the testimony of God's Word and truth, another good man cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppressed, and was burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the

MAKING GOOD DIVINES

time of Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London. His name was called Stile, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient knight, named Sir Robert Outred, who was the same time present himself at his burning. With him there was burned a book of the Apocalypse, which he was wont to read upon. This book when he saw fastened unto the stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, 'O blessed Apocalypse,' said he 'how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee!' And so this good man, and the blessed Apocalypse, were both together in the fire consumed, 1539.

ROBERT BARNES, THOMAS GARRET, AND WILLIAM
JEROME.

When the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the Church of England, Thomas Cromwell, was made away, pity it was to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued. For Winchester, having now gotten free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. He made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom within two days after Cromwell's death he caused to be put to execution.

Robert Barnes was prior and master of the house of the Augustines, Cambridge. He did read openly in the house Paul's Epistles; because he would have Christ there taught and His Holy Word, he, in short space, made divers good divines. Thus Barnes, what with his reading, disputation, and

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures. Suddenly was sent down to Cambridge a serjeant-at-arms who arrested Dr Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid. In the morning he was carried to Cardinal Wolsey at Westminster. Then, by reason of Dr Gardiner, secretary to the Cardinal, and Master Foxe, Master of the Wards, he spake the same night to the cardinal in his chamber of estate, kneeling on his knees.

Then said the cardinal to them, 'Is this Dr Barnes your man that is accused of heresy?'

'Yea, and please your grace; we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise.'

'What! master doctor,' said the cardinal; 'had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so sore offend you, that you must make us ridiculous amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage, than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves (I should say bloody gloves, quoth you), that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies.'

And Barnes answered, 'I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors.' And then did Barnes deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm his sayings.

The cardinal received them smiling on him, and saying, 'We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning.'

CARDINAL WOLSEY

'Yea,' said Barnes, 'that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour.'

The cardinal answered, 'Such as you are do bear us and the catholic church little favour. I will ask you a question: "Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the King's majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us? to sell all these things, and give them to the poor, who shortly will cast it against the walls? and to pull away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsel in this behalf?"'

Barnes answered, 'I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling.'

Then answered the cardinal, 'Lo, Master Doctors! here is the learned wise man, that you told me of.'

Then they kneeled down and said, 'We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable.'

Then said the cardinal, 'Stand you up! for your sakes, and the University, we will be good unto him. How say you, Master Doctor; do you not know that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the Pope may?'

He said, 'I know it to be so.'

'Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the University.'

Barnes answered, 'I thank your grace for your good will; I will stick to the holy Scripture, and to

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

God's Book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.'

'Well,' said the cardinal, 'thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law.'

After Barnes had continued in the Fleet the space of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free prisoner at the Austin Friars in London; whence he was removed to Northampton, there to be burned. One Master Horne, having intelligence of the writ which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be desperate; and that he should write a letter to the cardinal, and leave it on his table, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself; and to leave his clothes in the same place; and another letter to the mayor of the town, to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax, for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him. Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in poor man's apparel; took shipping to Antwerp, and so to Luther.

The said Dr Barnes returned in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that, he was sent ambassador by King Henry VIII. to the Duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves between the King and her, and well accepted in the ambassade, and in all his doings until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France.

Not long after, Dr Barnes, with his brethren,

ENTRAPPING HONEST MEN

were apprehended and carried before the King's majesty to Hampton Court, and examined. The King with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy closet. Unto whom when Barnes had submitted himself, 'Nay,' said the King, 'yield thee not to me; I am a mortal man;' and therewith rising up and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his bonnet, said, 'Yonder is the Master of us all, Author of truth; yield in truth to Him and the truth will I defend; and otherwise yield not unto me.' The King, seeking the means of his safety, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop, to confer with him. But, as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner sought, by all subtle means, how to entrap Barnes and his brethren. They were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following; at which sermons Stephen Gardiner was present, either to bear record of their recantation, or trip them in their talk. Shortly after they were sent for to Hampton Court; from thence they were carried to the Tower, and never came out till they came to their death.

Now let us consider the story of Thomas Garret.

In the year of our Lord 1526, or thereabout, Master Garret, curate of Honey-lane in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English, the which he sold to divers scholars. News came from London that he was searched for as an heretic, and so he was apprehended and committed to ward. Afterwards he was compelled to carry a faggot in open procession from St Mary's church to Friswide's, and then sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

The third companion who suffered with Barnes and Garret, was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. He was charged before the King at Westminster for erroneous doctrine.

One Dr Wilson entered into disputation with him, and defended, that good works justified before God. To whom Jerome answered, that all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which direct the workers thereof.

Thus then Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the thirtieth day of July, which was two days after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then ensued process against them. Whereupon all those three good saints of God were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they, preparing themselves to the fire, had there at the stake sundry exhortations.

'Take me not here,' said Dr Barnes, 'that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and verily they that do them not shall never come into the Kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.'

One asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said Dr Barnes: 'Throughout all Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I cannot preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. If saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Master Sheriff.'

QUIET CONSCIENCES

Then desired Dr Barnes all men to bear him witness that he abhorred all doctrines against the Word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesu Christ. The like confession made also Jerome and Garret. They, taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors; and so took their death with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience.—1540.

MISTRESS ANNE ASKEW, DAUGHTER OF SIR
WILLIAM ASKEW, KNIGHT OF LINCOLNSHIRE

Here follow the examinations of Anne Askew, according as she wrote them with her own hand, at the instant desire of certain faithful men and women.

The First Examinaton before the Inquisitors,
A.D. 1545.

Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler's Hall, and asked me, wherefore I said, I had rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five masses in the temple. I confessed that I said no less; not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the Gospel, but because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. He laid unto my charge, that I should say, If an ill priest ministered, it was the devil and not God. My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying: that whosoever he were that ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received, nevertheless, the body and blood of Christ. He asked me what I said concern-

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

ing confession. I answered him my meaning, which was, as St James saith, that every man ought to acknowledge his faults to other, and the one to pray for the other. Then he sent for a priest who asked me, if I did not think that private masses did help the souls departed. I said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

Then they had me unto my Lord Mayor, who laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but by them; whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or no? I made them no answer, but smiled.

Then the bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For St Paul, he said, forbade women to speak or to talk of the Word of God. I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is, in 1 Cor. xiv., that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching: and then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

Then was I had to the Compter, and there remained eleven days, no friend admitted to speak with me.

The sum of my Examination before the
King's Council at Greenwich.

They said it was the King's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not so do; but if it were the King's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth.

READY TO SUFFER

They said, it was not meet for the King to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest King that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women, much more his grace a simple woman and his faithful subject.

Then my Lord Chancellor asked my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, 'I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to His holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits, also, of His most glorious passion. The Bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said, I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said, I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, 'for if I show the open truth,' quoth I, 'ye will not accept it.' I told him I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

My Lord Lisle, my Lord of Essex, and the Bishop of Winchester required me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then, said I, that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge.

Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, 'So did Judas, when he betrayed Christ.' Then desired the bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me, why. I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand.

Then the bishop said I should be burned. I answered, that I had searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ, or His apostles,

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put any creature to death. 'Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.'

Then was I sent to Newgate.

My Handling since my Departure from Newgate.

I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Master Rich, and the Bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words went about to persuade me from God: but I did not esteem their glosing pretences.

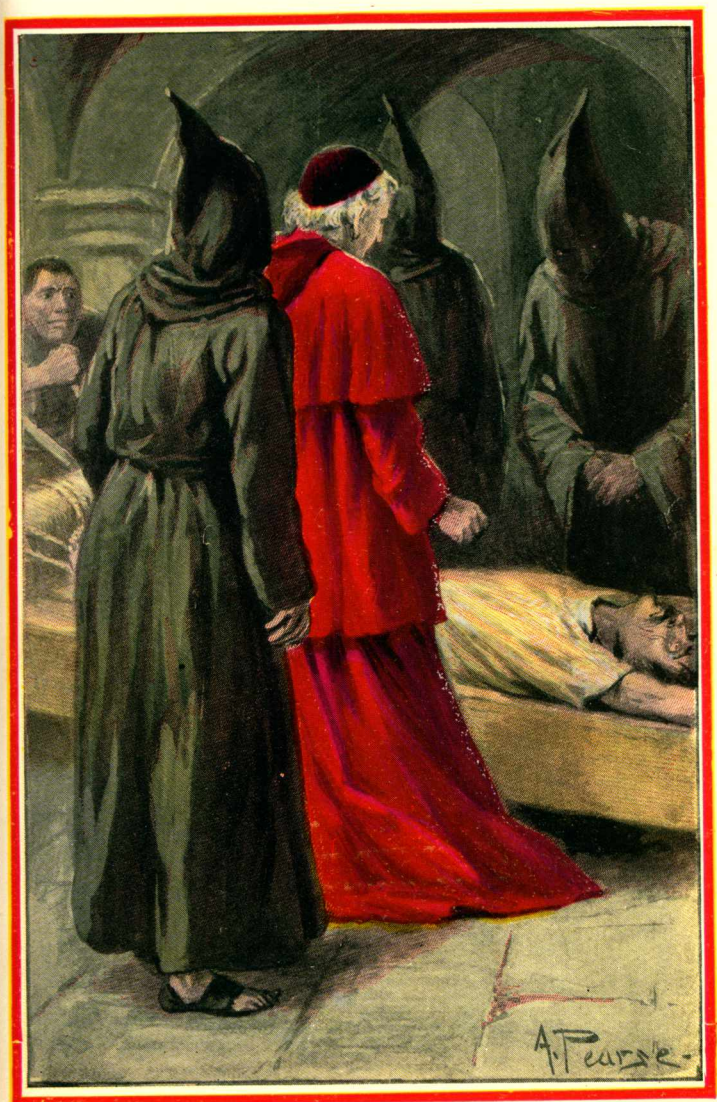
Then came there to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born.

Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

Then came Rich and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience, to show unto them, if I knew any maner woman of my sect. My answer was, that I knew none. Then said they unto me, that the King was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, that the King was as well deceived in that behalf, as dissembled with in other matters.

Then commanded they me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me: and as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they, by her, did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

They said that there were divers gentlewomen



THE TORTURES OF THE RACK.

GRACE TO PERSEVERE

that gave me money : but I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers ladies that had sent me money. I answered, that there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of Hertford sent it me ; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me : whether it were true or no, I cannot tell.

Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time ; and because I lay still, and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nigh dead.

Then the Lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my Lord Chancellor upon the bare floor ; where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God (I thank His everlasting goodness) gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the end.

Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job ; I thank my Lord God therefor. Then my Lord Chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing ; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die than break my faith.

The day of her execution being appointed, this good woman was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, by means of

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

her great torments. When she was brought unto the stake, she was tied with a chain, that held up her body. The multitude of the people was exceeding; the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench under St Bartholomew's Church sat Wriothesley, Chancellor of England; the old Duke of Norfolk, the old Earl of Bedford, the Lord Mayor, with divers others. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the bench, hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being alarmed lest the faggots, by strength of the gunpowder, would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the Earl of Bedford declared unto him how the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots, but only about their bodies, to rid them out of their pains.

Then Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor, offered Anne Askew the King's pardon if she would recant; who made this answer, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. And thus the good Anne Askew, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, slept in the Lord A.D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

JOHN LACELS, JOHN ADAMS, AND NICHOLAS BELENIAN

There was, at the same time, burned with her, one Nicholas Belenian, priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, gentleman of the court and household of King Henry. It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne

LEARNING GOD'S LAW

Askew: for, albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they, being the more boldened, received occasion of greater comfort in that so painful and doleful kind of death: who, beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, did set apart all kind of fear.

MASTER JOHN BRADFORD

John Bradford was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents did bring him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to Sir John Harrington, knight, who, in the great affairs of King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, when he was treasurer of the King's camps and buildings, had such experience of Bradford's activity, expertness, and faithful trustiness, that above all others he used his service.

But the Lord had elected him unto a better function, to preach the Gospel of Christ. Then did Bradford forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and give himself wholly to the study of the Scriptures. To accomplish his purpose the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. Within one whole year the University did give him the degree of a Master of Arts, and immediately after, the Master and Fellows of

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship; yea that man of God, Martin Bucer, oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, 'If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee.' And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr Ridley, Bishop of London, called him to take the degree of a deacon, obtained for him a license to preach, and did give him a prebend in his cathedral church of St Paul's.

In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reprov'd sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. When Queen Mary had gotten the crown, still continued Bradford diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the Queen and her council.

The fact was this: the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourn, then Bishop of Bath, made a sermon at Paul's Cross, to set popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, who then was his master, nor yet the commandment of the Lord Mayor of London, whom the people ought to have

ILL-REQUITED KINDNESS

obeyed, stay their rage ; but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourn, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn dagger at him), desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford, at his request, was content, and spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience : whom as soon as the people saw, they cried with a great shout,—‘Bradford, Bradford; God save thy life, Bradford!’ Eftsoons all the raging ceased, and quietly departed each man to his house. Bourn desired Bradford not to go from him till he were in safety : which Bradford, according to his promise, performed. For while the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs did lead Bourn to the school-master’s house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Bradford preached at the Bow Church in Cheapside, and reproved the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanour. Within three days, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the Queen then was, to appear before the council. From the Tower he came to the King’s Bench in Southwark : and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London : in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him : such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying was his

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day ; which was but very little when he took it ; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night ; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board ; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had, to his fellow-prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, and distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort. Neither was there ever any prisoner with him but by his company he greatly profited.

Walking in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost windless, said, ' O Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news.' ' What is that ? ' said he. ' Marry,' quoth she, ' to-morrow you must be burned ; and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate.' With that Master Bradford put off his

A JOYFUL MARTYR

cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, 'I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!'

They carried him to Newgate, about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad: and yet, was there in Cheapside and other places (between the Compter and Newgate), a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. The next day at four a clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield a multitude of men and women; but it was nine a clock before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield, with a great company of weaponed men, as the like was not seen at any man's burning. Bradford, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf.

JOHN LEAF

John Leaf was an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-Church in London, of the age of nineteen years and above. It is reported of him that two bills were sent unto him in the Compter in Bread Street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

know to which of them he would put his hand. The bill of recantation he refused. The other he well liked of, and instead of a pen he took a pin, and pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, willing to show the bishop, that he had sealed it with his blood already.

When these two came to the stake Master Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. Holding up his hands, and casting his countenance up to heaven, he said, 'O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins.' Turning his head unto the young man that suffered with him, he said, 'Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night.' And thus they ended their mortal lives, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear. 1535.

MASTER JOHN PHILPOT

Master John Philpot was a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College, Oxford. He was made Archdeacon of Winchester, and during the time of King Edward, continued to no small profit of those parts. When that King was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire. In the which convocation Master Philpot sustained the cause of the Gospel manfully against the mass; for the which cause, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner, and from thence was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had sundry conflicts.

NO HERETIC BEFORE GOD

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmovable stedfastness in the truth, did pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him. 'I thank God', said Master Philpot, 'that I am a heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church.'

And so the officers delivered him to the keeper of Newgate. Then his man thrust to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, 'Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?' And he said, 'I would go speak with my master.' Master Philpot turned him about, and said to him, 'To-morrow thou shalt speak with me.' Then the under-keeper said to Master Philpot, 'Is this your man?' and he said, 'Yea.' So he did license his man to go in with him; and Master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander the chief keeper did come unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him with these words; 'Ah!' said he, 'hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither?'

'Well,' said Master Philpot, 'I must be content, for it is God's appointment: and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance.'

'Well,' said Alexander, 'I will show thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me.'

Then said Master Philpot, 'I pray you show me what you would have me to do.'

He said, 'If you would recant, I will show you any pleasure I can.'

'Nay,' said Master Philpot, 'I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for

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it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood.'

Then Alexander said, 'This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics.' Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear.

'Good master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off.'

'Well,' said Alexander, 'give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still.'

Then said Master Philpot, 'Sir, what is your fee?' He said four pound was his fees.

'Ah,' said Master Philpot, 'I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison.'

'What wilt thou give me then?' said Alexander.

'Sir,' said he, 'I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will my gown to gage.'

And with that Alexander departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took Master Philpot on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Master Philpot said to his man, 'Go to master sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire master sheriff to be good unto me.' And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

The sheriff took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Master Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently. And when they came to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said,

'DEAR MASTER, FAREWELL!'

'Ah! I perceive master sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters.' Yet at ten of the clock he went in to Master Philpot, and took off his irons.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the 17th day of December 1555, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer. Master Philpot answered, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving Him most hearty thanks, that He of His mercy had made him worthy to suffer for His truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came, about eight of the clock, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, 'Ah! dear master, farewell.' His master said unto him, 'Serve God, and He will help thee.' When he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, 'What! will ye make me a Pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot.'

When he was come to the place of suffering, he said, 'Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?' And when he had made an end of his prayers, he said to the officers, 'What have you done for me?' and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money. Then in the midst of the fiery flames he yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God.

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

SEVEN MARTYRS SUFFERING TOGETHER

About the 27th day of January in anno 1556, were burned these seven persons: Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Browne; Isabel Foster, wife; Joan Warne, alais Lashford, maid.

What an evil mess of handling Whittle had, and how he was by Bishop Bonner beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration sent unto his friend, manifestly may appear:—

‘The bishop sent for me, out of the porter’s lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth, upon a pallet, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had. And when I came before him, he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning, if he had sent for me. Whereunto I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, “but to your mass,” said I, “I have small affection.” At which answer he was displeased sore, and said I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other. And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.’

Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable. Wherefore he was brought to the fire with the other six.

Master Bartlet Green was of a good house, and was sent unto the University of Oxford. By his often repairing unto the lectures of Peter Martyr he saw the true light of Christ’s Gospel.

A BLOODSUCKING PRELATE

As he was going to Newgate there met with him two gentlemen, being his special friends, minding to comfort their persecuted brother: but their loving and friendly hearts were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom Green said, 'Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you?'

When he was scourged with rods by Bishop Bonner he greatly rejoiced, yet his shamefaced modesty was such, that never would he express any mention therof, lest he should seem to glory in himself, save that only he opened the same to one Master Cotton of the Temple, a friend of his, a little before his death.

He was first apprehended, but last of them condemned, which was the 15th day of January, and afterward burned with the other six martyrs, the 27th of January, 1556.

Thomas Brown dwelled in the parish of St Bride's in Fleet Street, and because he came not to his parish church, was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. Being had to Fulham he was required to come into the chapel to hear mass, which, refusing to do, he went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the bishop, 'Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travailed with thee, to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, do report, that I go about to seek thy blood.' To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again; 'Yea, my lord,' saith he, 'indeed ye be a bloodsucker, and I would I had

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

as much blood as is water in the sea, for you to suck.'

And so he was committed to be burned.

Joan Lashford, was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, who was persecuted for the Gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her, this Joan Lashwood, her daughter; who, about the age of twenty years, ministering to her father and mother in prison, was known to be of the same doctrine. Her confession was that she came unto no popish mass service in the church, neither would be confessed.

FIVE OTHER GODLY MARTYRS BURNED AT ONE FIRE

In this story of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow five others burned in the year of the Lord 1557, April the 12th: Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley: who were apprehended for not coming to their parish churches.

Thomas Thirtel answered unto Bishop Bonner, 'My Lord, if you make me a heretic, you make Christ and all the twelve apostles heretics.'

Margaret Hide said, 'My lord, I would see you instruct me with some part of God's Word, and not to give me instructions of holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the Scripture.'

Agnes Stanley made this answer: 'My Lord, as for these that ye say be burnt for heresy, I believe they are true martyrs before God: therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith as long as I live.'

Altogether in one fire most joyfully and constantly

A STRIKING ANSWER

these five martyrs ended their temporal lives, receiving there-for the life eternal.

JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW, AND
RICHARD GIBSON

These three faithful witnesses of the Lord's testament were tormented and put to death, 18th of November 1557.

John Hallingdale said that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late had been burnt for heretics, were no heretics at all, because they did preach truly the Gospel: upon whose preaching he grounded his faith and conscience. William Sparrow answered Bishop Bonner, 'that if every hair of my head were a man, I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.'

THE MARTYRS OF THE ISLINGTON FIELDS

Secretly, in a back close, in the field by the town of Islington, were assembled together a certain company of godly and innocent persons, to the number of forty, men and women, who there virtuously occupied in prayer and in the meditation of God's holy Word. Cometh a certain man to them unknown; who, saluted them, saying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. One of the company asked the man, if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold there to sit. 'Yea,' said he, 'for that ye seem unto me such persons as intend no harm,' and so departed.

Within a quarter of an hour cometh the constable of Islington with six or seven other, one with a bow,

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

another with a bill, and others with weapons ; the which six or seven persons the said constable left a little behind him in a close place, there to be ready if need should be, while he, came through them. Looking what they were doing, he bade them deliver their books. They, understanding that he was constable, refused not so to do. With that cometh forth the residue of his fellows who bade them stand, and not depart. They answered that they would be obedient and go whithersoever they would have them ; and so were they first carried to a brewhouse but a little way off, while that some of the said soldiers ran to the justice next at hand. But the justice was not at home ; whereupon they were had to Sir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time some of the women escaped. In fine, were sent to Newgate twenty-and-two. These were in prison seven weeks before they were examined. Of these foresaid two-and-twenty, were burnt thirteen ; in Smithfield seven, at Brentford six.

The names of these seven were Henry Pond, Reinald Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, Roger Holland ; only the examination of Roger Holland came to our hand.

This Roger Holland, a merchant-tailor of London, was first an apprentice with one Master Kempton, at the Black Boy in Watling Street, giving himself to dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting, and wanton company. He had received for his master certain money, to the sum of thirty pounds ; and lost every groat at dice. Therefore he purposed to convey himself away beyond the seas, either into France or into Flanders.

He called betimes in the morning to a servant in

A GODLY DEVICE

the house, a discreet maid, whose name was Elizabeth, which professed the Gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same. To whom he said, 'Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into; for I have lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him, and to make up mine accounts, I am not able. But I pray you, desire my mistress, that she would entreat my master to take this bill of my hand, and if I be ever able, I will see him paid: desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, for if it should come unto my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs oversoon unto his grave.' And so was he departing.

The maid considering that it might be his utter undoing, 'Stay,' said she; and having a piece of money lying by her, given unto her by the death of a kinsman, she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, 'Roger, here is thus much money; I will let thee have it, and I will keep this bill. But thou shalt promise me to refuse all wild company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelvepence at either dice or cards, then will I show this thy bill unto my master. And futhermore, thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the sermon at Paul's every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of papistry and vain ballads, and get thee the Testament and Book of Service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still, for His grace to direct thee in His truth. And pray unto God fervently, desiring Him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy

THE FIRES OF SMITHFIELD

youth; and ever be afraid to break His laws, or offend His majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy heart's desire.'

Within one half year God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest professor of the truth. Then he repaired into Lancashire unto his father, and brought divers good books with him, and bestowed them upon his friends, so that his father and others began to taste of the Gospel, and to detest the mass, idolatry, and superstition; and in the end his father gave him a stock of money to begin the world withal, to the sum of fifty pounds.

Then Roger repaired to London again, and came to the maid that lent him the money to pay his master withal, and said unto her, 'Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee; and for the friendship, good will, and the good connsel I have received at thy hands, to recompense thee I am not able, otherwise than to make thee my wife.' And soon after they were married, which was in the first year of Queen Mary.

After this he remained in the congregations of the faithful, until, the last year of Queen Mary, he, with the six others aforesaid, were taken.

And after Roger Holland there was none suffered in Smithfield for the testimony of the Gospel, God be thanked.

THE LIFE, STATE, AND STORY OF THE
REVEREND PASTOR AND PRELATE,
THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY

THOMAS CRANMER, coming of an ancient parentage, from the Conquest to be deducted, was born in a village called Aslacton in Nottinghamshire. He came in process of time unto the University of Cambridge; and was chosen fellow of Jesus college. The tongues and other good learning began by little and little to spring up again, and the books of Faber and Erasmus to be much occupied and had in good estimation. In whom Cranmer taking no small pleasure, did daily rub away his old rustiness on them, as upon a whetstone, until at the length, when Martin Luther was risen up, the more bright and happy days of God's knowledge did waken men's minds to the clear light of the truth; at which time, when he was about thirty years old, omitting all other studies, he gave his whole mind to discuss matters of religion. And, because he saw that he could not judge of these matters unless he beheld the very fountains thereof, before he would addict his mind to any opinion, he spent three whole years in reading over the books of holy Scriptures. After he had laid this foundation no less wisely than happily, when he thought himself

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sufficiently prepared, and being now instructed with more ripeness of judgment, like a merchant greedy of all good things, he gave his mind to read all kind of authors.

In the mean while, being addicted to no party or age, he weighed all men's opinions with secret judgment. He read the old writers, so as he despised not the new, and, all this while, in handling and conferring writers' judgments, he was a slow reader, but an earnest marker. He never came to any writer's book without pen and ink, but yet he exercised his memory no less than his pen. Whatsoever controversy came he gathered every author's sentence, briefly, and the diversity of their judgments, into common places, which he had prepared for that purpose; or else, if the matter were too long to write out, he noted the place of the author and the number of the leaf, whereby he might have the more help for his memory.

And so, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus college, it chanced him to marry a gentleman's daughter: by means whereof he lost his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham college. And for that he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, he placed his said wife in an inn, called the 'Dolphin,' in Cambridge, the wife of the house being of affinity unto her. By reason whereof, and for his often resort unto his wife in that inn, he was much marked of some popish merchants: whereupon rose the report bruited abroad every where, after he was preferred to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, that he was but an hosteler, and therefore without all good learning.

Whilst this said Master Cranmer continued as

THE FRIARS REJECTED

reader in Buckingham college, his wife died. The Master and fellows of Jesus college, desirous again of their old companion, chose him again fellow of the same college. In few years after he became the reader of divinity lecture in the same college, and in such reputation with the whole University, that, being doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads to examine such as yearly profess in commencement, either bachelors or doctors of divinity; by the approbation of these learned men the whole University licenseth them to proceed unto their degree; and by their disallowance the University rejecteth them, until they be better furnished with more knowledge.

Now Dr Cranmer, ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially seen in the story of the Bible: by means whereof certain friars, and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors without regard had to the authority of Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; so that he was, for his severe examination, much hated, and had in great indignation. And yet it came to pass in the end, that divers of them, being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; insomuch, that when they proceeded doctors of divinity, they could not overmuch extol Master Doctor Cranmer's goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection.

While Dr Cranmer thus continued in Cambridge, the weighty cause of King Henry the Eighth, his divorce with the Lady Katherine dowager of Spain,

THOMAS CRANMER

came into question; which by the space of two or three years had been diversely disputed amongst the canonists and other learned men. It came to pass that Dr Cranmer, by reason that the plague was in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham Abbey, to one Master Cressy's house there, whose wife was of kin to the said Master Cranmer. He had two sons of the said Cressy with him at Cambridge as his pupils, wherefore he rested with the said two children, during that summer-time, A.D. 1529. It chanced that the King had removed himself from London to Waltham for a night or twain, while Dr Stephen Gardiner, secretary, and Dr Foxe, almoner, were lodged in the house of the said Master Cressy.

When supper-time came, they all three doctors met together; and as they were of old acquaintance, the secretary and the almoner conferred with Dr Cranmer concerning the King's cause, what he thought therein.

Dr Cranmer answered, that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the law ecclesiastical than needed. 'It were better, as I suppose,' quoth Dr Cranmer, 'that the question, whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no? were decided by the Word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might be quieted, than thus from year to year by frustratory delays to prolong the time. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon make manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the Universities here, as at Rome. You might this way have made an end of this matter long since.'

The other two well liked of his device, and

THE SOW BY THE RIGHT EAR

conceived to instruct the King withal, who then was minded to send to Rome for a new commission. The next day, when the King removed to Greenwich, his mind being unquieted, and desirous of an end of his long and tedious suit, he called unto him Dr Stephen and Dr Foxe, saying unto them, 'What now, my masters,' quoth the King, 'shall we do in this infinite cause of mine? There must be a new commission procured from Rome; and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.' Dr Foxe answered, 'We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your majesty. It chanced us to be lodged at Waltham in Master Cressy's house this other night, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Dr Cranmer. He thought that the next way were to instruct and quiet your majesty's conscience by trying your highness's question out by the authority of the Word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence.' The King said, 'Where is that Dr Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?' They answered, that they left him there. 'Marry,' said the King, 'I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive,' quoth the King, 'that that man hath the sow by the right ear: and if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much disquietness.'

Whereupon Dr Cranmer was sent for. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with these two his acquaintances, that he, by their means, was brought thither to be cumbered in a matter, wherein he had nothing at all travailed in study; and therefore most instantly entreated them,

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that they would make his excuse that he might be despatched away from coming into the King's presence. But all was in vain; for the more they began to excuse Dr Cranmer's absence, the more the King chid with them; so that, no excuse serving, he was fain to come to the court. 'Master doctor,' said the King, 'I pray you, and nevertheless because you are a subject, I charge and command you (all your other business set apart), to take some pains to see this my cause to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the Queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not against the laws of God; for otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity: neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the Queen is, nor did I ever fancy woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not risen; assuring you that for the singular virtues wherewith she is endued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God.'

Dr Cranmer besought the King's highness to commit the examining of this matter by the Word of God, unto the best learned men of both his Universities, Cambridge and Oxford. 'You say well,' said the King, 'and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your mind therein.' After the King's departure, Dr Cranmer incontinent wrote his mind

THE POPE'S GREAT TOE

concerning the King's question ; adding to the same his opinion, that the Bishop of Rome had no such authority, as whereby he might dispense with the Word of God. When Dr Cranmer had committed this book to the King, the King said to him, 'Will you abide by this that you have here written before the Bishop of Rome?' 'That will I do by God's grace,' quoth Dr Cranmer, 'if your majesty do send me thither.' 'Marry,' quoth the King, 'I will send you even to him in a sure ambassage.'

And thus by means of Dr Cranmer's handling of this matter, in both the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was concluded, that no such matrimony was by the Word of God lawful.

Whereupon a solemn ambassage was sent to the Bishop of Rome, then being at Bologna, wherein went Dr Cranmer and divers other learned men and gentlemen, A.D. 1530. And when the time came that they should declare the cause of their ambassage, the Bishop, sitting on high in his cloth of estate and in his rich apparel, offered his foot to be kissed of the ambassadors. The Earl of Wiltshire, disdainng thereat, stood still, and made no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry. Howbeit, one thing is not here to be omitted, which then chanced by a spaniel of the Earl of Wiltshire. For he stood directly between the Earl and the Bishop of Rome, when the said Bishop had advanced forth his foot to be kissed. The spaniel straightway went directly to the Pope's feet, and not only kissed the same unmannerly, but took fast with his mouth the great toe of the Pope, so that in haste he pulled in his feet: our men smiling in their sleeves.

THOMAS CRANMER

Without any further ceremony the Pope gave ear to the ambassadors, who declared that no man could or ought to marry his brother's wife, and that the Bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. Divers promises were made, and sundry days appointed, wherein the question should have been disputed; and when our part was ready to answer, no man there appeared to dispute in that behalf. So in the end, the Pope, making to our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying Dr Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship, dismissed them undisputed withal.

This matter thus prospering on Dr Cranmer's behalf, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life, whereby that dignity then being in the King's disposition, was immediately given to Dr Cranmer, as worthy for his travail of such a promotion.

Upon this question of the marriage riseth another question of the Pope's authority. The new archbishop was not a little helped by his old collections and notes, which he used in studying: for all the weight of the business was chiefly laid on his shoulders. He therefore alone confuted all the objections of the papists. He showed that the Pope's lordship was brought in by no authority of the Scripture, but by ambitious tyranny of men; that the chiefest power in earth belonged to the Emperor, to Kings, and to other potentates, to whom the bishops, priests, popes, and cardinals, by God's commandment, were no less subject than other men of the commonwealth: that there was no cause why the Bishop of Rome should excel other bishops in authority, and therefore it were best that the ambitious lordship of this bishop, being driven out of England, should keep

ABOLISHING THE MONASTERIES

itself within his own Italy, as a river is kept within his banks.

Soon after the King and Queen, by the ecclesiastical law, were cited at Dunstable before the Archbishop of Canterbury and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, as judges, to hear the sentence of God's Word concerning the matter of their marriage. The King refused not to appear; but the Queen appealed to the Bishop of Rome. But forasmuch as the Pope's authority being banished out of the realm, and as by public authority it was enacted that no man should appeal out of the realm to Rome for any matter, the judges, making no delay, out of God's Word pronounced the marriage to be unlawful, and so made divorce. As the Pope's name and title were now abolished, the archbishop laboured also to banish out of the realm his errors, heresies, and corruptions. And not content therewith, he obtained of the King, partly by his own suit, and partly by other men's suit, that certain learned bishops should make a book of ecclesiastical institutions, which should be better purged from all popish superstitions. This book, by the title of the authors, they called *The Bishops' Book*. It appeareth that the Archbishop of Canterbury was not then well instructed in the doctrine of the sacrament, because there is granted a real presence. There was added also concerning worshipping of images, which article was none of the bishop's, but added and written by the King's hand.

The abolishing of monasteries now began to be talked of. The King's desire was, that all the abbey-lands should come to his coffers; the archbishop, and other men of the Church, thought it

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pertained more to Christian duty, that all the goods of monasteries (which were very great) should be put to the use of the poor, and erecting of schools. For which cause the King's will being somewhat bent against the archbishop and other maintainers of his doctrine, he set forth the Six Articles, containing the sum of popish religion, and by full consent of Parliament established them. What a slaughter by the space of eight years these Six Articles made, it were superfluous to repeat.

This Archbishop of Canterbury evermore gave himself to continual study; by five of the clock in the morning he was at his book, and so consuming the time in study and prayer until nine of the clock. He then applied himself (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner time to hear suitors, and to despatch such matters as appertained unto his special cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs unto his officers.

After dinner, if any suitors were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and despatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that some while divers of them were committed by him to prison. And having no suitors after dinner, for an hour or thereabouts he would play at the chess, or behold such as could play. Then again to his ordinary study, at the which commonly he for the most part stood, and seldom sat; and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that hour in hearing the common prayer, and walking or using some honest pastime until supper time.

At supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not sup), yet would he sit down at the

A GENTLE ARCHBISHOP

table, having his ordinary provision of his mess furnished with expedient company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would (as it were) thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the company with such fruitful talk as did repast and much delight the hearers, so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the almshouse well maintained for relief of the poor. After supper, he would consume one hour at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other; so that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the commodity of the Church; which his well-bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other men's conversation faultless, as it became the minister of God.

It is required, 'that a bishop ought not to be stubborn:' with which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged; whose nature was such as none more gentle, or sooner won to an honest suit or purpose; specially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratify either any gentle or noble man, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in causes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be won. Such things as he granted, he did without any suspicion of rebraiding or meed therefore: so that he was rather culpable of overmuch facility and gentleness.

If overmuch patience may be a vice, this man may

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seem peradventure to offend. For he had many cruel enemies, not for his own deserts, but only for his religion's sake: and yet whatsoever he was that sought his hindrance, either in goods, estimation, or life, and upon conference would seem never so slenderly to relent or excuse himself, the archbishop would forget the offence committed, and show such pleasure to him that it came into a proverb, 'Do unto my Lord of Canterbury displeasure, or a shrewd turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend while he liveth.'

His quietness was such, that he never raged so far with any of his household servants, as once to call the meanest of them varlet or knave in anger, much less to reprove a stranger with any reproachful words.

How he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him can well testify. And albeit such was his liberality to all sorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending; yet nevertheless such was again his circumspection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Queen Mary to the Tower, he owed no man living a penny: whereas no small sums of money were owing him of divers persons, which by breaking their bills and obligations he freely forgave and suppressed before his attainder. When he perceived the fatal end of King Edward should work to him no good success touching his body and goods, he incontinently called for his officers, commanding them in any wise to pay where any penny was owing, which was out of hand despatched. And then he said, 'Now I thank God, I am mine own man.'

Certain of the Council attempted the King against

THE REALM FULL OF HERESIES!

the archbishop, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies, that it was dangerous for his highness further to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should ensue in the realm, and thereby might spring horrible commotions and uproars, like as in some parts of Germany: the enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains, had filled the whole realm full of divers pernicious heresies. The King would needs know his accusers. They answered that forasmuch as he was a councillor, no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but, if it would please his highness to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enow against him: for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear.

The King granted unto them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When midnight came, he sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The archbishop, coming into the gallery where the King walked, and tarried for him, his highness said, 'Ah, my Lord of Canterbury! I can tell you news. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me, and the council, that you to-morrow, at nine of the clock, shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and sown within the realm, a number of execrable heresies: and therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower,

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or else no man dare come forth, as witness in these matters, you being a councillor.'

When the King had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled down and said, 'I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your highness's commandment. And I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my trial; for there be that have many ways slandered me: and now this way I hope to try myself not worthy of such report.'

The King, perceiving the man's uprightness, joined with such simplicity, said, 'O Lord, what manner a man be you! What simplicity is in you! Do you not know how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Think you to have better luck that way than your Master Christ had? I see by it you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding to-morrow, when the council shall send for you, resort unto them, and if they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a councillor, that you may have your accusers brought before them, and that you may answer their accusations before them, without any further endurance, and use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no entreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the King delivered unto the archbishop), and say unto them, "If there be no remedy, my lords, but that I must needs go to the

THE KING'S RING

Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the King's own person by this his token unto you all," for' (said the King unto the archbishop) 'so soon as they shall see this my ring, they know it so well, that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof.'

The archbishop, perceiving the King's benignity, had much ado to forbear tears.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the council sent a gentleman-usher for the archbishop, who when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in; but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the pages, lackeys and serving-men all alone. Dr Buts, the King's physician, resorting that way, and espying how my Lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the King's highness, and said, 'My Lord of Canterbury, if it please your grace, is well promoted; for now he is become a lackey or a serving-man: for yonder he standeth this half hour without the council-chamber door amongst them.' 'It is not so,' quoth the King, 'I trow; the council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone,' said the King, 'and we shall hear more soon.'

Anon the archbishop was called into the council-chamber, to whom was alleged, as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort as the King had advised him; and when he perceived that no manner of persuasion or entreaty could serve, he delivered them the King's ring,

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revoking his cause into the King's hands. The whole council being thereat somewhat amazed, the Earl of Bedford with a loud voice, confirming his words with a solemn oath, said, 'When you first began this matter, my lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him.' And so incontinently upon the receipt of the King's token, they all rose, and carried to the King his ring.

When they were come to the King's presence, his highness with a severe countenance said unto them, 'Ah, my lords! I thought I had wiser men of my council than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you in office, to wait at the council-chamber door amongst serving men? I protest, that if a prince may be beholden unto his subject, by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my Lord of Canterbury, to be of all other a most faithful subject unto us.' And with that one or two of the chiefest of the council, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his endurance, it was rather meant for his trial, and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. 'Well, well, my lords,' quoth the King, 'take him and well use him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado.' And with that every man caught him by the hand.

But yet look, where malice reigneth, there neither reason nor honesty can take place. And therefore

KING AND ARCHBISHOP

it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire, should accuse him. The articles were delivered to the King's highness by some of the council's means. When the King had perused the book, he wrapt it up, and put it in his sleeve ; and finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his barge furnished with his musicians along by Lambeth bridge towards Chelsea. The noise of the musicians provoked the archbishop to resort to the bridge to salute his prince : whom when the King perceived, eftsoons he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge.

'Ah, my chaplain !' said the King to the archbishop, 'come into the barge to me.' The archbishop declared to his highness, that he would take his own barge and wait upon his majesty. 'No,' said the King, 'you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you.' When the King and the archbishop, all alone in the barge, were set together, said the King to the archbishop, 'I have news out of Kent for you, my lord.' The archbishop answered, 'Good, I hope, if it please your highness.' 'Marry,' said the King, 'they be so good, that I now know the greatest heretic in Kent ;' and with that pulled out of his sleeve the book of articles against both the said archbishop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, willing him to peruse the same.

When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so uncourteously handled of the pre-

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bendaries of his cathedral church, and of such his neighbours as he had many ways gratified, the justices of the peace, it much grieved him; notwithstanding he kneeled down to the King, and besought his majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his highness, to try out the truth of this accusation. 'In very deed,' said the King, 'I do so mean; and you yourself shall be chief commissioner, to adjoin to you such two or three more as you shall think good yourself.' 'Then it will be thought,' quoth the archbishop to the King, 'that it is not indifferent, if it please your grace, that I should be mine own judge, and my chaplains also.' 'Well,' said the King, 'I will have none other but yourself, and such as you will appoint: for I am sure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuse yourself. And if you handle the matter wisely, you shall find a pretty conspiracy devised against you. Whom will you have with you?' said the King. 'Whom it shall please your grace to name,' quoth the archbishop. 'I will appoint Dr Belhouse for one, name you the other,' said the King, 'meet for that purpose.' 'My chancellor, Dr Coxe, and Hussy my registrar,' said the archbishop, 'are men expert to examine such troublesome matters.' 'Well,' said the King, 'let there be a commission made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertise me of your doings.'

The commissioners came into Kent, and there they sat about three weeks to bolt out who was the first occasion of this accusation; for thereof the King would chiefly be advertised. Every man shrunk in his horns, and no man would confess

TRAITORS DISCOVERED

any thing to the purpose: for Dr Coxе and Hussey, being friendly unto the papists, handled the matter so, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being well perceived by one of the archbishop's servants, his secretary, he wrote incontinently unto Dr Buts and Master Denny, declaring that if the King's majesty did not send some other to assist my lord, than those that then were there with him, it were not possible that any thing should come to light: and therefore wished that Dr Lee, or some other stout man that had been exercised in the King's ecclesiastical affairs, might be sent to the archbishop.

Dr Lee was sent for by the King, and appointed the archbishop to name a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, such as had discretion, wit, and audacity, to whom he gave in commission from the King, to search the purses, chests, and chambers of all those that were suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without. Such letters or writings as they could find they should bring to the archbishop and him. Within four hours the whole conspiracy was made manifest!

Amongst others came to my lord's hands two letters, one of the suffragan of Dover, and another of Dr Barber, whom continually the archbishop retained as a counsellor in the law. These two men being well promoted by the archbishop, he used ever in such familiarity, that when the suffragan, being a prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he always set him at his own mess, and the other never from his table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort, when time of care and

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pensiveness chanced. But that which they did, was altogether counterfeit, and the devil was turned into the angel of light, for they were both of this confederacy.

When my lord had gotten their letters into his hands, he called to him into his study the said suffragan of Dover and Dr Barber, saying, 'Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter.' When they were with him in his study altogether, he said to them, 'You twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust: you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused with one or twain to whom I have showed all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as myself. The matter is so now fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy, and are become witnesses against me. I require you therefore, of your good advice, how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I always have used when I needed counsel. What say you to the matter?' quoth the Archbishop.

'Marry,' quoth Dr Barber, 'such villains and knaves (saving your honour) were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law.'

'Hanging were too good,' quoth the suffragan, 'and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myself.'

At these words, the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, 'O Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days? Was never man handled as I am: but, O Lord, Thou hast evermore defended me, I praise Thy holy name there-

LADY JANE GRAY

for!' And with that he pulled out of his bosom the two letters, and said, 'Know ye these letters, my masters?'

With that they fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how they a year before were tempted to do the same; and so, very lamentably bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon and forgive them. 'Well,' said the gentle archbishop, 'God make you both good men! I never deserved this at your hands: but ask God forgiveness, against Whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand.' And so he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words.

This was the last push of the pike that was inferred against the said archbishop in King Henry the eighth's days: for never after durst any man move matter against him.

Until the entering of King Edward, it seemed that Cranmer was scarcely yet thoroughly persuaded in the right knowledge of the sacrament; shortly after, he, being confirmed by conference with Bishop Ridley, took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, to refute the error of the papists, that men do eat the natural body of Christ.

King Edward, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to popish religion, bequeathed the succession to the Lady Jane (being niece to King Henry the eighth), by consent of all the council and lawyers of this realm. To this testament of the King's, when all the nobles and judges

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had subscribed, they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe. But he said, that it was otherwise in the testament of King Henry, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary, as the next heir; by which oath he was bound. He was judge of no man's conscience but his own: and as concerning subscription, before he had spoken with the King himself, he utterly refused to do it. The King said, that the nobles and lawyers counselled him unto it, and with much ado the archbishop subscribed. Not long after King Edward died, A.D. 1553, being almost sixteen years old. It was commanded that the Lady Jane should be proclaimed Queen: which thing much misliked the common people. Mary, shifting for herself, eftsoons prevailed; came to London; and caused the two fathers, the Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of Suffolk, to be executed. After that the Lady Jane, in age tender, and innocent from this crime, could by no means be turned from the constancy of her faith, she together with her husband was beheaded.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, though he desired pardon, could obtain none, insomuch that the Queen would not once vouchsafe to see him: for the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion changed; all which was imputed to the archbishop, as the chief cause thereof.

While these things were in doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbishop, to curry favour with the Queen, had promised to say a mass

SENT TO THE TOWER

after the old custom in the funeral of King Edward her brother: neither wanted there some which reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury. This rumour thinking speedily to stay, Cranmer gave forth a writing of his purgation. This bill lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Master Scory, Bishop of Chichester, who, after he had read the same, required of the Archbishop to have a copy. By the occasion of Master Scory lending it to some friend of his, there were divers copies taken out, and the thing published abroad among the common people; insomuch that every scrivener's shop almost was occupied in copying out the same. Some of these copies coming to the commissioners, the matter was known, and the archbishop commanded to appear.

Whereupon Dr Cranmer appeared before the said commissioners. A bishop of the Queen's privy council, bringing in mention of the bill, 'My lord,' said he, 'there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again: we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad.' To whom the archbishop answered, saying, 'I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill. I had minded to have set it on Paul's Church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto.' When they saw the constantness of the man, they dismissed him.

Not long after, he was sent to the Tower, and condemned of treason. The Queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, released to him his action of treason, and accused him of heresy; which liked

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the archbishop right well, and came to pass as he wished, because the cause was not now his own, but Christ's; not the Queen's, but the Church's. It was determined, that he should be removed to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. Although the Queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest show of disputation, the murder of the man might be covered.

We now proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was the 12th day of September, 1555, and eighteen days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer. This thing let us consider: how unjustly these three poor prisoned bishops were handled, which when they were compelled to dispute, yet were not suffered to speak, but at their adversary's appointment. And if they began to make any preface, or to speak somewhat largely for themselves, by and by they were commanded from the high chair of master prolocutor to go to the matter. If they prosecuted their arguments anything narrowly, straightway they heard, 'Short arguments, master doctor! short arguments, master doctor!'

And, so condemned, they carried the archbishop to prison with a great number of spearmen and billmen.

Cranmer was of stature mean; of complexion pure and somewhat sanguine, having no hair upon his head, at the time of his death; but a long beard, white and thick. He was of the age of sixty-six when he was burnt; and yet, being a man sore broken in studies, in all his time never used any spectacles.

THE TRIAL AT OXFORD

After the disputations in Oxford between the doctors of both Universities, and the three worthy bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, they were judged to be heretics, and committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But, forasmuch as the sentence given against them was void in law (for at that time the authority of the Pope was not yet received into the land), therefore was a new commission sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly learned men.

At the coming down of the commissioners, which was upon Thursday, the 12th of September, 1555, in the church of St Mary, and in the east end of the said church at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold ten foot high, with cloth of state very richly and sumptuously adorned, for Bishop Brooks, the Pope's legate, apparelled in pontificals. The seat was made that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the Pope's delegate beneath him sat Dr Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr Story, the King and Queen's commissioners, which were both doctors of the civil law, and underneath them other doctors, with the Pope's collector, and a rabblement of such other like.

The archbishop was sent for to come before them. He came forth of the prison to the church of St Mary, set forth with bills and gloves for fear he should start away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the University use to wear, and in his hand a white staff. After he did see them sit in their pontificals, he did not put off

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his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the proctors for the Pope called 'Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, appear here and make answer to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontineny, and heresy; and make answer here to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing the Pope's person.'

Being brought more near unto the scaffold, and spying where the King and Queen's majesty's proctors were, putting off his cap, he humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all: whereat the bishop, being offended, said unto him, that it might beseem him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Dr Cranmer answered, that he had taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the admitting of the Bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; that he meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same.

After they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answers: which he said, if the King and Queen would send him, he would be content to do. Thence he was carried to prison again, where he remained, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome. But the Pope, contrary to all reason and justice,

STRETCHED-OUT ELOQUENCE

sent his letter unto the King and Queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity : which thing he did not only before the eighty days were ended, but before there were twenty days spent !

Upon the receipt of this sentence definitive of the Pope, another session was appointed for the archbishop to appear the 14th day of February, before certain commissioners directed down by the Queen, the chief whereof was the Bishop of Ely, Dr Thirleby. With him was assigned Dr Bonner, Bishop of London, which two, coming to Oxford as the Pope's delegates, commanded the archbishop to come before them, in the choir of Christ's Church, before the high altar. They first began, as the fashion is, to read their commission, giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power.

Bonner, who, by the space of many years had borne, as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to stretch out his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly after this manner :

'This is the man that hath ever despised the Pope's holiness, and now is to be judged by him : this is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church : this is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar : this is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself.'

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Bonner went on in his rhetorical repetition, beginning every sentence with, 'This is the man, this is the man,' till at length the Bishop of Ely divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward, when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had entreated him earnestly to use the archbishop with reverence.

This done, they began to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his crosier-staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver, and withal, imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, 'I appeal to the next General Council.' This appeal being put up to Thirleby the Bishop of Ely, he said, 'My lord, our commission is to proceed against you.'

When they came to take off his pall (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop), he said, 'Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall;' which imported as much as they, being his inferiors, could not disgrace him. Whereunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges; but being the Pope's delegates, they might take his pall. And so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly, as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman-beadle's

THE WILY PAPISTS

gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil favouredly made as one might lightly see, and a townsman's cap on his head; and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, then spake Lord Bonner, saying to him, 'Now are you no lord any more.' And thus, with great compassion of every man, was he carried to prison. There followed him a gentleman of Gloucestershire who asked him if he would drink. The archbishop answered, saying that if he had a piece of salt fish, he had better will to eat; for he had been that day somewhat troubled and had eaten little: 'but now that it is past, my heart,' said he, 'is well quieted.' Whereupon the gentleman gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him, 'for my Lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him.'

While the archbishop was thus in durance (whom they had now kept in prison almost the space of three years), the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could to have him recant. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the dean's house of Christ's Church, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. They perceived what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop stood steadfast; and again, how great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating,

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and promising. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, that there should be nothing in the realm that the Queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity. But if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon; for the Queen was purposed, that she would have Cranmer a catholic, or else no Cranmer at all. At last the archbishop, being overcome, gave his hand.

The doctors and prelates without delay caused this recantation to be imprinted, and set abroad in all men's hands. All this while Cranmer was in uncertain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors. The Queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly; but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent. Now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries. On the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that neither he could die honestly, nor yet dishonestly live.

The Queen, taking secret counsel how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way (who looked for nothing less than death), appointed Dr Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March, he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Thame, the Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, with other worshipful men and justices, were

CRUEL DUPLICITY

commanded in the Queen's name to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise any tumult.

Cole returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who, the day before the execution, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein he had left him. To whom Cranmer answered, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith; Cole giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. In the morning appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any money; to whom when he answered that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the poor: and so exhorting him to constancy in faith departed.

The archbishop began to surmise what they went about.

Then because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof which should remain with him; and that he did also.

The archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his

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exhortation written in another paper, which he minded to recite to the people, before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest, if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine of the clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen that were sent of the Queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side was made a great concourse, and greater expectation. They that were of the Pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should stablish the vanity of their opinion: the other part could not yet doubt, that he, who by continual study and labour for so many years had set forth the doctrine of the Gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part.

Cranmer at length cometh from the prison of Bocardo unto St Mary's church in this order: the mayor went before; next him the aldermen; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, who, mumbling certain psalms, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*. Entering into the church, the friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld

AN IMAGE OF SORROW

him. He that late was Archbishop, Metropolitan, and Primate of England, and the King's privy councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a councillor, and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, from such fresh ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparel, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life?

When he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar adjoining, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God, till at the length Dr Cole, coming into the pulpit, began his sermon.

The latter part he converted to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew ; adding also the patience of St Lawrence on the fire ; assuring him that God, to such as die in His faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give strength to abide it.

With what great grief of mind Cranmer stood hearing his sermon, the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare ; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the living image of perfect sorrow in him expressed. More than twenty times the tears gushed out abundantly,

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dropping down from his fatherly face. Pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. 'Brethren,' said he, 'lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion, you shall hear him speak before you; therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, openly express the true profession of your faith, that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed.'

'I will do it,' said the Archbishop, 'and that with a good will;' who began to speak thus unto the people: 'Forasmuch as I am come to the end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, without any colour or dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in time past.

'I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And I believe every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, His apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

'And now I come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of

A GLORIOUS VICTORY

death, and to save my life if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished there-for; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

‘And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ’s enemy, and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.’

Here the standers-by, amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood. It was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded; for they looked for a glorious victory and a perpetual triumph by this man’s retractation. As soon as they heard these things, they began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief—for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once.

And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp and bawl, and especially Cole cried out upon him, ‘Stop the heretic’s mouth and take him away.’ And then being pulled down from the stage, Cranmer was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling and threatening him most cruelly. To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people.

When he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas

THOMAS CRANMER

Ridley, were burnt before him, kneeling down, he prayed to God; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare; likewise his head. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, began to exhort him and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer, with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand, and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and specially such a one as falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly; and he chid those sergeants and citizens which had not refused to give Cranmer their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brasenose.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer. When they perceived him to be more steadfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face), that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched.

'HIS UNWORTHY RIGHT HAND'

His body did abide the burning with such steadfastness, that he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and he repeated 'his unworthy right hand,' so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of Stephen, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' in the greatness of the flame, he gave up the ghost.

ANECDOTES AND SAYINGS OF OTHER MARTYRS

WHEN sentence was given against Jerome of Prague a great and long mitre of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red devils; which when he beheld, throwing away his hood upon the ground amongst the prelates, he took and put upon his head, saying: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, when He should suffer death for me, most wretched sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon His head; and I, for His sake, instead of that crown, will willingly wear this mitre and cap.'—Constance, 1416.

—There came unto George Carpenter a certain schoolmaster of St Peter saying, 'My friend George! dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldst thou return to thy wife and children?'

Whereunto he answered, 'If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and well-beloved children?'

Then said the schoolmaster, 'Revoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty.'

Whereunto George answered: 'My wife and my children are so dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the Duke of Bavaria; but, for the love of my Lord God, I will willingly forsake them.'—Munich, 1527.

MARRIED TO THE STAKE

—And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Peerson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, ‘Now welcome mine own sweet wife! for this day shalt thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God.’ And pulling the straw unto him, he laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, ‘This is God’s hat; now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by Whose merits only I trust this day to enter into His joy.’—Windsor, 1543.

—As Giles Tilleman was brought to the place of burning, where he saw a great heap of wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and to be given to the poor: a little (said he) would suffice him. Also seeing a poor man coming by, as he went, that lacked shoes, he gave his shoes unto him; better (said he) so to do, than to have his shoes burnt, and the poor to perish for cold. Standing at the stake, the hangman was ready to strangle him before; but he would not, saying that there was no such need that his pain should be mitigated; ‘For I fear not,’ said he, ‘the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded.’ And thus the blessed martyr, lifting up his eyes to heaven in the middle of the flame, died, to the great lamentation of all that stood by.—Brussels, 1544.

—Peter Miocius was let down into a deep dungeon, under the castle-ditch, full of toads and filthy vermin. Shortly after, the senate began to examine him of certain articles of religion. To whom, as he was about to answer boldly and expressly to every point, they, interrupting him, bade him say in two

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words, either yea or nay. 'Then,' said he, 'if ye will not suffer me to answer for myself in matters of such importance, send me to my prison again, among my toads and frogs, which will not interrupt me, while I talk with my Lord and my God.'—Dornick, 1545.

—Master Wingfield said to Kerby, 'Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee, than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betimes to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink.'

To whom Kerby answered, 'Ah, Master Wingfield! be at my burning, and you shall say, there standeth a Christian soldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword and all other things, are in the hands of God, and He will suffer no more to be laid upon us, than He will give us strength to bear.'—Ipswich, 1545.

—When the rope was put about Ann Audebert, she called it her wedding-girdle wherewith she should be married to Christ; and as she should be burned upon a Saturday, upon Michaelmas-even; 'Upon a Saturday,' said she, 'I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again.'—Orleans, 1549.

—About ten of the clock cometh riding the sheriff, with a great many other gentlemen and their retinue appointed to assist him, and with them Christopher Wade, riding pinioned, and by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge; both singing of a psalm: which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should

EMBRACING THE REEDS

suffer, waiting his coming, said unto him very loud and cheerfully, 'You may rejoice, Wade, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.'

Wade, coming straight to the stake, took it in his arms, embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitchbarrel.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of Psalm lxxxvi.: 'Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed; because Thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me.' The sheriff, often interrupted, saying, 'Be quiet, Wade! and die patiently.' 'I am,' said he, 'I thank God, quiet, master sheriff! and so trust to die.' Then the reeds being set about him, Wade pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard, which they perceiving that were his tormentors, always cast faggots at the same hole, which notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, 'Lord Jesus! receive my soul;' without any token or sign of impatiency in the fire.—Dartford, 1555.

—When the time came that he should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, came to him Master Woodroofe, and asked him if he would revoke his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, 'That which I have preached I will seal with my blood.'

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'Then,' quoth Master Woodroofe, 'Thou art a heretic.'

'That shall be known,' quoth Rogers, 'at the day of judgment.'

'Well,' quoth Master Woodroofe, 'I will never pray for thee.'

'But I will pray for *you*,' quoth Master Rogers.

His wife and children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death. When the fire had taken hold both upon his legs and shoulders, he, as one feeling no smart, washed his hands in the flame, as though it had been in cold water.—Smithfield, 1555.

—When the goodly martyrs Master Cardmaker and John Warne were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer, the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reed set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

The people which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, on beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself: yet

WEEPING WIFE AND CHILDREN

the people confirmed themselves in their fantasy of his recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily; and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, saying, 'God be praised; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker; the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit!'—Smithfield, 1555.

—When this good man, Rawlins White, while he was on his way to the stake, came to a place where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation, the sudden sight of them so pierced his heart that the tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had disliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself; insomuch that in striking his breast with his hand he used these words: 'Ah flesh! stayest thou me so? wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory.' Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake.—Cardiff, 1555.

—Thomas Hauker being bound to the stake, the fire was set unto him. In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been

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gone, suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the blessed servant of God reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. Which thing he had promised certain of his friends to do; and so, secretly between them, it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost.—Coggeshall, 1555.

—A godly letter of John Bradford—‘To my dear Fathers, Dr Cranmer, Dr Ridley, and Dr Latimer.

Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that, amongst so many thousands, it pleaseth His mercy to choose me to be one, in whom He will suffer. Oh! what am I, Lord, that Thou shouldest thus magnify me, so vile a man and wretched, as always I have been? Is this Thy wont, to send for such a wretch and hypocrite, as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as Thou didst for Elias? Oh! dear fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still might be found worthy, in whom the Lord would sanctify His holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen-ushers: “The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage.”—Smithfield, 1555.

THE VISION OF THREE LADDERS

—When Robert Samuel was brought forth to be burned, certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, who ministered comfort unto him by these words: ‘Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee: for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty.’

No less memorable it is, and worthy to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward heaven; of the which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck, and kissed him, who, being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after, to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me: howbeit, as God of His goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after.

But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God, so there were other two honest women who did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer’s wife, the other was a shoemaker’s wife, but both together now espoused to a new husband, Christ.

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With these two was this maid aforesaid very familiar and well acquainted, who, on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, had this answer at her hands again: 'I know well,' saith she, 'that it is lawful enough to fly away; which remedy you may use, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have besides young children at home; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and His truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter.'

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly wives, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and had both into one prison together. As they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison; and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of His servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity; so at the length they both suffered after Samuel, in 1556, February 19. And these, no doubt, were those two ladders, which, being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the 31st of August 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine in the eyes of them that stood by, as bright and white as new-tryed silver.—Norwich, 1555 and 1556.

BLIND WOMAN'S BIBLE

—Suffered at the town of Derby a certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of twenty-two, named Joan Waste. This Joan was the daughter of one William Waste, an honest poor man, and by his science a barber, who sometime also used to make ropes. She was born blind, and when about twelve or fourteen years old, she learned to knit hosen and sleeves, and other things, which in time she could do very well. Furthermore, as time served, she would help her father to turn ropes, and do such other things as she was able, and in no case would be idle.

In the time of King Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory, she gave herself daily to go to the church to hear divine service read in the vulgar tongue. And thus, by hearing homilies and sermons, she became marvellously well affected to the religion then taught. So at length, having by her labour gotten and saved so much money as would buy her a New Testament, she caused one to be provided for her. And though she was of herself unlearned, and by reason of her blindness unable to read, yet, for the great desire she had to understand and have printed in her memory the sayings of the holy Scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted herself chiefly with one John Hurt, then prisoner in the common hall of Derby for debts. The same John Hurt being a sober grave man, of the age of threescore and ten years, by her earnest entreaty, and being a prisoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exercise daily read unto her some one chapter of the New Testament.

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And if at any time the said John Hurt were otherwise occupied or letted through sickness, she would repair unto some other person which could read, and sometimes she would give a penny or two (as she might spare) to such persons as would not freely read unto her; appointing unto them aforehand how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter, upon a price.

Moreover, in the said Joan Waste this was notorious, that she, being utterly blind, could notwithstanding, without a guide, go to any church within the said town of Derby, or at any other place or person, with whom she had any such exercise. By the which exercise she so profited, that she was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Testament without book, but also could aptly impugn, by divers places of Scriptures, as well sin, as such abuses in religion, as then were too much in use in divers and sundry persons.

Notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greatest part of the whole realm into the old papism again, this poor blind woman, continuing in a constant conscience, proceeded still in her former exercise.—Derby, 1556.

—Then both the bishops waxed weary of the said William Tyms, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the bishop began to pity Tyms' case, and to flatter him, saying, 'Ah! good fellow,' said they, 'thou art bold, and thou hast a good fresh spirit; we would thou hadst learning to thy spirit.'

'I thank you, my lords,' said Tyms, 'and both you be learned, and I would you had a good spirit to your learning.'—London, 1556.

A RUSE THAT FAILED

—Hugh Laverock, a lame old man and John Apprice, a blind man, were carried from Newgate in a cart to Stratford-le-Bow, and most quietly in the fire, praising God, yielded up their souls into His hands. Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch; and comforting John Apprice, his fellow-martyr, said unto him, 'Be of good comfort, my brother; for my lord of London is our physician. He will heal us both shortly; thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness.'—Stratford-le-Bow, 1556.

—There followed in this happy and blessed order of martyrs, burnt in one fire eleven men and two women, whose dwellings were in sundry places in Essex, and whose names hereafter follow:—Henry Adlington, Laurence Parnam, Henry Wye, William Hallywel, Thomas Bowyer, George Searles, Edmund Hurst, Lyon Cawch, Ralph Jackson, John Derifall, John Routh, Elizabeth Pepper, and Agnes George.

When these thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed they should suffer, they were divided into two parts, in two several chambers.

The sheriff came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast away themselves: unto whom they answered, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Christ crucified.

Then the sheriff, perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said the like to them, that they whom he had been with before had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves, but to play the wise men; unto

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whom they answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Christ and His sure word.

Now when he saw it booteth not to persuade (for they were, God be praised, surely grounded on the Rock, Jesus Christ), he led them to the place where they should suffer: and being all there together, most earnestly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the stake, and kissed it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three stakes, and the two women loose in the midst without any stake; and so they were all burnt in one fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ, that it made all the lookers-on to marvel.—Stratford-le-Bow, 1556.

—A blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, suffered martyrdom at Gloucester. Dr Williams, then Chancellor of Gloucester, ministered unto the boy such articles as are accustomed in such cases:

Chancellor: 'Dost thou not believe that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?'

To whom the blind boy answered, 'No, that I do not.'

Chancellor: 'Then thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?'

Thomas: 'You, master chancellor.'

Chancellor: 'Where, I pray thee?'

Thomas: 'Even in yonder place;' pointing towards the pulpit.

Chancellor: 'When did I teach thee so?'

A TEMPTING OFFER

Thomas: 'When you preached a sermon to all men as well as to me upon the sacrament. You said, the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith and not carnally and really, as the papists have heretofore taught.'

Chancellor: 'Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.'

Thomas: 'Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your conscience, yet will I not so do.'

Chancellor: 'Then God have mercy upon thee; for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee.'

Thomas: 'God's will be fulfilled.'

The registrar being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the chancellor:

Registrar: 'Fie for shame, man! will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment.'

Chancellor: 'No, registrar, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself, according to mine office.'
—Gloucester, 1556.

—Sir Richard Abridges sent for Julius Palmer to his lodging; and there friendly exhorted him to revoke his opinion, to spare his young years, wit, and learning. 'If thou wilt be conformable, and show thyself corrigible and repentant, in good faith,' said he, 'I promise thee, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pound yearly, so long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to stuff and frit thy farm for thee. How sayst thou?'

ANECDOTES AND SAYINGS

Palmer thanked him very courteously, but very modestly and reverently concluded that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Christ's sake, so he would with God's grace be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God should send time.

When Sir Richard perceived that he would by no means relent: 'Well, Palmer,' saith he, 'then I perceive one of us twain shall be damned: for we be of two faiths, and certain I am there is but one faith that leadeth to life and salvation.'

Palmer: 'O sir, I hope that we both shall be saved.'

Sir Richard: 'How may that be?'

Palmer: 'Right well, sir. For as it hath pleased our merciful Saviour, according to the Gospel's parable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of four and twenty years, even so I trust He hath called, and will call you, at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion.'

Sir Richard: 'Sayest thou so? Well, Palmer, well, I would I might have thee but one month in my house: I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou shouldst convert me.'

Then said Master Winchcomb, 'Take pity on thy golden years, and pleasant flowers of lusty youth, before it be too late.'

Palmer: 'Sir, I long for those springing flowers that shall never fade away.'—Newbury, 1556.

— Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered with the six that went out of Mote-hall was kept back at the time, because her name was wrong written within the writ. When the said six were called

STRANGE CAUSE OF DISTRESS!

out to go to their martyrdom and when the said Agnes Bongeor saw herself so separated from her prison-fellows, what piteous moan that good woman made, how bitterly she wept, what strange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and into what plunge of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was piteous and wonderful to see; which all came because she went not with them to give her life in the defence of her Christ; for of all things in the world, life was least looked for at her hands.

For that morning in which she was kept back from burning, had she put on a smock, that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also having a child, a little young infant sucking on her, whom she kept with her tenderly all the time that she was in prison, against that day likewise did she send away to another nurse, and prepared herself presently to give herself for the testimony of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed a great deal better welcome than life.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did sacrifice his son Isaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which she answered thus: 'I know,' quod she, 'that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not stayed him: but I,' said she, 'am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity: and therefore Abraham's case and mine are not alike.'

ANECDOTES AND SAYINGS

‘Why,’ quod her friend, ‘would ye not willingly have gone with your company, if God should so have suffered it?’

‘Yes,’ said she, ‘with all my heart; and because I did not, it is now my chief and greatest grief.’

Then said her friend, ‘My dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt see thou dost nothing differ with him in will at all.’

‘Alas, nay,’ quod she, ‘there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but so am not I: and therefore our cases are not alike.’

‘Good sister,’ quod her friend, ‘weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant,’ said he, ‘would have offered his son: and have not you done the like, in your little sucking babe? But consider further than this, my good sister,’ said he, ‘whereas Abraham was commanded but to offer his son, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not yourself, which goeth somewhat more near you, than Abraham’s obedience did; and therefore before God, assuredly, is no less accepted and allowed in His holy presence.’ After which talk between them, she began a little to stay herself, and gave her whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found no little comfort.

In a short time came a writ from London for the burning, which, according to the effect thereof, was executed.—Colchester, 1557.

—Elizabeth Cooper being condemned, and at the stake with Simon Miller, to be burnt, when the fire came unto her, she a little shrank thereat, with a voice crying, ‘Hah!’ When the said Simon Miller

A BRAVE MAIDEN

heard the same, he put his hand behind him toward her, and willed her to be strong and of good cheer : 'for, good sister,' said he, 'we shall have a joyful and a sweet supper : ' whereat she, being as it seemed thereby strengthened, stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which before most happily she had begun.—Norwich, 1557.

Master Tyrrel with a certain of his company went into the chamber where the said father Mount and his wife lay, willing them to rise : 'for,' said he, 'you must go with us to Colchester castle.' Mother Mount, hearing that, being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink ; for she was (she said) very ill at ease.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter Rose Allin, maid, took a stone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother : and as she came back again toward the house, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counsel, and advertise them to be better catholic people.

Rose : 'Sir, they have a better instructor than I ; for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err.'

'Why,' said Master Tyrrel, 'art thou still in that mind, thou naughty housewife? Marry it is time to look upon such heretics indeed.'

Rose : 'Sir, with that which you call heresy, do I worship my Lord God ; I tell you troth.'

Tyrrel : 'Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake.'

Rose : 'No, sir, not for company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if so I be compelled ; and I hope

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in His mercies if He call me to it, He will enable me to bear it.'

So he, turning to his company, said, 'Sirs, this gossip will burn: do you not think it?' 'Marry, sir,' quoth one, 'prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by.'

Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross-wise over the back thereof so long, till the very sinews cracked asunder. In which time of his tyranny, he said often to her, 'Why, wilt thou not cry? wilt thou not cry?' Unto which always she answered, that she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to rejoice. He had (she said) more cause to weep, than she, if he considered the matter well. In the end, he thrust her from him violently.

But she, quietly suffering his rage for the time, at the last said, 'Sir, have ye done what ye will do?'

And he said, 'Yea, and if thou think it be not well, then mend it.'

'Mend it!' said Rose; 'nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be His will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn to the head also. For he that set you a work, shall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you.'

And so she went and carried her mother drink, as she was commanded.—Colchester, 1557.

—When these six constant martyrs had made their prayers, they rose, and made them ready to the fire. And Elizabeth Folkes, when she had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother (which came and kissed her at the stake, and ex-

LEARNING THE WAY

horted her to be strong in the Lord): but the wicked there attending, would not suffer her to give it. Therefore, taking the said petticoat in her hand, she threw it away from her, saying, 'Farewell, all the world! farewell Faith! farewell Hope!' and so taking the stake in her arms, said, 'Welcome love!'

Now she being at the stake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the striking in of the staple he missed the place, and struck her with a great stroke of the hammer on the shoulder-bone; whereat she suddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed smilingly, and gave herself to exhorting the people again.

When all the six were also nailed likewise at their stakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the standers-by, which were, by estimation, thousands, cried 'The Lord strengthen them; the Lord comfort them; the Lord pour His mercies upon them; with such like words, as was wonderful to hear.—Colchester, 1557.

—Master Rough, being at the burning of Austoo in Smithfield, and returning homeward again, met with one Master Farrar, a merchant of Halifax, who asked him, where he had been. Unto whom he answered, 'I have been,' saith he, 'where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been.' 'Where have you been?' said Master Farrar. 'Forsooth,' said he, 'to learn the way.' And so he told him he had been at the burning of Austoo, where shortly after he was burnt himself.—Smithfield, 1557.

—After John Fetty had lain in the prison by the space of fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, some-

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times by the one leg, and the one arm, sometimes by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children (a boy of the age of eight or nine years) came unto the bishop's house, to see if he could get leave to speak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The child answered, that he came to see his father. The chaplain asked again, who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards' Tower, showed him that his father was there in prison.

'Why,' quoth the priest, 'thy father is a heretic.'

The child, being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, 'My father is no heretic; but you are an heretic, for you have Balaam's mark.'

With that the priest took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's house, and there, amongst them, they did most shamefully and without all pity so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore-blood; and then they carried the child in his shirt unto his father, the blood running down by his heels.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and asked him blessing. The poor man then, beholding his child, and seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cried out for sorrow, and said, 'Alas, Will! who hath done this to thee?'

The boy answered that as he was seeking how to come to see his father, a priest with Balaam's mark took him into the bishop's house, and there was

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he so handled. Cluney therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after.

Bonner, bethinking in himself of the danger which the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge the said Fetty, willing him to go home and carry his child with him; which he so did, and that with a heavy heart, to see his poor boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the child died.—London, 1558.

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